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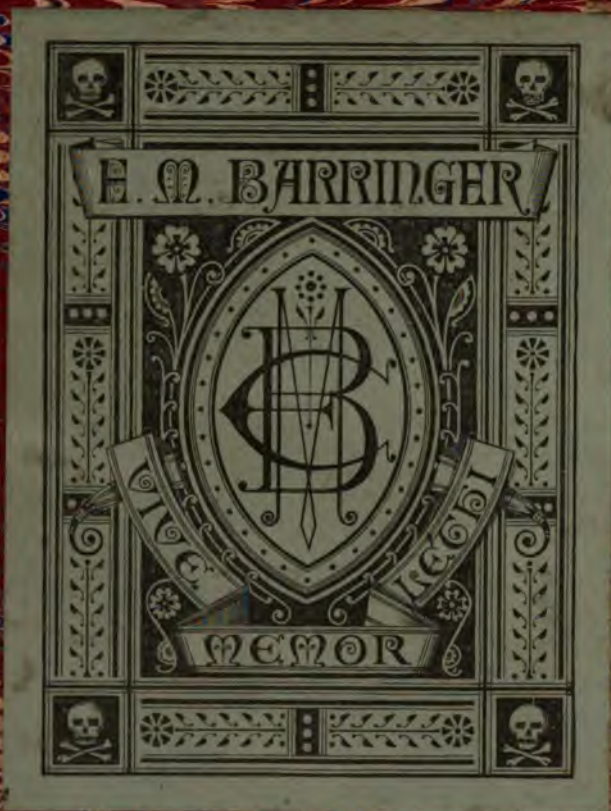
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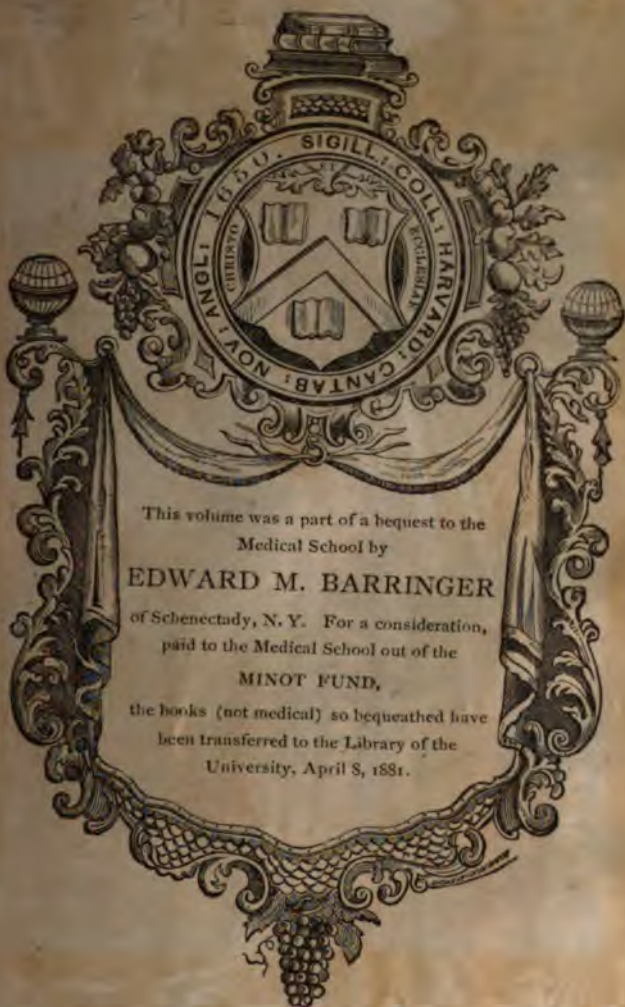
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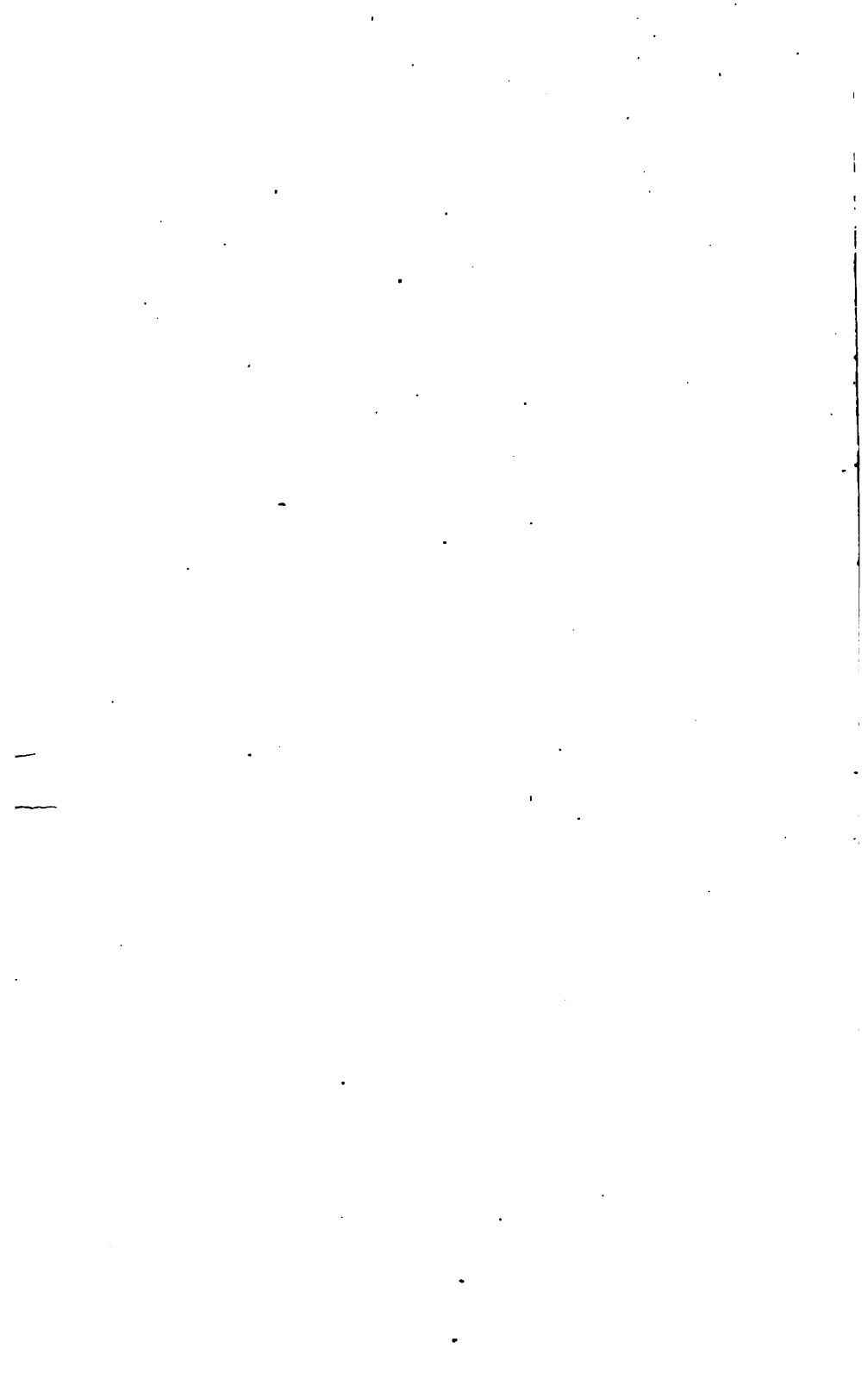
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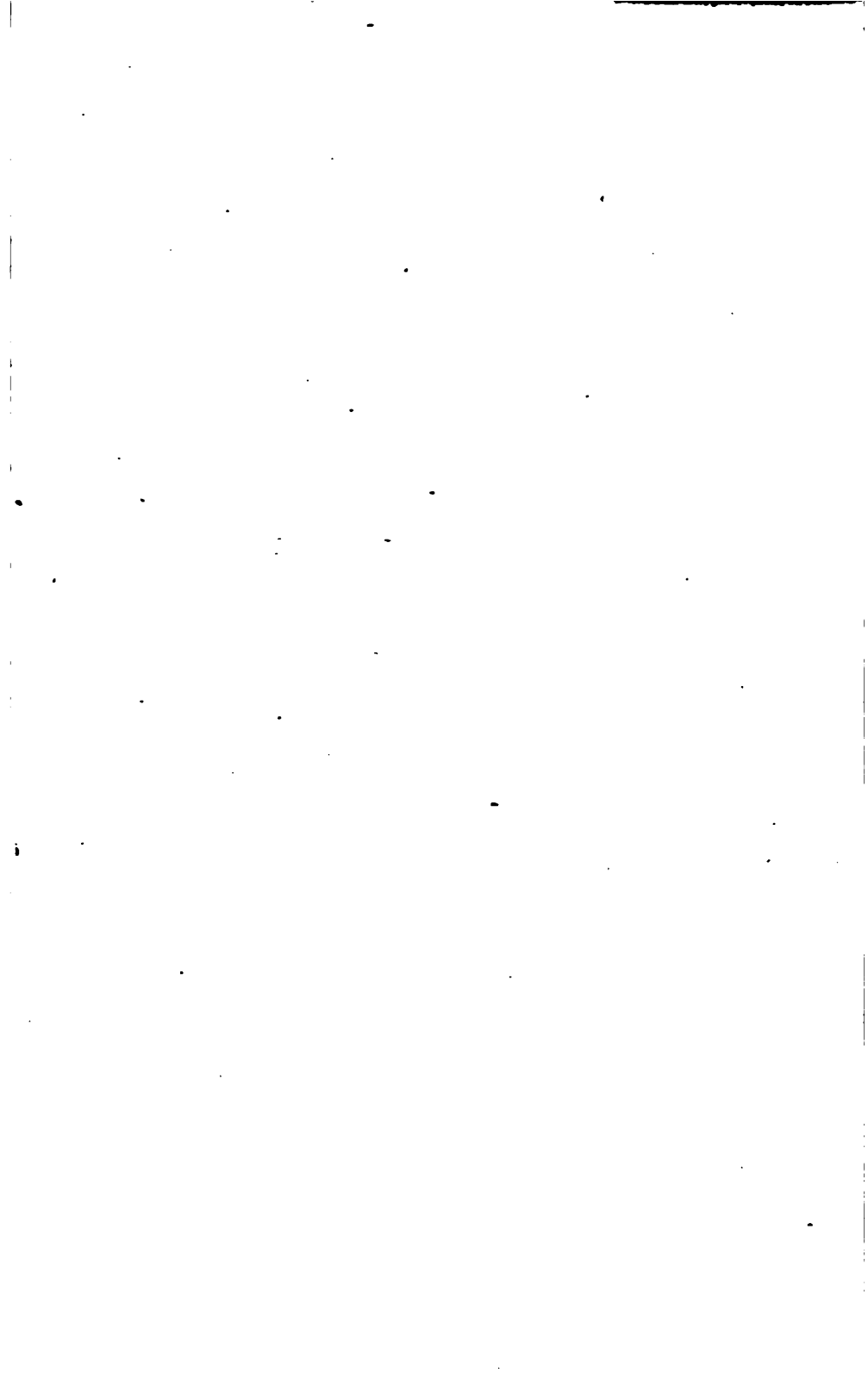
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HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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CANON OF CANTERBURY.

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The Author hopes that the Third Volume of the work (to which references are occasionally made in the following pages) will be ready for publication before the end of next year.

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LIST OF POPES AND SOVEREIGNS.

POPES OF ROME. (From Jaffé's *Regesta*.)

(The Names in brackets are those of Anti-popes.)

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.		A.D.
590.	Gregory I.	604		827.	Gregory IV.	844
604.	Sabinian	606			[John—Jan. 844.]	
607.	Boniface III. (Feb. 19–Nov. 12)			844.	Sergius II.	847
608.	Boniface IV.	615		847.	Leo IV.	855
615.	Deusedit	618		855.	Benedict III.	858
619.	Boniface V.	625			[Anastasius, Aug.–Sept. 855.]	
625.	Honorius I.	638		858.	Nicolas I.	867
638.	Severinus	640		867.	Adrian II.	872
640.	John IV.	642		872.	John VIII.	882
642.	Theodore I.	649		882.	Marinus I.	884
649.	Martin I.	653		884.	Adrian III.	885
654.	Eugenius I.	657		885.	Stephen V.	891
657.	Vitalian	672		891.	Formosus	896
672.	Adeodatus	676		896.	Boniface VI. (May–June)	
676.	Donus	678			— Stephen VI.	897
678.	Agatho	681		897.	Romanus (July–Nov.)	
682.	Leo II.	683			— Theodore II. (Nov.–Dec.)	
683.	Benedict II.	685		898.	John IX.	900
685.	John V.	686		900.	Benedict IV.	903
686.	Conon.	687		903.	Leo V. (Aug.–Sept.)	
	[Paschal, 687–692.]				— Christopher	904
	[Theodore, Sept.–Dec. 687.]			904.	Sergius III.	911
687.	Sergius I.	701		911.	Anastasius III.	913
701.	John VI.	705		913.	Lando	914
705.	John VII.	707		914.	John X.	928
708.	Sisinnius (Jan. –Feb. 7)			928.	Leo VI.	929
708.	Constantine I.	715		929.	Stephen VII.	931
715.	Gregory II.	731		931.	John XI.	936
731.	Gregory III.	741		936.	Leo VII.	939
741.	Zacharias	752		939.	Stephen VIII.	942
752.	Stephen (died without conse- cration)*	757		942.	Marinus II.	946
—	Stephen II.	757		946.	Agapetus II.	955
757.	Paul I.	767		955.	John XII.	963
	[Constantine II. 767–8.]			963.	Leo VIII.	965
	[Philip, 768.]				[Benedict V. May–June 964.]	
768.	Stephen III.	772		965.	John XIII.	972
772.	Adrian I.	795		972.	Benedict VI.	974
795.	Leo III.	816			[Boniface VII. July–Aug. 974.]	
816.	Stephen IV.	817		974.	Benedict VII.	983
817.	Paschal I.	824		983.	John XIV.	984
824.	Eugenius II.	827			[Boniface VII. again, 984–5.]	
827.	Valentine (died within a month —dates uncertain)			985.	John XV.	996
				996.	Gregory V.	999
					[John XVI 997–8.]*	

* These are reckoned by Jaffé in the series of popes of their respective names, but are more commonly omitted.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.		A.D.	
999.	Sylvester II.	1003			[Benedict X. 1058-9.]		
1003.	John XVI. (Jan. 13-Dec. 7)			1059.	Nicolas II.	1061	
—	John XVII.	1009		1061.	Alexander II.	1073	
1009.	Sergius IV.	1012			[Honorius II. 1061-9.]		
1012.	Benedict VIII.	1024		1073.	Gregory VII.	1085	
	[Gregory, Jan.-Dec. 1012.]				[Clement III. 1080-1100.]		
1024.	John XVIII.	1033		1086.	Victor III.	1087	
1033.	Benedict IX.	1046		1088.	Urban II.	1099	
	[Sylvester III. 1044-6.]			1099.	Paschal II.	1118	
1045.	Gregory VI.	1046			[Theoderic, 1100.]		
1046.	Clement II.	1047			[Albert, 1102.]		
1047.	Damasus II.	1048			[Sylvester IV. 1105-1111.]		
1048.	Leo IX.	1054		1118.	Gelasius II.	1119	
1054.	Victor II.	1057			[Gregory VIII. 1118-1121.]		
1057.	Stephen IX.	1058		1119.	Calixtus II.	1124	

EASTERN EMPERORS.

582.	Maurice	602			Alexander	912	
602.	Phocas	610			Constantine VII. (Porphyro-		
610.	Heraclius	641		911	genitus—alone from 945)	959	
	Constantine III.	641			to Romanus I. (Lecapenus) ...	945	
641.	Heraclionas	641		959.	919. (Christopher, Stephen,		
	Constans II.	668			Constantine VIII.)		
668.	Constantine IV. (Pogonatus)	685		959.	Romanus II.	963	
685.	Justinian II.	695		963.	Nicephorus Phocas	969	
695.	Leontius	698		969.	John Tzimisceas	976	
698.	Tiberius Apsimar	705			Basil II.	1025	
705.	Justinian II. (restored)	711		976.	Constantine IX.	1028	
711.	Philippicus	713		1028.	Romanus III. (Argyros) ...	1034	
713.	Anastasius II.	716		1034.	Michael IV. (the Paphla-		
716.	Theodosius III.	717			gonian)	1041	
717.	Leo III. (the Isaurian)	741		1041.	Michael V. (Calaphates) ...	1042	
741.	Constantine V. (Coprny-			1042	Zoe.		
	mus)	775			to Constantine X. (Monomachus)	1054	
775.	Leo IV.	780		1056.	Theodora (alone from 1054)	1056	
	Constantine VI.	797		1056.	Michael VI. (Stratioticus)	1057	
780.	Irene	802		1057.	Isaac Comnenus	1059	
802.	Nicephorus	811		1059.	Constantine XII. (Ducas)	1067	
811.	Stauracius	811		1067.	Eudocia		
811.	Michael I. (Rhagabe)	813			Romanus III. (Diogenes) }	1071	
813.	Leo V. (the Armenian)	820			Michael VII. (Parapinaces) }		
820.	Michael II. (the Stammerer)	829		1071.	Andronicus I.	1078	
829.	Theophilus	842			Constantine XII.		
842.	Michael III. (the Drunkard)	867		1078.	Nicephorus III. (Botoniates)	1081	
867.	Basil I. (the Macedonian) ...	886		1081.	Alexius I. (Comnenus) ...	1118	
886.	Leo VI. (the Philosopher) ...	911		1118.	John, or Calo-Johannes ...	1143	

WESTERN EMPERORS, FROM CHARLEMAGNE.

(The date in the first column is that of succession to the kingdom of Germany; that in the second, of the Imperial Coronation.)

814	800. Charlemagne	814		912	Conrad I. 920	Kings
	813. Louis the Pious	840		920	Henry I. (the	of Ger-
	817. Lothair	855			Fowler) 936	many.
	850. Louis II.	875		936	962. Otho I.	973
	875. Charles the Bald	877		973	967. Otho II.	983
	884. Charles the Fat	887		983	996. Otho III.	1002
887	896. Arnulf	899		1002	1014. Henry II.	1024
	891. Guy			1024	1027. Conrad II.	1039
	894. Lambert	Titular		1039	1046. Henry III.	1056
	901. Louis of Provence	Em-		1056	1084. Henry IV.	1106
	916. Berengar	perors.		1106	1111. Henry V.	1125

KINGS OF FRANCE FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE CAROLINGIAN DYNASTY.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.		A.D.	
752.	Pipin	768		898.	Charles III. (the Simple)...	923	
768.	{ Charlemagne	814		923.	Rodolf	936	
	{ Carloman	772		936.	Louis IV. (d'Outre-mer) ...	954	
814.	Louis the Pious	840		954.	Lothair	986	
840.	Charles II. (the Bald)	877		986.	Louis V. (le Fainéant)	987	
877.	Louis II. (the Stammerer) ...	879		987.	Hugh Capet	996	
879.	{ Louis III.	882		996.	Robert I.	1031	
	{ Carloman	884		1031.	Henry I.	1060	
884.	Charles the Fat	888		1060.	Philip I.	1108	
888.	Odo, or Eudes	898		1108.	Louis VI. (the Fat)	1137	

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

800.	Egbert	836		975.	Edward the Martyr	978	
836.	Ethelwulf	857		978.	Ethelred II. (the Unready)	1016	
857.	{ Ethelbald	860		1016.	Edmund Ironside	1016	
	{ Ethelbert	866		1016.	Canute	1035	
866.	Ethelred I.	871		1035.	Harold (Harefoot)	1039	
871.	Alfred	901		1039.	Hardicanute	1042	
901.	Edward the Elder	924		1042.	Edward the Confessor	1066	
924.	Athelstan	941		1066.	Harold	1066	
941.	Edmund	946		1066.	William I. (the Conqueror)	1087	
946.	Edred	955.		1087.	William II. (Rufus)	1100	
955.	Edwy	959		1100.	Henry I.	1135	
959.	Edgar	975					

A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK III.

FROM THE ELECTION OF GREGORY THE GREAT TO THE
DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE, A.D. 590-814.

CHAPTER I.

GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 590-604.—COLUMBAN, A.D. 589-615.

THE end of the sixth century may be regarded as the boundary between early and mediæval Church-History. The scene of interest is henceforth varied ; the eastern churches, oppressed by calamities and inwardly decaying, will claim but little of our attention, while it will be largely engaged by regions of the West, unnoticed, or but slightly noticed, in earlier times. The Gospel will be seen penetrating the barbarian tribes which had overrun the western empire, bringing to them not only religious truth but the elements of culture and refinement, adapting itself to them, moulding them, and experiencing their influence in return. As Christianity had before been affected by the ideas and by the practices of its Greek and Roman converts, so it now suffered among the barbarians, although rather from the rudeness of their manners than from the infection of their old religions. Yet throughout the dreariest of the ages which lie before us, we may discern the gracious providence of God, preserving the essentials of the truth in the midst of ignorance and corruptions, enabling men to overcome the evil by which they were surrounded, and filling the hearts of multitudes with zeal not only to extend the visible bounds of Christ's kingdom, but also to enforce the power of faith on those who were already professedly His subjects:

Gregory, the most eminent representative of the transition from the early to the middle period, was born at Rome about the year 540.^a His family was of senatorial rank, and is said by some authorities to have belonged to the great Anician house;^b he was great-grandson of a pope named Felix—either the third or the fourth of that name.^c Gregory entered into civil employment, and attained the office of prætor of the city; but about the age of thirty-five^d he abandoned the pursuit of worldly distinctions, and employed his wealth in founding seven monasteries—six of them in Sicily, and the other, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, in his family mansion on the Cœlian hill at Rome.^e In this Roman monastery he took up his abode, and entered on a strictly ascetic life, in which he persevered notwithstanding the frequent and severe illness which his austerities produced.^f About the year 577, he was ordained deacon, and was appointed to exercise his office in one of the seven principal churches of the city;^g and in 578, or the following year, he was sent by Pelagius II. as his representative to the court of Tiberius, who had lately become sole emperor on the death of the younger Justin.^h The most noted incident of his residence at Constantinople was a controversy with the patriarch Eutychius, who maintained the opinion of Origen, that the “spiritual body” of the saints after the resurrection would be impalpable, and more subtle than wind or air. Gregory on the contrary held, according to the doctrine which had been recommended to the western church by the authority of Augustine,ⁱ that, if the body were impalpable, its identity would be lost; it will, he

^a Lau, “Gregor der Grosse,” 10. Leipz., 1845.

^b See Patrol. lxxv. 241; Ciacon. i. 401.

^c The *third*, according to Gregory's biographer, Paul Warnefrid (c. 1), Baronius (492. 1; 581. 4), Nat. Alex. (ix. 20), and Lau (9); the *fourth*, according to John the Deacon (Vita Greg. i. 1), the Benedictine biographer, Ste. Marthe (i. 3), and Fleury (xxxiv. 35).

^d For the date see Pagi, x. 363; Lau, 71.

^e Paul. 4; Sammarth. ii. 6; Lau, 120-1. The name of St. Andrew has now been exchanged for that of the founder himself. In like manner, the monastery founded at Canterbury in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, afterwards took the name of the founder, St. Augustine; and for a list of other instances see Montalembert, ii. 560.

^f Paul. 5. Ste. Marthe (Vita, i. 3) and Mabillon (Acta SS. Ord. S. Bened. I.,

xxxix.; Analecta, 502, seqq.) claim him as a member of the Benedictine order; but it seems very doubtful (Pagi, x. 368; Schröckh, xvii. 245). On this depends another question—whether Augustine and his companions in the English mission were Benedictines. See Reynierus de Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Anglia (Duaci, 1626); Sammarth. iii. 6-7; Mabill., I. xl. seqq.; Thomassin, I. iii. 24.

^g Paul. 7; Lau, 25.

^h A.D. 578. He had been associated in the empire four years before. Gibbon, iv. 253-4.

ⁱ Enchirid. 88-91; De Civ. Dei, xxii., 11, 20-1. See Gieseler, vi. 427; Hagenbach, i. 378. Eutychius has been already mentioned (vol. i., p. 531). John of Ephesus represents him as having taught that “these bodies of men do not attain to the resurrection, but others are created anew, which arise in their stead,” pp. 147, 149, 196.

said, be "palpable in the reality of its nature, although subtle by the effect of spiritual grace." Tiberius ordered a book in which Eutychius had maintained his opinion to be burnt; and the patriarch soon after, on his death-bed, avowed himself a convert to the opposite view, by laying hold of his attenuated arm and declaring, "I confess that in this flesh we shall all rise again."^k A.D. 582.

After his return to Rome,^m Gregory was elected abbot of his monastery, and also acted as ecclesiastical secretary to Pelagius.ⁿ On the death of that pope, who was carried off by a plague in January, 590,^o he was chosen by the senate, the clergy, and the people to fill the vacant chair. He endeavoured by various means to escape the promotion; but the letter, in which he entreated the emperor Maurice to withhold his consent,^p was opened and detained by the governor of Rome; miracles baffled his attempts to conceal himself; and he was consecrated in September, 590.^q

The position which Gregory had now attained was one from which he might well have shrunk, for other reasons than the fear ascribed to him by an ancient biographer, "lest the worldly glory which he had before cast away might creep on him under the colour of ecclesiastical government."^r He compares his church to an "old and violently-shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides,—its timbers rotten, shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck."^s The north of Italy was overrun, and its other provinces were threatened, by the Lombards. The distant government of Constantinople, instead of protecting its Italian subjects, acted only as a hindrance to their exerting themselves for their own defence. The local authorities had neither courage to make war nor wisdom to negotiate; some of them, by their unprincipled exactions, even drove their people to espouse the interest of the enemy.^t The inhabitants of the land had been wasted by war, famine, and disease, while the rage for celibacy had contributed to prevent the recruiting of their numbers. In many places the depopulated soil had become pestilential. The supplies of corn, which had formerly been drawn from Sicily to support the excess of population, were now rendered

^k Greg. *Moralia*, xiv. 56.

^m A.D. 584. Pagi, x. 368, 585; Lau, 30, 586; Dupin, v. 102. Dean Milman thinks that he was abbot before his mission to Constantinople, i. 404.

ⁿ Sammarth. l., vi. 1. ^o Jaffé, 91.

^p For the necessity of the emperor's consent, see vol. i. p. 550, and Baron. 540, 10.

^q Paul, 13; Greg. *Turon.* x. i.; Pagi, x. 489; Lau, 37-40. John the Deacon thinks it necessary to enter into a formal proof that Gregory's reluctance was real (i. 45)—a vindication of the man which reflects on the age.

^r Paul. 10.

^s Ep. v. 41.

^t Ep. i. 4.

necessary by the general abandonment of husbandry. Rome itself had suffered from storms and inundations, in addition to the common misfortunes of the country. So great were the miseries of the time, as to produce in religious minds the conviction, which Gregory often expresses, that the end of the world was at hand.¹

Nor was the aspect of ecclesiastical affairs more cheering. Churches and monasteries had been destroyed by the Lombards;² the clergy were few, and inadequate to the pastoral superintendence of their scattered flocks; among them and among the monks, the troubles of the age had produced a general decay of morals and discipline.³ The formidable Lombards were Arians; the schism which had arisen out of the question as to the "Three Articles," continued to hold Istria and other provinces separate from Rome, and had many adherents in Gaul.⁴ In Gaul, too, the Church was oppressed by the extreme depravity of the princes and nobles, and by the general barbarism of the clergy as well as of the people. Spain had just been recovered from Arianism, but much was yet wanting to complete and assure the victory. In Africa, the old sect of Donatists took occasion from the prevailing confusions to lift up its head once more, and to commit aggressions on the Church. The eastern patriarchates were distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite controversies; a patriarch of Antioch had been deprived, and the bishop of Rome had reason to look with jealousy on his brother and rival of the newer capital.

The collection of Gregory's letters, early eight hundred and fifty in number, exhibits a remarkable picture of his extensive and manifold activity. And it is in this that their value mainly consists; for, although questions of theology and morality are sometimes treated in them, they do not contain those elaborate discussions which are found among the correspondence of Jerome and Augustine.⁵ Gregory had neither leisure nor inclination for such discussions; but his capacity for business, his wide, various, and minute supervision, his combination of tenacity and dexterity in the conduct of affairs, are truly wonderful. From treating with patriarchs, kings, or emperors on the highest concerns of Church or State, he passes to direct the management of a farm, the

¹ *e. g.* Dial. iii. 38; Ep. iii. 29; Baron. 590. 22-5; 594. 9; Sammarth. II., iv. 4; Gibbon, iv. 267-8; Neander, v. 155; Lau, 60.

² Greg. Dial. iii. 36.

³ Lau, 48, 111.

⁴ Lau, 143. See vol. i. p. 531.

⁵ Dupin (v. 104, seqq.) gives a summary of the chief points in Gregory's letters, classed under separate heads. Jaffé, in his elaborate and valuable 'Regesta,' gives an analysis of them, arranged in chronological order.

reclaiming of a runaway nun, or the relief of a distressed petitioner in some distant dependency of his see.^b He appears as a pope, as a virtual sovereign, as a bishop, as a landlord.^c He takes measures for the defence of his country, for the conversion of the heathen, for the repression and reconciliation of sectaries and schismatics; he administers discipline, manages the care of vacant dioceses, arranges for the union of sees where impoverishment and depopulation rendered such a junction expedient, directs the election of bishops, and superintends the performance of their duties. He intercedes with the great men of the earth for those who suffered from the conduct of their subordinates; he mediates in quarrels between bishops and their clergy, or between clergy and laity; he advises on the temporal concerns of churches, and in a spirit of disinterestedness and equity very unlike the grasping conduct of too many bishops where legacies or other property were in question. In his letters to the emperors, although the tone is humble and submissive, he steadily holds to his purpose, and opposes everything which appears to him as an encroachment on the rights of the Church.^d

Gregory lived in a simple^e and monastic style, confining his society to monks and clergy, with whom he carried on his studies.^f He endeavoured to provide for the education of the clergy, not indeed according to any exalted literary standard, but in such a manner as the circumstances of his time allowed. He introduced a new and more effective organization into his Church.^g He laboured for the improvement of the liturgy, and gave to the canon of the mass the form which it still retains in all essential respects.^h He instituted a singing-school, selected music, and established the manner of chanting which derives its name from him.ⁱ He superintended in person the exercises of the choristers; the whip with which he threatened and admonished them was preserved for centuries as a relic.^k The misconduct of persons who

^b Epp. viii. 8-9; ix. 114.

^c See Gibbon, iv. 370-1; Schröckh, xvii. 278-80; Neander, v. 156. For his humane care to lessen the burdens and oppressions of his *coloni*, see Savigny in the Philological Museum, ii. 129-131. Cambridge, 1833.

^d Lau, 105-6.

^e One of his epistles (ii. 32), addressed to an agent in Sicily, has been often quoted as showing both Gregory's humour and the humbleness of his establishment: "You have sent us," he writes, "one wretched horse and five

good asses. I cannot ride the horse, because he is wretched; nor the good beasts, because they are asses."

^f Joh. Diac. ii. 11-2; Lau, 58.

^g Lau, 303.

^h See vol. iv. of his works; also Palmer's *Origines*, i. 111, seqq.; Guéranger, i. 162, seqq.; Lau, 244-299.

ⁱ Maimbourg, in Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.*, note O; Lau, 258.

^k Joh. Diac. ii. 5-6. This writer's account of the manner in which the "Germans or Gauls" performed the Gregorian chant (ii. 7) is too curious to

on account of their vocal powers had been ordained deacons had become scandalous ; Gregory, with a council, attempted to remedy the evil, not by requiring a greater strictness of behaviour in the singers, but by enacting that the chanting should be performed by subdeacons, or clerks of the inferior orders.^m He laboured diligently as a preacher, and it was believed that in the composition of his discourses he was aided by a special inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who appeared in the form of a dove whiter than snow.ⁿ When Rome was threatened in 595 by the Lombards under Agilulf, the pope expounded Ezekiel from the pulpit, until at length the pressure of distress obliged him to desist, as he found that in such circumstances his mind was too much distracted to penetrate into the mysteries of the prophetic book.^o "Let no one blame me," he says in the last homily of the series, "if after this discourse I cease, since, as you all see, our tribulations are multiplied : on every side we are surrounded with swords, on every side we fear the imminent peril of death. Some come back to us maimed of their hands, others are reported to be prisoners or slain. I am forced to withhold my tongue from exposition, for that my soul is weary of my life."^p In his last years, when compelled by sickness to withdraw from preaching in person, he dictated sermons which were delivered by others.^q

The wealth of his see enabled the pope to exercise extensive charities, which were administered according to a regular scheme. On the first day of every month he distributed large quantities of provisions, and many members of the nobility were so reduced by the calamities of the age that they were glad to share in his bounty. Every day he sent alms to a number of needy persons, in all quarters of the city. When a poor man had been found dead in the street, Gregory abstained for some time from the celebration of the eucharist, as considering himself to be the cause of his death. He was in the habit of sending dishes from his own table to persons whom he knew to be in want, but ashamed to ask relief. He entertained strangers and wanderers as his guests ; and his biographers tell us that on one occasion he was rewarded by a vision, in which he was

be omitted here, although it has been partly quoted by Gibbon : "*Alpina siquidem corpora, vocum suarum tonitruis altissime perstreptentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant, quia bibuli gutturi barbara feritas, dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore, quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia,*

rigidas voces jactat, sicque audientium animos, quos mulcere debuerat, exasperando magis ac obstrependo conturbat."

^m Hard. iii. 496.

ⁿ Paul. 28 ; Joh. Diac. iv. 70.

^o Hom. in Ezech., præf. ad. lib. ii.

^p II. x. 24.

^q Joh. Diac. iv. 74.

informed that among the objects of his hospitality had been his guardian angel. At another time, it is related, the Saviour appeared to him by night, and said to him, "On other days thou hast relieved Me in my members, but yesterday in Myself."^r

Gregory found himself obliged to take an active part in political affairs. He desired peace, not only for its own sake, but as necessary for the reform and extension of the Church.^s He laboured for it notwithstanding many discouragements, and notwithstanding repeated disappointments by the breach of truces which had been concluded. He took it upon himself to negotiate with the Lombards; and, although slighted and ridiculed by the court of Constantinople for his endeavours, he found his recompense in their success, and in the gratitude of the people whom he had rescued from the miseries of war.^t

The property of the Roman see, which had come to be designated as the "patrimony of St. Peter," included estates not only in Italy and the adjacent islands, but in Gaul, Illyria, Dalmatia, Africa, and even in Asia.^u These estates were managed by commissioners chosen from the orders of deacons and subdeacons, or by laymen who had the title of *Defensores*. By agents of this class Gregory carried on much of the administration of his own patriarchate and of his communications with other churches; and, in addition to these, he was represented by *vicars*—bishops on whom, either for the eminence of their sees or for their personal merits, he bestowed certain prerogatives and jurisdiction, of which the *pall* was the distinctive badge.^v His more especial care was limited to the "suburbicarian" provinces, and beyond these he did not venture to interfere in the internal concerns of churches.^w In Gaul and in Spain he had vicars: his influence over the churches of these countries was undefined as to extent, and was chiefly exercised in the shape of exhortations to their sovereigns; but he succeeded in establishing by this means a closer connexion with the Frankish kingdom than that which had before existed; and by thus strengthening his interest in the West, he provided for his church a support independent of the power of Constantinople.^x

^r Joh. Diac. ii. 22-30; Lau, 303.

^s Lau, 54.

^t Sammarth. ii. 2; iv. 1; Gibbon, iv. 274; Lau, 63-6, 138-142.

^u Baron. 591. 30; Giannone, l. IV. xi. 1; Lau, 50.

^v See Epp. iii. 56-7; v. 11, 15, 53; vi. 34, 62, &c. The emperor's consent was necessary before the pall could be conferred on any bishops who were not

his subjects. (Vigil. Ep. 6, in Patrol. lxi. x.; Greg. Ep. ix. 11; Giesel. I. ii. 416. Lau, 95.) On its form see n. on Ep. i. 28; De Marca, l. vi. c. 6; Lau, 54. There is an essay by Garnier on the pall. Dissert. iii. in Lib. Diurn. (Patrol. cv.).

^w Fleury, xxxv. 19; Dupin, v. 103.

^x Lau, 89, 179; Neand. v. 162; Rettberg, ii. 583.

By the aid of Gennadius, governor of Africa, the pope acquired a degree of authority before unknown over the Church of that country.^a In his dealings with the bishops of the west, he upheld the authority of St. Peter's chair as the source of all ecclesiastical privileges—the centre of jurisdiction, to which all spiritual causes ought to be referred as the highest tribunal.^b His agents, although belonging to the lower grades of the ministry, were virtually the chief ecclesiastical authorities within their spheres; we find that subdeacons are in this character empowered not only to admonish individual bishops, but even to convoke those of a whole province, to administer the papal rebuke to them, and to report them to the apostolical chair in case of neglect.^c When, however, the agents exceeded their general authority, and allowed causes to be carried before them without reference to the diocesan, Gregory admonished them to respect the rights of the episcopate.^d With this lofty conception of the authority of his see, it would appear that he was unfeignedly free from personal pride and assumption; but he must be reckoned among those of the popes who have most effectively contributed to the extension of the papal dominion.

Gregory always treated the eastern patriarchs as independent. He spoke of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals—as being, like himself, successors of St. Peter, and sharers with him in the one chair of the same founder;^e and, although he was involved in serious differences with the bishops of the eastern capital, these differences did not arise from any claim on the Roman side, but from a supposed assumption on the part of Constantinople.^f John, styled for his ascetic life “the Faster,” was raised to the patriarchate in 585, after having struggled to escape the elevation with an appearance of resolute humility, which Gregory at the time admired, although he afterwards came to regard it as the mask of pride.^g In 587 a great synod of eastern bishops and senators was held at Constantinople for the trial of certain charges against Gregory, patriarch of Antioch.^h Over this assembly John

^a Lau, 103-4, 209.

^b Neand. v. 156; Lau, 53, 96-100.

^c Epp. xiii. 26-7; Lau, 112.

^d Ep. xi. 37.

^e Epp. vi. 60; vii. 40.

^f In one of his epistles (ix. 12), when meeting a charge of having adopted some ritual novelties from Constantinople, he asks: “As for the Constantinopolitan Church, who can doubt that it is *subjecta* to the Apostolic See, as both the most pious emperor and our brother the bishop of that city con-

stantly allow?” Perhaps *subjecta* may mean *inferior*; for the whole course of Gregory's dealings with Constantinople is against the idea of his having regarded the patriarch as *subject* to him.

^g Epp. v. 18, 44.

^h Gregory was acquitted. The historian Evagrius, who was a lawyer of Antioch, and attended him as his counsel, gives a very high character of him. (v. 6; vi. 7.) On the other side, see the monophysite John of Ephesus, 213, 225.

presided, in virtue of the position assigned to his see by the second and fourth General Councils; and in the acts he assumed, like some of his predecessors,¹ the title of "Ecumenical (which the Latins rendered by *Universal*) Bishop." The meaning of this term, in Byzantine usage, was indefinite; there was certainly no intention of claiming by it a jurisdiction over the whole Church;² but Pelagius II., viewing with jealousy the power of Constantinople, and apprehensive of the additional importance which its bishops might derive from the presidency of a council assembled for so important a purpose, laid hold on the title as a pretext for disallowing the acts of the assembly, although these had been confirmed by the emperor, and forbade his envoy to communicate with John.³

Gregory, on succeeding Pelagius, took up the question with much earnestness. After repeated, but ineffectual, remonstrances through his apocrisiary,⁴ he wrote to the patriarch himself, to the emperor Maurice, and to the empress. To Maurice he urged that the title assumed by the patriarch interfered with the honour of the sovereign.⁵ He declared that John was drawn by his flatterers into the use of the "proud and foolish" word; that the assumption was an imitation of the devil, who exalted himself above his brother angels; that it was unlike the conduct of St. Peter, who, although the first of the apostles, was but a member of the same class with the rest; that bishops ought to learn from the calamities of the time to employ themselves better than in claiming lofty designations; that, appearing now when the end of the world was at hand, the claim was a token of Antichrist's approach. The council of Chalcedon, he said, had indeed given the title to the bishops of Rome;⁶ but these had never adopted it, lest they should seem to deny the pontificate to others.⁷ Gregory also wrote to Eulogius of Alexandria, and to Anastasius of Antioch, endeavouring to enlist them in his cause.⁸ To allow the title to John, he said, would be to derogate from their own rights, and an

¹ See vol. i. p. 546.

² Thomassin de Benef. I. i. 11-16; Dupin, v. 25. See Robins, 199-201. Compare the preface to the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa, by Anastasius the librarian (Hard. iv. 20). "Cum apud Cpolim positus frequenter Græcos super hoc vocabulo reprehenderem, et fastus vel arrogantiam redarguerem, asserebant, quod non ideo *œcumenicum*, quem multi *universalem* interpretati sunt, dicerent patriarcham, quod universi orbis teneat præsulatum; sed quod cui-dam parti præsit orbis quæ a Christianis

inhabatur. Nam quod Græci *œcumenem* vocant, a Latinis non solum *orbis*, a cujus universitate *universalis* appellatur, verum etiam *habitatio* seu *locus habitabilis* nuncupatur."

³ Greg. Epp. v. 18, 44; Joh. Diac. iv. 51.

⁴ Lau, 149.

⁵ Ep. v. 20.

⁶ That this was a mistake, see vol. i. p. 546.

⁷ Epp. v. 18, 20, 21; vi. 33.

⁸ Epp. v. 43; vi. 60; vii. 27; ix. 78.

injury to their whole order. "Ecumenical bishop" must mean sole bishop; if, therefore, the ecumenical bishop should err, the whole Church would fail; and for a patriarch of Constantinople to assume the proud and superstitious name, which was an invention of the first apostate, was alarming, since among the occupants of that see there had been not only heretics, but heresiarchs. These applications were of little effect, for both the Egyptian and the Syrian patriarchs had special reasons to deprecate a rupture of the Church's peace, and to avoid any step which might provoke the emperor.^a Anastasius had been expelled from his see by the younger Justin, and had not recovered it until after an exclusion of thirteen years (A.D. 582-595), when he was restored on the death of Gregory;^b Eulogius was struggling with the difficulties of the Monophysite schism: while to both of them, as orientals, the title of ecumenical appeared neither a novelty nor so objectionable as the Roman bishop considered it. Eulogius, however, reported that he had ceased to use it in writing to John, as Gregory had directed (*sicut iussistis*), and in his letter he addressed the bishop of Rome himself as "universal pope." "I beg," replied Gregory, "that you would not speak of *directing*, since I know who I am, and who you are. In dignity you are my brother; in character, my father. . . . I pray your most sweet holiness to address me no more with the proud appellation of 'universal pope,' since that which is given to another beyond what reason requires is subtracted from yourself. If you style me universal pope, you deny that you are at all that which you own me to be universally. Away with words which puff up vanity and wound charity!"^c

John of Constantinople died in 595, leaving no other property than a small wooden bedstead, a shabby woollen coverlet, and a ragged cloak,—relics which were removed to the imperial palace in reverence of the patriarch's sanctity.^d His successor, Cyriac, continued to use the obnoxious title; but Gregory persevered in

^a Lau, 158.

^b Evagr. v. 5.

^c Ep. viii. 30. Baronius, after quoting some very insufficient cases of Gregory's interference in countries beyond his own patriarchate, exclaims—"Sic vidēs Gregorium, cum refugit dici universalis, universalis tamen ecclesiæ curam subire!" (595. 34-5; cf. 50.) The Benedictine biographer (III. i. 16-7) says that Gregory objected to the title of *ecumenical* only as meaning *sole* bishop, and not in the sense in which later popes have used it. The truth is, however, that he objected to it in the later Roman sense rather than in that which the

patriarchs of Constantinople intended. (See Dupin, v. 110; Laud against Fisher, p. 198, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.) Schröckh (xvii. 69-72) is unfair to Gregory in this as in other points. Gregory, in tacit reproof of John, styled himself "servant of God's servants;" but this title was not (as has sometimes been said) invented by him. It was as old as St. Augustine's time, was used by other bishops, and even by kings, and did not become peculiar to the popes of Rome until the eleventh century. Ducange, s. vv. *Servus servorum Dei*; Schröckh, xvii. 78-9; Giesel. I. ii. 414.

^d Theoph. Simocatta, vii. 6.

his remonstrances against it, and, although he accepted the announcement of Cyriac's promotion, forbade his envoys at Constantinople to communicate with the new patriarch so long as the style of Ecumenical Bishop should be retained.⁷

During his residence at Constantinople, Gregory had been on terms of great intimacy with Maurice, who at that time was in a private station. But since the elevation of the one to the empire, and of the other to St. Peter's chair, many causes of disagreement had arisen. Maurice favoured John personally; he represented the question of the patriarch's title as trifling, and was deaf to Gregory's appeals on the subject.⁸ He often espoused the cause of bishops or others whom Gregory wished to censure, and reminded him that the troubles of the time made it inexpedient to insist on the rigour of discipline.⁹ By forbidding persons in public employment to become monks, and requiring that soldiers should not embrace the monastic life until after the expiration of

A.D. 593.

their term of service, he provoked the pope to tell him that this measure might cost him his salvation, although, in fulfilment of his duty as a subject, Gregory transmitted the law to other bishops.¹⁰ Moreover there were differences arising out of Gregory's political conduct, which the exarchs and other imperial officers had represented to their master in an unfavourable light.¹¹ Thus the friendship of former days had been succeeded by alienation, when in 602 a revolution took place at Constantinople. The discontent of Maurice's subjects, which had been growing for years, was swelled into revolt by the belief that, for reasons of disgraceful parsimony, he had allowed twelve thousand captive soldiers to be butchered by the Avars when it was in his power to ransom them.¹² The emperor was deposed, and the crown was bestowed on a centurion, named Phocas, who soon after caused Maurice and his children to be put to death with revolting cruelties, which the victims

⁷ Epp. vii. 4, 31.

⁸ Schröckh, xvii. 343; Lau, 106.

⁹ Baron. 590. 43.

¹⁰ Ep. iii. 65. Ste. Marthe remarks that the law was needed against those who in that age were ready to take refuge in cloisters when the state required their administrative or military services, and justifies the regulation as to soldiers by the analogy of similar canons as to slaves—soldiers being bound as truly as slaves for the term of their engagement (II. x. 3). As to the subsequent alteration of the law, see Lau, 109. Comp. De Marca, II.

xi. 8-9.

¹¹ See Ep. v. 40, to Maurice, A.D. 594.

¹² Theoph. Simocatta, viii. 6-7. Maurice had already been unpopular on account of the severe economy which he practised in order to remedy the profusion of his predecessor Tiberius—more especially as this general economy contrasted offensively with his excessive liberality towards his own relations. (Joh. Ephes. 357-363.) Mr. Finlay (i. 369-370) supposes that he wished to punish the troops for their late mutinous conduct, and that he did not expect the Avars to put them to death.

bore with extraordinary firmness and with devout resignation.^e The behaviour of Gregory on this occasion has exposed him to censures from which his apologists have in vain endeavoured to clear him. Blinded by his zeal for the Church, and by his dislike of the late emperor's policy, he hailed with exultation the success of an usurper whom all agree in representing as a monster of vice and barbarity;^f he received with honour the pictures of Phocas and his wife, placed them in the chapel of a palace, and addressed the

new emperor and empress in letters of warm congratulation.^g Encouraged by the change of rulers, he now wrote again to Cyriac, exhorting him to abandon the title which had occasioned so much contention.^h Phocas found it convenient to favour the Roman side, and for a time the word was given up or forbidden.ⁱ But the next emperor, Heraclius, again used it in addressing the bishops of Constantinople; their use of it was sanctioned by the sixth and seventh general councils; and it has been retained to the present day.^k

Gregory was zealous in his endeavours to extend the knowledge of the Gospel, and to bring over separatists to the Church. He

^e Theophanes, 439-443; Simocatta, viii. 8-11; Joh. Diac. iv. 17-18; Gibbon, iv. 296.

^f Baron. 603, 9; Maimbourg, in Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.* n. H.; Gibbon, iv. 299-300.

^g Epp. xiii. 31, 39; Baron. 603, 2; Lau, 232-3. For censures on his conduct, see Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.*; Mosheim, ii. 19; Gibbon, iv. 299; Milman, i. 460-3. John the Deacon (iv. 23), Baronius (603, 7), the Benedictines (*Vita*, IV. vii. 4-5; n. in Ep. xiii. 31), and others suggest that Gregory meant to indicate to Phocas what his conduct ought to be; that he did not suspect his hypocrisy or foresee his misconduct, &c. Dom Pitra goes to the liad for a justification—"S'il descend à la louange officielle envers l'assassin de Maurice, *souvenons-nous de Priam aux pieds d'Achille*." (*Hist. de S. Léger*, p. xxxiii.) M. Rohrbacher settles the question more boldly, and to his own perfect satisfaction. After quoting Gregory's letter to Phocas, "C'est ainsi," says the Abbé, "que le chef de l'Eglise universelle, le chef de l'univers Chrétien, juge l'empereur qui n'est plus, et admoneste celui qui le remplace!" (ix. 513.) M. de Montalembert, however, notwithstanding his general admiration of Gregory, is strongly against him in this case

(ii. 120-3). Gregory's frequent compliments to the Frankish queen Brunichild afford grounds for the same sort of charges with his letter to Phocas. The Benedictines and other Romanists argue that either Brunichild was not what she is said to have been, and that the crimes of Fredegund have been ascribed to her; or that her misdeeds must have been after Gregory's death; or that Gregory knew of her good actions from herself and had no means of knowing her evil deeds. (*Vita*, III. iii. 6; n. in Ep. vi. 5; Mariana, ii. 108; Montalembert, ii. 437-8.) Neander in both cases excuses him, on the ground that he could not get correct information from distant countries, but allows that he went too far in his civilities to Phocas. (v. 156.) Lau gives up the defence (192-3, 233-4). Mr. Hallam (*Suppl. Notes*, 15) and Dr. Perry (190-5) incline to think that Brunichild's infamy is partly undeserved.

^h Ep. xiii. 40.

ⁱ It has been said that Phocas afterwards granted the title to Gregory's successors, but see Schröckh, xvii. 73; Planck, i. 655.

^k Sammarth. iii. 1; Giesel. I. ii. 414. See for the later history of the title, Schröckh, xvii. 73-8.

laboured, and with considerable, although not complete success, to put an end to the schism of Aquileia and Istria, which had arisen out of the controversy as to the "Three Articles" and the Fifth General Council.^m In order to this purpose, he was willing to abstain from insisting on the reception of that council: the first four councils, he said, were to be acknowledged like the four Gospels; "that which by some was called the Fifth" did not impugn the Council of Chalcedon, but it related to personal matters only, and did not stand on the same footing with the others.ⁿ By means of this view he was able to establish a reconciliation between Constantius, bishop of Milan, an adherent of the Council, and Theodelinda, queen of the Lombards, although the queen persisted in refusing to condemn the "Three Articles."^o The influence of this princess was of great advantage to the pope, both in religious and in political affairs. According to the usual belief, she was daughter of the prince of the Bavarians, and had been trained in the Catholic faith. It is said that on the death of her husband, the Lombard king Authari, her people desired her to choose another, and promised to accept him for their sovereign; and her choice fell on Agilulf, duke of Turin, who, out of gratitude for his elevation, was disposed to show favour to her religion, and to listen to her mediation in behalf of the Romans.^p The statement of some writers,^q that Agilulf himself became a Catholic, appears to be erroneous; but his son was baptised into the Church, and in the middle of the seventh century Arianism was extinct among the Lombards.^r

Towards those who were not members of the Church Gregory was in general tolerant. That he urged the execution of the laws against the Donatists is an exception which the fanatical violence of the sect may serve to explain, if not even to justify.^s He protected the Jews in the exercise of their religion,^t and disapproved of the forcible measures by which some princes of Gaul and Spain had attempted to drive them to a profession of Christianity.^u

^m Epp. ix. 9; xii. 33, &c.; Joh. Diac. i. 47-50; Lau, 67-71, 143-8.

ⁿ Epp. iii. 16; Lau, 2-4, 38-9.

^o Baron. 593. 31-9; 594. 1, seqq. Sammarth. II. xii. 1-3.

^p Paul. Warnefr. De Gestis Langob. iii. 29, 34; iv. 6, 8 (Patrol. xcvi.); Pagi, x. 506; Lau, 46, 61. Rettberg thinks the story fabulous, because Fredegar (c. 34) makes her a Frankish princess, and names no other husband than "Ago," i. e. Agilulf. (ii. 180.)

For the famous "iron crown" of Agilulf, see the Patrol. xcvi. 551-6, and Ducange, s. vv. *Corona Ferrea*.

^q Paul. de Gestis Langob. iv. 6. See Muratori, Annali, A.D. 599.

^r Schröckh, xviii. 131.

^s Ep. iv. 34, &c.; Baron. 591. 32-7; 592. 3-4; Lau, 72.

^t Ep. vi. 23; Schröckh, xvii. 320-3; Lau, 142.

^u Epp. i. 47; iii. 53. Such compulsory conversions are often mentioned in

When a bishop of Palermo had seized and consecrated a synagogue, Gregory ordered that as, after consecration, it could not be alienated from the Church, the bishop should pay the value of it to the Jews.^a On another occasion, when a convert from Judaism, having been baptized on Easter eve, had signalized his zeal by invading the synagogue of Cagliari on the following day, and placing in it his baptismal robe, with a cross and a picture of the blessed Virgin, he was censured for the proceeding, and it was ordered that the building should be restored to the rightful owners.⁷ Sometimes, however, Gregory endeavoured to expedite the conversion of Jews by holding out allowances of money or diminution of rent as inducements, and by increasing the rent of those who were obstinate in their misbelief;⁸ and, although he expressed a consciousness that conversion produced by such means might be hypocritical, he justified them by the consideration that the children of the converts would enjoy Christian training; and might thus become sincere professors of the Gospel.^a

Gregory endeavoured to root out the remains of Paganism which still existed in some parts of Italy, and in the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. He wrote in reproof of landowners—some of them even bishops—who allowed their peasants to continue in heathenism, and of official persons who suffered themselves to be bribed into conniving at it.^b Sometimes he recommended lenity as the best means of converting the pagan rustics; sometimes the imposition of taxes, or even personal chastisement.^c

But the most memorable of Gregory's attempts for the conversion of the heathen had our own island for its scene. It is probable that many of the Britons who had become slaves to the northern invaders retained some sort of Christianity;^d but the visible appearance of a church no longer existed among them; the last bishops within the Saxon territory are said to have withdrawn from London and York into Wales about the year 587.^e The zeal of controversy has largely affected the representations given by many writers of the subject at which we have now arrived. Those in the Roman

the records of the time. The IVth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633) enacted that Jews should not be "saved against their will," but that those who had been compelled to profess Christianity in the reign of the late king Sisebut, should still be obliged to adhere to their profession. (C. 57. Cf. *Ibid.* *Hispal. Hist. Goth.* 60, in *Patrol.* lxxxiii.) Children of Jews are to be separated from their parents, and to be Christianly trained

in monasteries or elsewhere. C. 60.

^a Ep. ix. 55.

⁷ Ep. ix. 6.

⁸ E. g. Epp. iv. 32; v. 8.

^a Ep. v. 8.

^b Epp. iv. 23-6; v. 41; vi. 1, 18; Lau, 102.

^c Ep. iv. 26; ix. 65; Lau, 242-3.

^d Lingard, H. E. i. 89; Lappenberg, i. 63, 133.

^e Collier i. 144.

interest have made it their object to narrow as much as possible the extent of the British Christianity, to disparage its character, and to reflect on the British clergy for their supineness and uncharitableness in neglecting to impart the knowledge of salvation to their Saxon neighbours. And, while some Anglican writers have caught this tone, without sufficiently considering what abatements may fairly be made from the declamations of Gildas and from the statements of ancient authors unfriendly to the Britons; or whether, in the fierce struggles of war, and in the state of bondage which followed, it would have been even possible for these to attempt the conversion of their conquerors and oppressors—other Protestants have committed the opposite injustice of decrying the motives and putting the worst construction on the actions of those who were instrumental in the conversion which proceeded from Rome.^f

It will be enough to allude to the familiar story of the incident which is said to have first directed Gregory's mind towards the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—the sight of the fair-haired captives in the slave-market, and the succession of fanciful plays on words by which he declared that these *Angles* of *angelic* beauty, subjects of *Aella*, king of *Deira*, must be called from the *ire* of God, and taught to sing *Alleluiah*.^g The date of this is placed by some in the early days of his monastic life;^h by others, after his return from Constantinople.ⁱ He resolved to undertake a mission to Britain, and the pope (whether Benedict or Pelagius) sanctioned the enterprise; but the people of Rome, who were warmly attached to Gregory, made such demonstrations that he was obliged to abandon it.^k Although, however, he was thus prevented from executing the work in person, he kept it in view until, after his elevation to the papal chair, he was able to commit it to the agency of others.

Ethelbert had succeeded to the kingdom of Kent in 568, and in 593 had attained the dignity of Bretwalda, which gave him an influence over the whole of England south of the Humber.^l About 570, as is supposed, he had married a Christian princess, Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, and the saintly Ingoberga. As a condition of this marriage, the free exercise of her religion was secured for the queen, and a French bishop, named Luidhard, accompanied her to

^f See Schröckh, xvi. 268; Neander, v. 15; Lappenb. i. 136.

^g Beda, ii. 1; Paul. 17. Mr. Soames disbelieves the story. Ang. Sax. Ch. 32-3; Latin Ch. 13-4.

^h Joh. Diac. i. 22; Fleury, xxxiv. 35.

ⁱ Lau, 36.

^k Paul. 19-21.

^l Beda, i. 25; ii. 5; Turner, Hist. Anglo-Sax. i. 328, 338; Lingard, H. E. i. 88; Lappenberg, i. 127-8.

the Kentish court.^m It is probable that Bertha, in the course of her long union with Ethelbert, had made some attempts, at least indirectly, to influence him in favour of the Gospel; perhaps, too, it may have been from her that Gregory received representations which led him to suppose that many of the Anglo-Saxons were desirous of Christian instruction, and that the Britons refused to bestow it on them.ⁿ In 596, during an interval of peace with the Lombards,^o the pope despatched Augustine, provost of his own monastery, with a party of monks, to preach the Gospel in England; and about the same time he desired Candidus, defensor of the papal estates in Gaul, to buy up English captive youths, and to place them in monasteries, with a view to training them for the conversion of their countrymen.^p But the missionaries, while in the South of France, took alarm at the thought of the dangers which they were likely to incur among a barbarous and unbelieving people whose language was utterly unknown to them, and their chief returned to Rome, with a prayer that they might be allowed to relinquish the enterprise. Gregory refused his consent; he encouraged them to go on, and furnished them with letters to various princes and bishops of Gaul, whom he requested to support them by their influence,^q and to supply them with interpreters. In 597 Augustine, with about forty companions, landed in the Isle of Thanet. Ethelbert, on being apprised of their arrival, went to meet them; and at an interview, which was held in the open air, because he feared lest they might practise some magical arts if he ventured himself under a roof with them, he listened to their announcement of the message of salvation.^r The king professed himself unable at once to abandon the belief of his fathers for the new doctrines, but gave the missionaries leave to take up their abode in his capital, Durovernum, or Canterbury, and to preach freely among his subjects. They entered the city in procession, chanting litanies and displaying a silver cross with a picture of the Saviour. On a rising ground without the walls they found a church of the Roman-British period, dedicated to St. Martin, in which Luidhard had lately celebrated his

^m Beda, i. 25; Inett, i. 7. As to Bertha's mother, see the Rev. R. C. Jenkins, in 'Archæologia Cantiana,' iii. 20-1.

ⁿ See Epp. vi. 58; xi. 29; Inett, i. 8-10; Schröckh, xvi. 269; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 23.

^o Lau, 139.

^p Ep. vi. 7. The commission to Candidus is placed by many writers (as Thierry, i. 49, and Lau, 213) some considerable time before the mission of

Augustine. But it appears from Ep. vi. 57, that Augustine and Candidus went into Gaul together. Lingard, A. S. C. i. 21.

^q Ep. vi. 51-4, 57-9; Beda, i. 23. In his letter to Theodoric and Theodebert (vi. 58) he seems to speak as if he supposed the Saxons to be their subjects—probably by way of compliment. See Lappenb. i. 118; Thierry, i. 51.

^r Beda, i. 25.

worship;* and to this day the spot on which it stood, overlooking the valley of the Stour, is occupied by a little church, which, after many architectural changes, exhibits a large proportion of ancient Roman materials. There Augustine and his brethren worshipped; and by the spectacle of their devout and self-denying lives, and of the miracles which are said to have accompanied their preaching,¹ many converts were drawn to them. Ethelbert himself was baptized on Whitsunday, 597; he declared his wish that his subjects should embrace the Gospel, but professed himself resolved to put no constraint on their opinions.²

Gregory had intended that Augustine, if he succeeded in making an opening among the Saxons, should receive episcopal consecration.³ For this purpose the missionary now repaired to Arles;⁴ and from that city he sent some of his companions to Rome with a report of his successes. The pope's answer contains advice which may be understood as hinting at some known defects of Augustine's character, or as suggested by the tone of his report. He exhorts him not to be elated by his success or by the miracles which he had been enabled to perform; he must reckon that these were granted not for his own sake, but for that of the people to whom he was sent.⁵ Having accomplished the object of his journey into Gaul, Augustine returned to England by Christmas, 597; and Gregory was able to announce to Eulogius of Alexandria that at that festival the missionaries had baptized ten thousand persons in one day.⁶

In the summer of 601 the pope despatched a reinforcement to the English mission. The new auxiliaries—among whom were Mellitus and Justus, successively archbishops of Canterbury, and Paulinus, afterwards the apostle of Northumbria—carried with them a large supply of books, including the Gospels, with church plate, vestments, relics said to be of apostles and martyrs, and the pall which was to invest Augustine with the dignity of a metropolitan.⁷ Gregory had written to Ethelbert, exhorting him to destroy the heathen temples in his dominions;⁸ but, on further consideration, he took a different view of the matter, and sent after Mellitus a letter for the guidance of Augustine, desiring him not

* That Luidhard was then dead, see Pagi, x. 619.

¹ See Martineau, 45, seqq.

² Beda, i. 26; Pagi, x. 620.

³ Beda, i. 23.

⁴ That his consecration was after his first success, not (as some have thought) on his way to Britain—see Pagi, x. 619;

Inett, i. 20; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 64, 368.

⁵ Ep. xi. 28; Beda i. 31. (See Smith in Patrol. xcv. 316.)

⁶ Ep. viii. 30; Beda, i. 27.

⁷ Beda, i. 29; Epp. xi. 58-63, 66, &c.

⁸ Ep. xi. 66.

to destroy the temples, but, if they were well built, to purify them with holy water, and convert them to the worship of the true God ; thus, it was hoped, the people might be the more readily attracted to the new religion, if its rites were celebrated in places where they had been accustomed to worship. By a more questionable accommodation of the same sort—for which, however, the authority of Scripture was alleged—it was directed that, instead of the heathen sacrifices and of the banquets which followed them, the festivals of the saints whose relics were deposited in any church should be celebrated by making booths of boughs, slaying animals, and feasting on them with religious thankfulness.^d

About the same time Gregory returned an elaborate set of answers to some questions which Augustine had proposed as to difficulties which had occurred or might be expected to occur to him.^e As to the division of ecclesiastical funds, he states the Roman principle—that a fourth part should be assigned to the bishop and his household for purposes of hospitality ; a fourth to the clergy ; another to the poor ; and the remaining quarter to the maintenance of churches. But he says that Augustine, as having been trained in the monastic rule, is to live in the society of his clergy ; and that it is needless to lay down any precise regulations as to the duties of hospitality and charity where all things are held in common, and all that can be spared is to be devoted to pious and religious uses. Such of the clerks not in holy orders^f as might wish to marry might be permitted to do so, and a maintenance was to be allowed them. In reply to a question whether a variety of religious usages were allowable where the faith was the same—a question probably suggested by the circumstance of Luidhard's having officiated at Canterbury according to the Gallican rite,^g—the pope's answer was in a spirit no less unlike to that of his predecessors, Innocent and Leo, than to that of the prevalent party in the Latin Church of our own day. He desired Augustine to select from the usages of any churches such “right, religious, and pious” things as might seem suitable for the new church

^d Ep. xi. 76 ; Beda, i. 30. See Inett, i. 23-5 ; Lau, 225 ; Martineau, 53 ; Ozanam, 159.

^e Ep. xi. 64 ; Beda, i. 27.

^f “Clerici extra sacros ordines constituti.” Mr. Kemble (ii. 414) seems to suppose that by “sacros ordines” orders of monks are meant ; but the “holy orders” were those from the diaconate upwards, as is explained with reference to Gregory's letter in the

Excerptions of Egbert (No. 160, in Wilkins, i. 112, or Thorpe, 34). The subdiaconate began to be included among the holy orders about the twelfth century. (Martene, ii. 2 ; Walter, 435 ; Augusti, xi. 224.) Belet, in the end of that century, speaks of it as sometimes reckoned with the holy orders, and sometimes not. Rationale, 72 (Patrol. ccii.).

^g Johnson's Canons, i. 68.

of the English; "for," it was said, "we must not love things on account of places, but places on account of good things."^h With respect to the degrees within which marriage was to be forbidden, Gregory, while laying down a law for the baptized, under pain of exclusion from the holy Eucharist, did not insist on the separation of those who from ignorance had contracted marriages contrary to it: "for," he said, "the Church in this time corrects some sins out of zeal, bears with some out of lenity, connives at some out of consideration, and so bears and connives as by this means often to restrain the evil which she opposes." In answer to another inquiry, Augustine was told that he must not interfere with the bishops of Gaul beyond gently hinting to them such things as might seem to require amendment; "but," it was added, "we commit to your brotherhood the care of all the British bishops, that the ignorant may be instructed, the weak may be strengthened by your counsel, the perverse may be corrected by your authority."

It was Gregory's design that Augustine should make London his metropolitical see, and should have twelve bishops under him; that another metropolitan, with a like number of suffragans, should, when circumstances permitted, be established at York; and that, after the death of Augustine, the archbishops of London and York should take precedence according to the date of their consecration. But this scheme, arranged in ignorance of the political divisions which had been introduced into Britain since the withdrawal of the Romans, was never carried out. Augustine fixed himself in the Kentish capital, as London was in another kingdom; and his successors in the see of Canterbury have, although not without disputes during one period, continued to be primates of all England.ⁱ

The bishops of the ancient British Church were not disposed to acknowledge the jurisdiction which Gregory had professed to confer on his emissary. In 603, Augustine, through the influence of Ethelbert, obtained a conference with some of them at a place which from him was called Augustine's Oak—probably Aust Clive, on the Severn.^k He exhorted them to adopt the Roman usages as to certain points in which the churches differed, and proposed an appeal to the Divine judgment by way of deciding between the

^h I have combined the reading of Beda, *bonis*, with that of Gregory's epistles, *nobis*.

ⁱ Beda, i. 29; Johnson, i. 74; Kemble, ii. 359. See the letter of Archbishop Ralph to Calixtus II., A.D. 1121; Wil-

kins, i. 398; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pont. iii. 7; Stubbs, Chron. Pontif. Eborac. ap. Twysd. 1686.

^k Stevenson, Note on Bed. ii. 2. Others place it in Worcestershire. (Joyce, 'England's Sacred Synods,' 111.)

rival traditions. A blind Saxon was brought forward ; the Britons were unable to cure him ; but when Augustine prayed that the gift of bodily light to one might be the means of illuminating the minds of many, it is said that the man forthwith received his sight. The Britons, although compelled by this miracle to acknowledge the superiority of the Roman cause, said that they could not alter their customs without the consent of their countrymen ; and a second conference was appointed, at which seven British bishops appeared, with Dinoh, abbot of the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, in Flintshire. A hermit, whom they had consulted as to the manner in which they should act, had directed them to submit to Augustine if he were a man of God, and, on being asked how they should know this, had told them to observe whether Augustine rose up to greet them on their arrival at the place of meeting.^m As the archbishop omitted this courtesy, the Britons concluded that he was proud and domineering ; they refused to listen to his proposal that their other differences of observance should be borne with if they would comply with the Roman usages as to the time of keeping Easter, and as to the manner of administering baptism,ⁿ and would join with him in preaching to the English ; whereupon Augustine is said to have told them in anger that, if they would not have peace with their brethren, they would have war with their enemies, and suffer death at the hands of those to whom they refused to preach the way of life.^o In judging of this affair, we shall do well to guard against the partiality which has led many writers to cast the blame on the Romans or on the Britons exclusively. We may respect in the Britons their desire to adhere to old ways and to resist foreign assumption ; in the missionaries, their anxiety to establish unity in external matters with a view to the great object of spreading the Gospel : but the benefits which might have been expected were lost through the arrogant demeanour of the one party and the narrow and stubborn jealousy of the other.^p

^m See Collier, i. 177, against Barónius.

ⁿ " Ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ compleatis." Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. i. 69, 322) and Mr. Stevenson (Eng. Ch. Historians, i. 358) render *compleatis*, by "perfect," and suppose it to refer to confirmation, which at Rome was administered at the great festivals immediately after baptism. Archdeacon Churton (Early Eng. Ch. 44) and Mr. Martineau (56) understand it to relate to the question of one or three immer-

sions. The second view seems to me the more probable, although, if Augustine insisted on the Roman practice of trine immersion, it was contrary to the directions given by Gregory for Spain, where he approved the practice of the Catholics in baptizing by single immersion, because the Arians had used three as symbolising their doctrine of the inferiority of the Second and Third persons in the Godhead. Ep. i. 43.

^o Beda, ii. 2.

^p As nothing is said of any discussion about the Roman supremacy, Dr. Lin-

Augustine is supposed to have died soon after the conference.¹ Before his death he had consecrated Justus to the bishoprick of Rochester, and Mellitus to that of London, the capital of Saberc, nephew of Ethelbert, and king of Essex;² he had also consecrated Laurence as his own successor. The threat or prophecy which he had uttered at the meeting with the Britons was supposed to be fulfilled some years after, when Ethelfrid, the pagan king of Bernicia, invaded their territory. In a battle at Caerleon on the Dee, Ethelfrid saw a number of unarmed men, and, on inquiring, was told that they were monks of Bangor who had come to pray for the success of their countrymen. "Then," he cried, "although they have no weapons, they are fighting against us;" and he ordered them to be put to the sword. About twelve hundred, it is said, were slain, and only fifty escaped by flight.³

A.D. 613?

Amidst the pressure of his manifold occupations, and notwithstanding frequent attacks of sickness, Gregory found time for the composition of extensive works. The most voluminous of these, the 'Morals' on the book of Job, was undertaken at the suggestion of Leander, bishop of Seville, with whom he had made acquaintance at Constantinople, where the Spanish prelate was employed in soliciting the emperor to aid his convert Hermenegild.⁴ Gregory's qualifications for commenting on Scripture were not of any critical kind; he repeatedly states that he was ignorant even of Greek.⁵ The nature of his work is indicated by its title. From the circumstance that Job sometimes makes use of figurative language, he infers that in some passages the literal sense does not exist;⁶ and he applies himself chiefly to explaining the typical

gard (A. S. C. i. 67, 62, 380) infers that on that subject the Britons did not differ from the missionaries. But how could they have more effectually disowned any such supremacy than by their conduct? If, as Dr. Lingard supposes (68), the story has been embellished, the embellishment must have been in the Roman interest. A letter or speech, first published by Spelman, in which Dinoh is made to disavow the bishop of Rome (Patrol. lxx. 21), is, however, probably spurious. See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 71; Giesel. I. ii. 462; Collier, i. 179; Inett, i. 33; Martineau, 57.

¹ His death is placed by some in the same year, 603; by Baronius in 604; by others, in 605; by Pagi, in 607 (xi.

74). See Hussey, n. in Bed. ii. 3.

² Inett, i. 38.

³ Beda, ii. 2. The genuineness of the words, in which it is said that Augustine was dead long before this, has been questioned, but is now generally admitted (Soames, Ang. Sax. Ch. 46; Stevenson in loc.). Moreover, as Ethelfrid was a pagan, and beyond the limits of the Bretwalda's influence, it does not appear how Augustine could have instigated him against the Britons, if alive and desirous so to do.

⁴ Ep. ad Leandr. prefixed to the book; Mariana, iv. 124. See vol. i. p. 542.

⁵ Epp. vii. 32; xi. 74.

⁶ Ep. ad Leandr. c. 3.

and moral senses—often carrying to an extreme the characteristic faults of this kind of interpretation—strange wresting of the language of Scripture, and introduction of foreign matter under pretence of explaining what is written.⁷ He regards Job as a type of the Saviour; the patriarch's wife, of the carnally-minded; his friends, as representing heretics; their conviction, as signifying the reconciliation of the heretics to the Church. The 'Morals' were greatly admired. Marinian, bishop of Ravenna, caused them to be read in church; but Gregory desired that this might be given up, as the book, not being intended for popular use, might be, to some hearers, rather a hindrance than a means of spiritual advancement.⁸

The 'Pastoral Rule,' written in consequence of Gregory's having been censured by John, the predecessor of Marinian, for attempting to decline the episcopate, also contains some curious specimens of allegorical interpretation;⁹ but it is characterised by practical wisdom and by an experienced knowledge of the heart. It was translated into various languages; the Anglo-Saxon version was made by king Alfred, who sent a copy of it to every bishop in his kingdom for preservation in the cathedral church.¹⁰ In France, it was adopted as the rule of episcopal conduct by reforming synods under Charlemagne and his son;¹¹ and some synods ordered that it should be put into the hands of bishops at their consecration.¹²

In his 'Dialogues,' addressed to Theodelinda,¹³ Gregory discourses with a deacon named Peter on the miracles of Italian saints. The genuineness of the work has been questioned, chiefly on account of the anile legends with which it is filled.¹⁴ But the evidence of the authorship is generally admitted to be sufficient;¹⁵

⁷ See Milman, i. 407.

⁸ Ep. xii. 24.

⁹ Such as the commentary on the disqualifications for the priesthood in Levit. xxi. 18. The *nose*, it is said, signifies discretion. "Parvo autem naso est, qui ad tenendam mensuram discretionis idoneus non est. . . . Nasus enim grandis et tortus est discretionis subtilitas immoderata, quæ, dum plus quam decet excreverit, actionis suæ rectitudinem ipsa confundit" (i. 11).

¹⁰ Pauli, 'König Aelfred,' 236. Berlin, 1851.

¹¹ Conc. Mogunt. ap. Hard. iv. 1008; Conc. Rem. c. 10; Conc. Turon. c. 3; Conc. Cabilon. c. 1; (all A.D. 813.) Conc. Paris. A.D. 829, c. 4; Conc.

Aquisgr. A.D. 836, cap. ii. 4, &c.

¹² Hincmar, t. ii. p. 389; Dupin, v. 134-5; Lau, 315.

¹³ Paul. Warnefr. Hist. Langob. iv. 5 (Patrol. xcvi.). In this circumstance Dean Milman sees the best apology for the legends which Gregory has stamped with his authority. "They might be, if not highly coloured, selected with less scruple, to impress the Lombard queen with the wonder-working power of the Roman clergy, and of the orthodox monks and bishops of Italy," i. 427.

¹⁴ See, for example, the story as to Theodoric, vol. i. p. 520.

¹⁵ Dupin, v. 137-8; Schröckh, xvii. 322-5; Lau, 316-8; Bähr, ii. 448.

and it is to be noted to Gregory's praise that he repeatedly warns Peter against attaching too much value to the miracles which are related with such unhesitating credulity.^b In the fourth book, the state of the soul after death is discussed. Peter asks why it is that new revelations are now made on the subject, and is told that the time is one of twilight between the present world and that which is to come; and that, consequently, such revelations are now seasonable.^c The doctrine of Purgatory is here advanced more distinctly than in any earlier writing.^d The oriental idea of a purifying fire, through which souls must pass at the day of judgment, had been maintained by Origen;^e but at a later time the belief in a process of cleansing between death and judgment was deduced from St. Paul's words, that "the fire shall try every man's work," and that some shall be "saved as by fire;"^f and it was supposed that by such means every one who died in the orthodox faith, however faulty his life might have been, would eventually be brought to salvation. St. Augustine earnestly combated this error, and maintained that the probation of which the Apostle spoke consisted chiefly in the trials which are sent on men during the present life. He thought, however, that, for those who in the main had been servants of Christ, there might perhaps be a purging of their remaining imperfections after death;^g and, although he was careful to state this opinion as no more than a conjecture, his authority caused it to be soon more confidently held.^h Gregory lays it down that as every one departs hence, so is he presented in the judgment; yet that we must believe that for some slight transgressions there is a purgatorial fire before the judgment day.ⁱ In proof of this are alleged the words of our Lord in St. Matthew xii. 32, from which it is inferred, as it had already been inferred by Augustine,^j that some sins shall be forgiven "in the world to come;" and the doctrine is confirmed by tales of visions in which the spirits of persons suffering in purgatory had appeared, and had entreated that the eucharistic sacrifice might be offered in order to their relief.^k A work in which religious instruction was thus combined with the attractions of romantic fiction naturally became

^b See Neand. v. 202-3.

^c Dial. iv. 41.

^d Schröckh, xvii. 332-3; Lau, 508; Giesel. I. ii. 434-5; Hagenbach, i. 382.

^e See vol. i. p. 110.

^f 1 Cor. iii. 12-15.

^g De Question. Dulcitii, i. 13-14; Enchiridion, 68-9; De Civ. Dei, xxi.

26.

^h Giesel. vi. 418-9; Hagenbach, i. 382.

ⁱ Dial. iv. 39.

^j De Civ. Dei, xxi. xxiv. 2.

^k Against the legend of Gregory's having delivered the soul of the Emperor Trajan by his prayers (Joh. Diac. ii. 440), see Nat. Alex. t. v. Dissert. 1.

very popular. Pope Zacharias (A.D. 741-752) rendered it into his native Greek;[†] it was translated into Anglo-Saxon under Alfred's care,[‡] by Werfrith, bishop of Worcester;[§] and among the other translations was one into Arabic.[¶]

Gregory has been accused of having destroyed or mutilated the monuments of ancient Roman greatness in order that they might not distract the attention of pilgrims,^{*} and of having, from a like motive, burnt the Palatine library,[†] and endeavoured to exterminate the copies of Livy's History.[‡] These stories are now rejected as fictions invented during the middle ages with a view of doing honour to his zeal;[§] but it is unquestionable that he disliked and discouraged pagan literature. In the epistle prefixed to his 'Morals' he professes himself indifferent to style, and even to grammatical correctness, on the ground that the words of inspiration ought not to be tied down under the rules of Donatus.^b And in a letter to Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, who was reported to have given lessons in "grammar," he does not confine his rebuke to the unseemliness of such employment for a member of the episcopal order, but declares that even a religious layman ought not to defile his lips with the blasphemous praises of false deities.^c However this contempt of secular learning may be excused in Gregory himself, it is to be regretted that his authority did much to foster a contented ignorance in the ages which followed.^d

In other respects the pope's opinions were those of his age, controlled in some measure by his practical good sense. His reverence for the authority of the Church may be inferred from

[†] Anastasius, 165.

[‡] Pauli's Aelfred, 237.

[§] Schröckh, xvii. 335.

[¶] Platina, 84-5.

^{*} Joh. Sarisb., Polycraticus, ii. 26; viii. 19 (Patrol. cxcix. 461, 792). In the first of these passages the authors of the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates' (iii. 279) contend, with seeming reason, that we ought to read 'reprobata lectionis scripta' (not 'probata'), and to understand astrological books; which were so styled in the Digest. But in the other passage, John says distinctly: "Fertur Gregorius bibliothecam combussisse gentilem, quo divinæ paginæ gravior esset locus, et major auctoritas, et diligentia studiosior."

[†] The earliest authority for this is Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence in the 15th century. Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.*, n. N.

[‡] See Bayle, notes L, M, N; Gibbon,

iv. 268; Giesel. I. ii. 389. Schröckh's dislike of Gregory, however, inclines him to believe the tale as to the library, xvi. 59.

^b Ad Leand. 5.

^c Ep. xi. 54. See Bayle, note M; Neander, v. 207; Lau, 304. The Benedictines wish to suppose that Gregory did not blame the thing but the manner. But the work from which they quote a sanction of profane learning is spurious; and the passage in the epistle to Leander rather favours the opposite view. (Lau, 20.) Desiderius was murdered by Brunichild's contrivance in 607, and has been canonised. Vita S. Desider. ap. Bouquet, iii. 484.

^d Fleury, xxxvi. 35; Giesel. I. ii. 388. The letter is cited as an authority by Atto of Vercelli in the 10th century. De Pressuris Eccles. p. ii. (Patrol. cxxxiv. 75).

his repeated declarations, that he regarded the first four general councils as standing on the same level with the four Gospels.* It has been argued from some passages in his works that he held the doctrine of transubstantiation in the Eucharist;† but his words, although sometimes highly rhetorical, do not seem to affirm any other than a *spiritual* presence of the Saviour's body and blood in the consecrated elements.

After what has been said of his character and history, it is hardly necessary to state that Gregory was a zealous friend to monachism. He protected the privileges and property of monastic societies against the encroachments of the bishops, and in many cases he exempted monks from episcopal jurisdiction as to the management of their affairs, although he was careful to leave the bishops undisturbed in the right of superintending their morals.‡ But, notwithstanding his love for the monastic life, he detected and denounced many of the deceits which may be compatible with asceticism; perhaps his disagreements with John "the Faster" may have aided him to see these evils the more clearly.⁴ With reference to the edicts of Justinian which had sanctioned the separation of married persons for the sake of the monastic profession, he plainly declares that such an act, although allowed by human laws, is forbidden by the law of God.¹ Nor, although he contributed to extend the obligation to celibacy among the clergy, was his zeal for the enforcement of it violent or inconsiderate; thus, in directing that the sub-deacons of Sicily should in future be restrained from marriage, he revoked an order of his predecessor by which those who had married before the introduction of the Roman rule were compelled to separate from their wives.²

A veneration for relics is strongly marked in Gregory's writings. It was his practice to send, in token of his especial favour, presents of keys, in which were said to be contained some filings of St. Peter's chains. These keys were accompanied by a prayer, that that which had bound the Apostle for martyrdom might loose the receiver from all his sins;¹ and to some of them miraculous histories were attached.² The Empress Constantina—instigated,

* Epp. i. 25; iii. 10. See above, p. 13.

† As Dialog. iv. 58, quoted in Præf. Bened. p. 29. See Schröckh, xvii. 305; Lau, 483-4.

‡ Epp. ii. 42; vi. 11; vii. 12; viii. 15, 34; ix. 111; Conc. Rom. A.D. 601, ap. Greg. t. iii. 1340-2; Schröckh, xvii. 301-3.

⁴ Neand. v. 206; Lau, 126.

¹ Ep. xi. 45 (col. 1161). See vol. i. p. 552.

² Ep. i. 44. (col. 506.) His regulations on this subject are summed up by Theiner, i. 355, *seq.*

¹ Ep. vi. 6; vii. 28, and elsewhere, with some variety of form.

² Ep. vii. 26.

it is supposed, by John of Constantinople, with a view of bringing the pope into troubleⁿ—asked him to send her the head, or some part of the body, of St. Paul, for a new church which was built in honour of the Apostle. Gregory answered, that it was not the custom at Rome to handle or to dispose of the bodies of martyrs; that many persons who had presumed to touch the remains of St. Peter and St. Paul had been struck with death in consequence; that he could only send her a cloth which had been applied to the Apostle's body, but that such cloths possessed the same miraculous power as the relics themselves. He added, that the practice of removing relics gave occasion to fraud, and mentioned the case of some Greek monks who, when called in question for digging up dead bodies by night at Rome, confessed an intention of passing them off in Greece as relics of martyrs.^o

Two of Gregory's letters are addressed to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, who, on finding that some images were the subjects of adoration, had broken them; and these letters have a special interest from their bearing on the controversy as to images which arose somewhat more than a century after. The pope commends Serenus for his zeal, but blames him for the manner in which it had been displayed. He tells him that modesty ought to have restrained him from an action for which no bishop had given any precedent; that pictures and images serve for the instruction of those who cannot read books; and that for this purpose they ought to be preserved in churches, while care should be taken to guard against the worship of them.^p

Gregory's infirmities had long been growing on him. For some years he had been seldom able to leave his bed;^q he professed that the expectation of death was his only consolation, and requested his friends to pray for his deliverance from his sufferings.^r On the 12th of March, 604, he was released.^s

While the conversion of the English was reserved for the zeal of Italian monks, a remarkable body of missionaries set out from the shores of Ireland. Their leader, Columban,^t born in the province of Leinster about 560, was trained in the great Irish monastery of Bangor, which contained a society of three thousand monks, under

ⁿ Baron. 594. 25; 595. 29; Sam-marth. II. xi. 7.

^o Ep. iv. 30.

^p Epp. ix. 105; xi. 13. See Basnage, 1336.

^q Ep. xi. 44.

^r Ep. xiii. 22.

^s Lau, 299.

^t Vita S. Columb. by Jonas, a monk of Bobbio, in Mabillon, ii., or Patrol. lxxxvii.

the government of its founder, Comgal.^a Columban resolved to detach himself from earthly things by leaving his country, after the example of Abraham, and in 589^x crossed the sea with twelve companions, first into Britain, and thence into Gaul. He had intended to preach the Gospel to the heathen nations beyond the Frankish dominions; but the decayed state of religion and discipline offered him abundant employment in Gaul, and, at the invitation of Guntram king of Burgundy,^y he settled in that country.^z Declining the king's offers of a better position, he established himself in the Vosges, where a district which in the Roman times was cultivated and populous had again become a wilderness, while abundant remains of Roman architecture and monuments of the old idolatry were left as evidence of its former prosperity. Here he successively founded three monasteries, Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. For a time the missionaries had to endure great hardships; they had often for days no other food than wild herbs and the bark of trees, until their needs were supplied by means which are described as miraculous. But by degrees the spectacle of their severe and devoted life made an impression on the people of the neighbourhood. They were looked on with reverence by men of every class; and while their religious instructions were gladly heard, their labours in clearing and tilling the land encouraged the inhabitants to exertions of the same kind. The monasteries were speedily filled with persons attracted by the contrast which Columban's system presented to the general relaxation of piety and morals among the native monks and clergy; and children of noble birth were placed in them for education.^a

The Rule of Columban was probably derived in great measure from the Irish Bangor.^b The main principle of it was the inculcation of absolute obedience to superiors, the entire mortification of the individual will^c—a principle which is dangerous, as relieving the mind from the feeling of responsibility, and as tending either to deaden the spirit, or to deceive it into pride veiled under the appearance of humility.^d The diet of the monks was to be coarse,^e and was to be proportioned to their labour. But Columban

^a Jonas, 6-9; Lanigan, ii. 201.

^x The *Histoire Littéraire* says 585. (iii. 506.) See Rettberg, ii. 37.

^y See Mabillon, ii. 10.

^z Jonas, 10; Walaf. Strabo, Vita S. Galli, in Bouquet, iii. 474 seqq.; Rettberg, ii. 36-7.

^a Jonas, 13-19.

^b Lanigan, ii. 267.

^c Cc. 1, 9. (Patrol. lxxx.)

^d Schröckh, xvii. 423; Neander,

Mem. 438; Rettberg, ii. 37.

^e "Vilis et vespertinus," c. 3.

warned against excessive abstinence, as being "not a virtue but a vice." "Every day," it was said, "there must be fasting, as every day there must be refreshment;" and every day the monks were also to pray, to work, and to read.^f There were to be three services by day and three by night, at hours variable according to the season.^g The monastic plainness was extended even to the sacred vessels, which were not to be of any material more costly than brass.^h To the Rule was attached a Penitential, which, instead of leaving to the abbot the same discretion in the appointment of punishments which was allowed by the Benedictine system, lays down the details with curious minuteness. Corporal chastisement is the most frequent penalty. Thus, six strokes were to be given to every one who should call anything his own; to every one who should omit to say "Amen" after the abbot's blessing, or to make the sign of the cross on his spoon or his candle; to every one who should talk at meals, or who should fail to repress a cough at the beginning of a psalm. Ten strokes were the punishment for striking the table with a knife, or for spilling beer on it. For heavier offences the number rose as high as two hundred; but in no case were more than twenty-five to be inflicted at once. Among the other penances were fasting on bread and water, psalm-singing, humble postures, and long periods of silence. Penitents were not allowed to wash their hands except on Sunday. They were obliged to kneel at prayers even on the Lord's Day and in the Pentecostal season.ⁱ Columban warned his monks against relying on externals; but it may fairly be questioned whether his warnings can have been powerful enough to counteract the natural tendency of a system so circumstantial and so rigid in the enforcement of formal observances.^k

Columban fell into disputes with his neighbours as to the time of keeping Easter, in which he followed the custom of his native country.^m He wrote on the subject to Gregory and to Boniface (either the third or the fourth pope of that name), requesting that they would not consider his practice as a ground for breach of communion.ⁿ In his letters to popes, while he speaks with high respect of the Roman see, the British spirit of independence strongly appears. He exhorts Gregory to reconsider the question of the paschal cycle without deferring to the opinions of Leo or of

^f C. 3.^g C. 7.

Neander, v. 41-2.

^h Fleury, xxxv. 10.^m See vol. i. p. 544.ⁱ C. 10.ⁿ Epp. i. iii.^k Instructio ii. (Patrol. lxxx. 234);

other elder popes; "perhaps," he says, "in this case, a living dog may be better than a dead *lion*."^o He even sets the church of Jerusalem above that of Rome: "You," he tells Boniface IV., "are almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world, saving the special prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection;" and he goes on to say that, in proportion as the dignity of the Roman bishops is great, so ought their care to be great, lest by perversity they lose it.^p Another letter on the subject of Easter is addressed to a Gaulish synod. He entreats the bishops to let him follow the usage to which he has been accustomed, and to allow him to live peaceably, as he had already lived for twelve years, amid the solitude of the forest, and beside the bones of his seventeen deceased brethren.^q

After a residence of about twenty years in Burgundy, Columban incurred the displeasure of king Theodoric II., by whom he had before been held in great honour. Brunichild, the grandmother of Theodoric, according to a policy not uncommon among the queen-mothers of India in our own day, endeavoured to prolong her influence in the kingdom by encouraging A.D. 610. the young prince in a life of indolence and sensuality.^r Columban repeatedly, both by word and by letter, remonstrated against Theodoric's courses: he refused to bless his illegitimate children, and, with much vehemence of behaviour, rejected the hospitality of the court, making (it is said) the dishes and drinking-vessels which were set before him fly into pieces by his word.^s The king, whom Brunichild diligently instigated against him, told him that he was not unwise enough to make him a martyr, but ordered him to be conducted to Nantes with his Irish monks, in order that they might be sent back to their own country.^t The journey of the missionaries across France was rendered a series of triumphs by the miracles of Columban, and by the popular enthusiasm in his favour.^u On their arrival at Nantes, the vessel which was intended to convey them to Ireland was prevented, by miraculous causes, from performing its task;^x and Columban, being then allowed to choose his own course, made his way to Metz, where Theodebert II. of Austrasia gave him leave to preach throughout his dominions.^y

^o Ep. i. 2. (Eccl. ix. 4.)

^p Ep. v. 10.

^q Ep. ii.

^r Walafr. Strabo ap. Bouquet, iii. 474.

^s Jonas, 31-2. There is a vindication of Columban and his biographer against

Velly in the Hist. Litt. xii., Avertissem. ix. seqq.

^t Jonas, 33.

^u Id. 38-46.

^x Id. 47.

^y Id. 51; Walafr. Strabo ap. Bouquet, iii. 475.

He then ascended the Rhine into Switzerland, and laboured for a time in the neighbourhood of the lake of Zurich. At Tuggen, it is said, he found a number of the inhabitants assembled around a large vat of beer, and was told that it was intended as a sacrifice to Woden. By breathing on it, he made the vessel burst with a loud noise, so that, as his biographer tells us, "it was manifest that the devil had been hid in it."^a His preaching and miracles made many converts, but after a time he was driven, by the hostility of the idolatrous multitude, to remove into the neighbourhood of Bregenz, on the lake of Constance, where he found circumstances favourable to the success of his work. The country had formerly been Christian; many of its inhabitants had been baptized, although they had afterwards conformed to the idolatry of the Alamanni, who had overrun it; and the Alamannic law, made under Frankish influence, already provided for Christian clergy the same privileges which they enjoyed in France.^a Columban was kindly received by a presbyter named Willimar:^b he destroyed the idols of the people, threw them into the lake, and for a time preached with great success. But in 612, Theodebert was defeated by Theodoric, and Columban found it necessary to leave the territory which had thus fallen into the possession of his enemy.^c He meditated a mission to the Slavons, but was diverted from the design by an angel, and crossed the Alps into Italy, where he was received with honour by Agilulf and Theodelinda, and founded a monastery at Bobbio.^d At the request of his Lombard patrons, he wrote to Boniface IV. on the controversy of the "Three Articles."^e His knowledge of the question was very small: he had been possessed with opinions contrary to those of the Roman bishops respecting it; and perhaps this difference of views, together with the noted impetuosity of his character,^f might have led to serious disagreements, but that the danger was prevented by his death in

^a Jonas, 53; Rettberg, ii. 39.

^b Rettberg, ii. 16-8. The like was the case as to the Bavarian law, before the conversion of Bavaria, *ibid.* 218.

^c Vit. ap. Pertz, ii. 8.

^d Jonas, 59; Pagi, xi. 612.

^e *Id.* 56, 59-60.

^f Ep. v. The remarkable address of this letter has often been quoted—"Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti, papæ prædulci, præcelso præsuli, pastorum pastori, reverendissimo speculatori: humillimus celsissimo, maximo, agrestis urbano,

micrologus eloquentissimo, extremus primo, peregrinus indigena, pauperculus præpotenti (mirum dictu! nova res! rara avis!) scribere audet Bonifacio patri Palumbus."

^f Dr. Reeves makes the general remark that "If we may judge from the biographical records which have descended to us, primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the superior class, commonly known as saints, were very impatient of contradiction, and very resentful of injury." Prolegom. to Adamnan, lxxvii.

615.⁵ In the preceding year he had refused an invitation from Clotaire II., who had become sole king of France, to return to his old abode at Luxeuil.^b

Both Luxeuil and Bobbio became the parents of many monasteries in other quarters.¹ But the most celebrated of Columban's followers was his countryman Gall, who had been his pupil from boyhood, and had accompanied him in all his fortunes, until compelled by illness to remain behind, when his master passed into Italy. Gall founded in the year 614 the famous monastery which bears his name, and is honoured as the apostle of Switzerland.² He died in 627.^m

^a Baron. 615. 15; Schröckh, xvii. 430; Neand. v. 46. ii., and Pertz, ii.; also Neander, Ch. Hist. v. 45-9, and Memorials, 450; Ozanam, 120-7; Rettberg, ii. 40-8.

^b Jonas, 60-1.

¹ Fleury, xxxvii. 8.

² For lives of St. Gall, see Mabillon,

^m Pagi, xi. 236.

CHAPTER II.

MAHOMET—THE MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSY.

A.D. 610-718.

PHOCAS, after having earned universal detestation during a reign of eight years, was dethroned and put to death in 610, by Heraclius, son of the exarch of Africa.^a The new emperor found himself involved in a formidable war with Chosroes II., king of Persia. Chosroes had formerly been driven from his kingdom, had found a refuge within the empire, and had been restored by the arms of Maurice.^b On receiving the announcement that Phocas had ascended the throne, he declared himself the avenger of his benefactor;^c he invaded the empire, repeatedly defeated the usurper's disorderly troops, and had advanced as far as Antioch,

which fell into his hands immediately after the elevation
A.D. 611. of Heraclius. The war for which the murder of Maurice had been the pretext, did not end on the fall of his murderer. Chosroes overran Syria and Palestine; with one division of his force he conquered Egypt, and carried devastation as
A.D. 611-622. far as Tripoli, while another advanced to Chalcedon, and for ten years presented to the people of Constantinople the insulting and alarming spectacle of a hostile camp on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus.^d

Between the Avars on the European side and the Persians on the east, Heraclius was reduced to extreme distress. He had almost resolved to return to Africa, which had recovered much of its old prosperity, and was then the most flourishing province of the empire;^e but the patriarch of Constantinople obliged him to swear that he would not forsake those who had received him as their sovereign. At length, after having in vain at-

A.D. 615. tempted to appease Chosroes by offering to become his tributary, the emperor determined on the almost desperate enterprise of carrying the war into the enemy's country. He raised a large sum of money by loans—borrowing the plate and other

^a Niceph. Cpol. 4; Gibbon, iv. 301-2.^d Niceph. Cpol. 7; Gibbon, iv. 302-6;^b Theoph. Simocatta, iv. 10; v. 3; Gibbon, iv. 285-6.

Finlay, i. 376.

^c Simocatta, viii. 15.^e Finlay, i. 389.

wealth of churches on a promise of repayment with usury. With this money he levied an army, and, having secured the forbearance of the Avars, he boldly made his way into the heart of Persia.^f In six brilliant campaigns he recovered the provinces which had been lost. Chosroes fled before him, and, in 628, ^{A.D. 622-7.} was deposed and put to death by his own son Siroes, who was glad to make peace with the Romans.^g

The war had on each side been one of religion. Chosroes was aided in his attack on Jerusalem by 26,000 Jews, collected from all quarters. On the capture of the city he destroyed churches, defiled the holy places, plundered the treasures amassed from the offerings of pilgrims during three centuries, and carried off into Persia the patriarch Zacharias, with the relic which was venerated as the True Cross. It is said that 90,000 Christians were slain on this occasion, and that many of these were bought by the Jews for the purpose of butchering them.^h A great number of Christians, however, found safety by flying into Egypt, and were received with extraordinary kindness by John, patriarch of Alexandria, whose charities earned for him the title of "the Almsgiver."ⁱ Heraclius, in his turn, retaliated on the religion of Persia, by destroying its temples, especially that at Thebarnes, the birthplace of Zoroaster, and quenching the sacred fire.^k He restored the cross with great triumph to Jerusalem, and the event was commemorated by a new festival—the "Exaltation of the Cross."^m And the edict of Hadrian against the Jews was renewed—forbidding them to approach within three miles of their holy city.ⁿ

While Chosroes was warring against the religion of the empire, a more formidable and lasting scourge of Christendom had arisen in Arabia.^o The prevailing religion of that country is said to

^f Theophanes, 466; Pagi, xi. 151; Art de Vérif. iv. 351; Gibbon, iv. 309-10; Schlosser, 52-9.

^g Niceph. Cpol. 14; Pagi, xi. 226-8; Gibbon, iv. 314-325; Finlay, i. 423-5.

^h Theophanes, 463 (who gives other instances of Jewish hatred, p. 457); Baron. 614. 32; Gibbon, iv. 304-5. That the story is probably exaggerated, see Schröckh, xix. 299.

ⁱ Vita S. Joh. Eleemos. ap. Rosweyd, i. 6 (Patrol. lxxiii.)

^k Niceph. Cpol. 12; Gibbon, iv. 314-6; Finlay, i. 424.

^m Niceph. Cpol. 15; Theophanes, 273, ed. Paris; Baron. 627. 23-9; Gib-

bon, iv. 326-7. There is, however, a difference as to this between the Greek and the Latin churches. See Pagi, xi. 238; Fleury, xxxvii. 34.

ⁿ Dean Milman (Hist. of Jews, iii. 237-240, and n. on Gibbon, iv. 327) questions the stories as to further punishments inflicted on the Jews for the atrocities which they had committed under cover of the Persian power.

^o In addition to my usual authorities I have consulted Sale's 'Koran,' Lond. 1734; Ockley's 'History of the Saracens,' Camb. 1757; White's 'Bampton Lectures for 1784,' Lond. 1811; 'Remarks on the Character of Mahammad,'

have been founded on a belief in the unity of God ; but this belief was darkened and practically superseded by a worship of the heavenly bodies, of angels, and of idols.^p The ancient sanctuary of the nation, the Caaba, or holy house of Mecca, contained a number of images answering to that of days in the year.^q Other religions also existed in Arabia. Judaism had become the faith of some tribes ; orthodox Christian missionaries had made converts ; and members of various sects, such as Gnostics, Manicheans, Nestorians, and Monophysites, had found in that country a refuge from the unfriendly laws of the empire.^r Thus there were abundant materials within the reach of any one who might undertake to become the founder of a new system.

Mahomet was born at Mecca, either in 570 or the following year.^s His temper was naturally mystical and enthusiastic ; he was subject from an early age to fits of epilepsy,^t which were supposed to proceed from an influence of evil spirits ; and in the course of his mental conflicts he was often reduced to a state of melancholy depression which suggested the thought of suicide.^u He appears to have become possessed with a ruling idea of the Divine unity, and with a vehement indignation against idolatry. Every year, according to a custom which was not uncommon among his countrymen, he withdrew to a cave in a mountain, and spent some time in religious solitude ; and in his lonely musings he was gradually wrought up to a belief that he was especially called by

by Col. Vans Kennedy, in 'Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society,' iii. 398-448, Lond. 1823 ; Forster's 'Mahometanism Unveiled,' Lond. 1829 ; Möhler, 'Ueber das Verhältniss des Islams zum Evangelium,' in vol. i. of his *Essays* ; Döllinger, 'Muhammeds Religion nach ihrer inneren Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker,' Munich, 1838 ; Weil's 'Mahommed der Prophet,' Stuttg. 1843 ; Caussin de Perceval, 'Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes,' Paris, 1847 ; Irving's 'Mahomet and his Successors,' Lond. 1850 ; Sprenger's 'Life of Mahommed,' Pt. I. (reaching to the Hegera), Allahabad, 1851 ; Muir's 'Life of Mahomet,' Lond. 1858-61 ; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th edition, art. on 'Mohammed,' by the Rev. J. G. Caze-nove ; Renan, 'Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse,' ed. 3, Paris, 1858 ; Stanley on 'The Eastern Church,' Lect. viii. The first volume of an enlarged biography (in German), by Dr. Sprenger, has just appeared (1861). The attempts at a more correct exhibition

of the prophet's name are so various, that, so long as no one of them is generally adopted, it appears safest to follow the most unpretending manner of spelling it—a rule which I have usually observed as to other names.

^p Sale, *Introd.* 14-21 ; Gibbon, v. 17-22 ; Weil, 20. Dr. Sprenger (p. 103) seems to question the monotheistic foundation.

^q See Koran, c. iii. pp. 47-8 ; Caussin de Perceval, i. 270.

^r Sale, *Introd.* 22-4 ; Gibbon, v. 20-1.

^s See Gibbon, v. 24, with Milman's notes ; Weil, 31 ; Sprenger, 75. M. Caussin de Perceval (i. 283), Mr. Caze-nove (299), and Mr. Muir (i. 14) are for 570.

^t This, which has been treated as a calumny of Christian writers (see Schröckh, xix. 348-9), seems to be now established beyond doubt on Arabian authority. See Weil, 42-5 ; Sprenger, 77-8 ; Gfrörer, iii. 26-8 ; Irving, i. 61 ; Muir, i. 21.

^u Muir, ii. 71, 84.

God to be an instrument for the propagation of the true faith, and was favoured with revelations from heaven.^a The 'Koran,' in which his oracles are preserved, has much in common with both the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures; but it would seem that Mahomet was not acquainted with either the Old or the New Testament—that he rather drew his materials, more or less directly, from such sources as Talmudical legends, apocryphal Gospels, and other heretical writings, mixed with the old traditions of Syria and Arabia.^b His own account of the work was, that its contents were written from eternity on the "preserved table" which stands before the throne of God; that a copy was brought down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel (whom Mahomet seems to have gradually identified with the Holy Spirit^c), and that the sections of it were revealed according as circumstances required.^d The charge of inconsistency between the different parts was guarded against by the convenient principle that a later revelation abrogated so much of the earlier as disagreed with it.^e By way of proof that he had not forged these revelations, which are always uttered in the name of God himself, Mahomet repeatedly insists on the contrast between his own illiteracy and the perfection of the book, both as to purity of style and as to substance; he challenges objectors to produce any work either of men or of genii which can be compared with it.^f The oracles of the Koran were noted down as they proceeded from the prophet's mouth; and after his death they were collected into one body, although without any regard to the order in which they had been delivered.^g

The religion thus announced was styled *Islam*—a word which means *submission* or *resignation* to the will of God.^h Its single

^a Gibbon, v. 27; Sprenger, 106-111; Muir, ii. 55; and c. iii.

^b This word signifies "the reading, or rather that which ought to be read," and is applied either to the whole book or to any particular section of it. Sale, Intro. p. 56.

^c White, 268; Kennedy, 428; Milman, ii. 25-6; Muir, ii. 185, 288, 306, 309. Mr. Forster (c. viii.) exhibits a collection of parallels between the Koran and the Scriptures, many of which are very striking; but this, of course, does not prove that Mahomet drew immediately from the Bible, and Mr. Forster himself declines to give a judgment on the question (ii. 75. See Dollinger, 30-1). Mr. Muir thinks that the prevailing exaggeration of reverence for

the Blessed Virgin led him to misconceive the essence of Christian doctrine, and so alienated him from the faith (ii. 19-20).

^d Muir, ii. 74, 138.

^e Koran, Co. 81, 85, 97; Sale, 64; Gibbon, v. 31-3; Muir, ii. 137.

^f Ch. xvi. p. 223.

^g Koran, c. ii. p. 3; c. x. p. 170; c. xii. p. 176; c. xvi. p. 223; c. xvii. p. 236; c. xxix. p. 328; and elsewhere.

^h Muir, i. Intro. 3-13. A translation, arranged according to the dates of the chapters, has been published by the Rev. J. M. Rodwell (Lond. 1862); comp. Muir, ii. 318-320; iii. 311-2.

ⁱ Sale, Intro. 70, and n. on Koran, p. 36; Sprenger, 168-9.

doctrine was declared to be, that "There is no God but the true God, and Mahomet is his apostle;" but under this principle was comprehended belief in six points—(1) in God; (2) in his angels; (3) in his scriptures; (4) in his prophets; (5) in the resurrection and the day of judgment; (6) in God's absolute decree and pre-determination both of good and evil. With these were combined four practical duties—(1) prayer, with its preliminary washings and lustrations; (2) alms; (3) fasting; (4) the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was held so essential that any one who died without performing it might as well die a Jew or a Christian.^f Judaism and Christianity were acknowledged as true, although imperfect, religions. Their holy books were acknowledged, and it would seem that Mahomet's original intention was rather to connect his religion with the elder systems than to represent it as superseding them.^h Jesus was regarded as the greatest of all former prophets, but although his birth was represented as miraculous,ⁱ the belief in his Godhead was declared to be erroneous; He was said to be a mere man, and his death was explained away, either on the docetic principle, or by the supposition that another person suffered in his stead.^k Mahomet asserted that he himself had been foretold in Scripture, but that the prophecies had been falsified by those who had the custody of them;^m yet he and his followers claimed some passages of the extant Scriptures in his favour, such as the promise of the Paraclete, and the parable in which the labourers were spoken of as called at various times of the day—the final call being to the religion of Islam.ⁿ

The conception of the Divine majesty in the Koran is sublime; the mercy of God is dwelt on in a very impressive manner. But the absence of anything like the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation places an impassable gulf between the Creator and his creatures; there is no idea of redemption, of mediation, of adoption to sonship with God, of restoration to his image. The Divine omnipotence is represented as arbitrary, and as requiring an abject submission to its will.^o The duty of loving their brethren in the

^f Sale, 71-114.

^h Koran, c. v. p. 89; Muir, ii. 183, 291-4.

ⁱ Koran, c. iii. p. 40, c. 19; Muir, ii. 277-282.

^k Koran, c. iii. pp. 42-3; c. iv. pp. 80-1; c. v. pp. 92, 98; c. ix. pp. 152-3; c. xix. p. 251; c. xliii.; Gibbon, v. 29-30; Weil, 190-3. Some later Mahometan teachers come nearer than Mahomet himself to the truth on this subject.

(Forster, i. 366-8, 396-7; ii. 104.) A Jew, on embracing Mahometanism, is required, before admission, to profess belief in Jesus as the Christ. Ib. i. 367.

^m Koran, c. ii. pp. 6, 14, 17; c. iii. p. 46, &c. Yet see Muir's Introd. 72.

ⁿ Koran, c. 61; Muir, i. 16-7; Möhler, 353-5.

^o See Neand. v. 117-9; Giesel. I. ii. 468.

faith is strongly inculcated on the disciples of Islam ; but their love is not to extend beyond this brotherhood ; and the broad declarations which had held forth the hope of salvation, not only to Jews and Christians, but to Sabians, and to " whoever believeth in God and in the last day, and doeth that which is right,"^p were abrogated by oracles which denounced perdition against all but the followers of Islam.^q In other respects the new religion was unquestionably a great improvement on that which Mahomet found established among his countrymen. It benefited society by substituting a measure of justice for rude violence, and by abolishing the custom of putting female infants to death. The general tone of its morality is rather austere than (as it has sometimes been styled) licentious ;^r instead of being condemned for his sanction of polygamy, Mahomet rather deserves credit for having limited the license which had before prevailed in this respect, although he retained an extreme and practically very mischievous facility of divorce ;^s but it is one of the most damning traits in his character, that he declared himself to be exempt from the restrictions which he imposed on his disciples, and claimed for his laxity the sanction of pretended revelations.^t

On the merits of that enigmatical character it would be bold to give any confident opinion. The religious enmity by which it was formerly misrepresented appears to have little effect in our own time ; we need rather to be on our guard against too favourable judgments, the offspring of a reaction against former prejudices, or of an affectation of novelty and paradox which in some cases appears to be not only deliberate but almost avowed. The latest and most complete evidence seems to prove that Mahomet was at first an honest enthusiast ;^u as to the more doubtful part of his

^p Koran, c. ii. p. 8 ; c. v. p. 92.

^q Koran, c. iii. p. 47 ; see Sale's notes, pp. 9. 47 ; Muir, ii. 296-8, 304 ; Cazenove, 307.

^r It is, however, with some astonishment that I have read Col. Kennedy's words—" Never was a purer religion propagated than his," p. 429.

^s Caussin, i. 351 ; Muir, ii. 272. On the degradation of woman under the Mahometan system, and its general effect on family relations, see Dollinger, 20 seqq.

^t See the Koran, c. xxiii. pp. 348-9 ; Gibbon, v. 66 ; Hallam, M. A. i. 476-7 ; Forster, i. 322-9 ; Weil, 400. As to the effects of polygamy, see Muir, iii. 234-5. Dr. Weil gives a false colouring

to Mahomet's own license by speaking of it as a confession of weakness. If Mahomet had so represented it, others would have claimed indulgence on the same plea ; it was therefore necessarily founded on a pretence of superiority. The caliphs and the rich Mussulmans in general extended the prophet's privilege to themselves. See Milman, i. 487 ; Muir, iii. 230-7.

^u See Sprenger, 185, and elsewhere ; Muir, ch. iii. and vol. iv. 312-7. Col. Kennedy strongly denies that the prophet was " an enthusiast or fanatic" (pp. 429, 445) ; but this denial becomes a truism when, after some definition of the word, we are told that " Fanaticism is peculiar to the Christians," p. 446.

career, I must confess myself unable to enter into the views of his admirers; but I will not venture to judge whether he was guilty of conscious imposture, or was blindly carried along by the intoxication of the power which he had acquired and by the lust of extending it.^x

Mahomet had reached the age of forty before (in obedience, as he professed, to a heavenly vision) he announced himself as a prophet.^y

At first he made proselytes slowly among his friends and

A.D. 611. near relations;^z he then by degrees attempted to publish his opinions in a wider circle. But his pretensions were disbelieved; he and his followers were persecuted by the Koreish, the tribe which was dominant in Mecca, and had possession of the Caaba; and in 622 (the year in which Heraclius made his first campaign against the Persians) he fled to Yatreb (Medina),^a where he had already contrived to form a party, and was received as a prince and a prophet.^b This flight (*Hegira*) is regarded as the great era in the prophet's life, and as the foundation of the Mahometan chronology.^c Hitherto he had endeavoured to spread his doctrines by persuasion only; but now that he was possessed of force, he was charged by revelation to use it for the propagation of the faith.^d His oracles became fierce and sanguinary.^e From leading his little bands of followers to attack caravans of merchants, he went on, as his strength increased, to more considerable enterprises; and in 630 he gained possession of Mecca, cleansed the Caaba of its idols, erected it into the great sanctuary of Islam, and united all the tribes of Arabia under his own dominion and in the profession of his religion.^f

When his power had become considerable, Mahomet sent envoys to the emperor, to the king of Persia, and to other neighbouring

^x See Gibbon, v. 63-5; Schröckh, xix. 381; Milman, i. 454; Muir, iv. 318-320, 322.

^y Koran, c. x. p. 168, c. 96; Caussin, i. 354.

^z Weil, 49. Dr. Sprenger thinks that his first adherents were not indebted to him for their religious ideas, but were already in possession of them; that "the Islam is the offspring of the spirit of the time;" that Mahomet did no more than combine "the floating elements which had been imported or originated by others," while he polluted the system with his own "immorality and perverseness of mind," pp. 44, 174-5; cf. Caussin, i. 321-6. Against this see Muir, Introd. 239.

^a More properly *Medinet-al-Nabi*, "City of the Prophet."

^b Gibbon, v. 43-4; Weil, 72-3, 79; Caussin, i. 365, seqq. iii. 20; Muir, ii. 210-8; iii. 7-11.

^c See Caussin, iii. 16-7.

^d Sale, 48-9, 142; Koran, c. xxii. &c.

^e Muir, iii. 307-8. "In the Koran, victories are announced, success promised, actions recounted; failure is explained, bravery applauded, cowardice or disobedience chided; military or political movements are directed; and all this as an immediate communication from the Deity." Ib. 224.

^f Sale, 114; Gibbon, v. 54-7; Weil, 218; Caussin, iii. 227-234; Muir, iv. ch. 24, 27.

princes, declaring his mission as "the Apostle of God," and requiring them to submit to the faith of Islam. Heraclius is said to have received the communication with respect; the Persian king contemptuously tore the letter in pieces; and Mahomet, on hearing of the act, exclaimed, "It is thus that God will tear from him his kingdom, and reject his supplications."^a A.D. 628.

The duty of fighting for Islam (for arms, and not argument, were to be the means for the conversion of all who should refuse to believe on a simple announcement of the faith^b) was binding on all its professors, except the sick and the feeble, the lame, the blind, and the poor;^c and, lest the believers should at any time rest satisfied with their conquests, Mahomet is said to have declared that wars for the propagation of the truth were not to cease until the coming of Antichrist.^d The fanaticism of the warriors was urged on by the inducements of rapine and of lust (for the limit which the Koran prescribed as to the number of concubines did not apply to captives or slaves).^e They were raised above regard for life by the conviction that they were doing God's will, by the belief of an absolute and irresistible predestination, and by the assurance of bliss in paradise^f—a bliss which opened to the sensual unlimited gratifications with unlimited powers of enjoyment,^g while the martyrs and those who should die in the wars of the faith were moreover to be admitted to the transcendent and ineffable felicity of beholding the face of God at morning and at evening.^h Thus animated, the Moslem armies went forth with an enthusiasm which nothing could check. Their immense sacrifices of life in bloody battles and in long sieges were repaired by an unfailing succession of warriors. Before the death of Mahomet, which took place at Medina in 632,ⁱ Kaled, "the Sword of God,"^j had carried his arms into Syria. The energy of Heraclius was consumed by disease;^k Syria and Egypt, which he had reconquered from Chos-

^a Compare the Koran, c. xxx. p. 430; Sale, 53; Weil, 195, 198-9; Caussin, ii. 189; Muir, ii. 224. The interview with Heraclius was at Emesa, on his return from Persia, in 629 (Gibbon, v. 58). Chosroes II. is usually named as the king of Persia who received Mahomet's letter (ib. iv. 308); but Mr. Muir refers it to the reign of Siroes, who dethroned his father in 628, and died early in the following year. iv. 53-4.

^b Döllinger, 16.

^c Koran, c. xlvii.; c. xlviii. p. 414.

^d Muir, iv. 201.

^e Koran, c. xxiii. p. 281; Sale, 145-6;

Muir, iii. 303.

^f Sale, 103, 133-7; Gibbon, v. 48-9; Wachsmuth, Allgem. Culturgeschichte, i. 517; Maurice on the Religions of the World, ed. 2, p. 23.

^g Koran, c. xxxvii. p. 367; c. xlv. p. 403; c. lv. p. 433; c. lvi. pp. 434-5; Gibbon, v. 39-40; Muir, ii. 141-2.

^h Sale, 100.

ⁱ Gibbon, v. 61-3; Weil, 331.

^j Theophanes, 278, ed. Paris.

^k Cedrenus, 430. Mr. Finlay (i. 431) shows that Gibbon is mistaken in supposing the emperor to have given himself up to indolence.

roes, were again wrested from the empire by the new enemy.¹ In 637 Jerusalem fell into the hands of the caliph ^a Omar, who built a mosque on the site of the temple,² and within a few years Persia, Khorasan, and part of Asia Minor were subdued. The internal quarrels of the prophet's followers suspended the progress of conquest only for a time. For years they threatened Constantinople itself, although their attempts were unsuccessful, and 668-677. ended in the caliph's submitting to tribute;³ and by the end of the century they took Carthage and became masters of the African provinces (A.D. 698).⁴

The progress of the Mahometan arms was favoured by the exhaustion of the empire and of Persia in the course of their recent wars.⁵ In Syria and Egypt the greater part of the inhabitants were Nestorians or Monophysites, depressed by the imperial laws, and ready to welcome the enemies of the Byzantine court as deliverers.⁶ And the conquerors, although indifferent to the distinctions of Christian parties for their own sake, were glad to encourage and to profit by this feeling. While they drove out the Greek orthodox from Egypt, and kept down the Melchites, they favoured the sects which were opposed to Rome and to Constantinople.⁷ While war was waged without mercy against idolaters,⁸ the "people of the book"—Jews and Christians—as professors of true, although defective, religions, were allowed to live as tributaries in the conquered lands.⁹ But the oppressions to which they were subjected,¹ the advantages offered to converts, and perhaps

¹ The charge against Omar, of ordering the Alexandrian library to be burnt, appears to be now re-established. See Matter, 'Ecoles d'Alexandrie,' i. 334-344; Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 136-8; Churton in Pearson's *Vindic. Ignat.* 293.

² This word means *successor* (of the prophet).

³ Ockley, i. 229; Gibbon, v. 123-4; Milman, ii. 41. I do not venture any opinion as to the truth of Mr. Ferguson's theory, which identifies what is popularly styled the Mosque of Omar with the church built by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre (see vol. i. 188). This building is called by Mahometans "The Dome of the Rock," while they give the name of Omar to a small mosque at the south-east corner of the site of the Temple. Ferguson, in Smith's *Bibl. Dictionary*, art. "Jerusalem;" and 'Defence against the *Edinburgh Review*,' Lond. 1860.

⁴ Niceph. *Cpol.* 22; Gibbon, v. 174.

⁵ Gibbon, v. 142, 150.

⁶ Sale, 37; Gibbon, iv. 308; v. 89.

⁷ Schröckh, xx. 382-3; Gibbon, v. 132; Finlay, i. 382, 466, 487.

⁸ Fleury, xxxviii. 55; Neand. v. 122; Ockley, i. 309-310; Gfrörer, ii. 36.

⁹ See the Koran, c. ix.—the last-revealed chapter. But Christians are in it charged with idolatry, inasmuch as "they take their priests and monks [i.e. saints] for Gods, and Christ, the son of Mary, although they are commanded to worship one God." pp. 152-3; Muir, iv. 211-2.

¹ Koran, c. ix. p. 152. The feeling towards Christians, however, afterwards became more bitter. (Döllinger, 14.) As to Mahomet's relations with the Jews, see Muir, iii. 32-8, 288-294.

² See the capitulation of Jerusalem, in Milman, i. 482-3.

the perplexity of controversies as to Christian doctrine, drew many away from the Gospel to profess the faith of Islam.⁵

About the same time when Mahomet began his public career, a controversy arose which continued for nearly a century to agitate the Church.

Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, who is said to have been a Syrian, and connected by family with the Jacobite sect,^a had met with a letter ascribed to his predecessor Mennas,¹ in ^{About} which the Saviour was said to have "one will, and one ^{A.D. 616.} life-giving operation."^k Struck with the expression, he consulted Theodore, bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, a person of whom nothing is known except in connexion with this controversy, but who, from the reference thus made to him, may be supposed to have enjoyed an eminent character for learning, and to have been as yet unsuspected of any error in doctrine;^m and as Theodore approved the words, the patriarch adopted them, and had some correspondence with other persons on the subject.ⁿ The doctrine thus started, which was afterwards known as *Monothelism*,^o is summed up in some words from another of Theodore's writings—that "in the incarnation of our Saviour there is but one operation, whereof the framer and author is God the Word; and of this the Manhood is the instrument, so that, whatsoever may be said of Him, whether as God or as man, it is all the operation of the Godhead of the Word."^p In opposition to this, it was contended that the faculty of willing is inherent in each of our Lord's natures, although, as his person is one, the two wills act in the same direction—the human will being exercised in accordance with the Divine.^q

Heraclius, in the course of his Persian wars, saw cause to regret the policy by which the Nestorians had been alienated from the empire,^r and to desire that the evils which were likely ^{A.D. 622.} to result from the schism of the Monophysites might be averted. With a view to a reconciliation, he conferred with some

^a Gibbon, v. 31, 172; Schröckh, xix. 370; Giesel. I. ii. 469-470; Milman, i. 487.

^k Theophan. 274, ed. Paris. But Walch (ix. 83, 101) questions this.

¹ For Mennas, see vol. i., book II. c. 12.

^k The VIth General Council condemned the letter as spurious, and it was there proved to be wrongly attached to the Acts of the Vth General Council. (Hard. iii. 1067-70, 1312, 1365.) Walch,

however, thinks that it may have really been the work of Mennas. ix. 97, 100.

^m Walch, ix. 151; Neander, v. 250.

ⁿ Walch, ix. 93-4, 98.

^o i. e. maintaining of a single will only. The name *monothelite* or *monothelite* first appears in John of Damascus (e. g. De Hæresibus, 99). Giesel. I. ii. 477.

^p Hard. iii. 768.

^q Dorner, ii. 259-260.

^r See vol. i. pp. 455-7.

of their leaders—as Paul, the chief of the party in Armenia, and Athanasius, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, to whom it is said that he offered the Catholic throne of that city on condition of accepting the council of Chalcedon. The Monophysites had gradually become less averse from the substance of that council's doctrine; and Heraclius was led to hope that the schism might be healed if the Catholics would grant that, although our Lord had two natures, yet He had only one will and operation.¹ When in Lazica, in the year 626, the emperor related the course of his negotiations to Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, who, as the question was new to him, wrote to ask the opinion of Sergius. He was told by the patriarch, in reply, that the Church had pronounced no decision on the point; that Cyril of Alexandria and other approved fathers had spoken of “one life-giving operation of Christ, our very God;” that Mennas had used similar expressions; that he was mistaken in supposing Leo the Great to have taught two operations, and that Sergius was not aware of any other authority for so speaking.” Cyrus was convinced by this letter. Through

A.D. 630.

the emperor's favour, he was soon after promoted to the patriarchate of Alexandria, and in 633 effected the reunion of the Theodosians, a Monophysite sect, with the Church, by means of a compromise which was embodied in nine articles.² In the seventh of these it was said that our Lord “wrought the acts appertaining both to God and to man by one *theandric* (i. e. divinely-human) operation”—an expression for which the authority of the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite was alleged.³ The Monophysites regarded the terms of union as matter of triumph. “It is not we,” they said, “who have gone over to the council of Chalcedon; it is the council that has come over to us.”⁴

Sophronius, a learned monk, who was then at Alexandria, was greatly alarmed on seeing the articles. He uttered a loud cry, threw himself at the patriarch's feet, and, with a profusion of

¹ See vol. i. p. 505.

² Theophanes, 506; Cedrenus, 420. There are difficulties as to the interviews with Paul and Athanasius. See Pagi, xi. 219, 243-5, who questions the story of Athanasius; Walch, ix. 75-80, 90, 104, 109, 151; Combefis, Auctaurim, iii. 17-9; Clinton, ii. 171; Hefele, iii. 113, 119, 124-5.

³ Hard. iii. 1309, 1337.

⁴ Ib. 1340-4.

⁵ See Dorner, ii. 200-4, 235. The Catholics did not object to the term

theandric, but to the statement that the operation was *single*. (Pagi, xi. 273-4.) In the passage of Dionysius (Ep. 4, Opera, ii. 75, ed. Corderius, Antwerp, 1634), they read “a new *theandric* operation”—*καινήν* (instead of *μίαν*) *τινὰ τὴν θεανδρικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡμῶν πεπολιτευμένον*. But although this reading was correct, the singular number and the epithet “new” were in favour of the Monothelites. Dorner, ii. 208.

⁶ Theophan. 274-5, ed. Paris.

tears, implored him, by the Saviour's passion, not to sanction such Apollinarian doctrines.^a Cyrus proposed to refer the matter to Sergius, and the monk, furnished with a letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, proceeded to the imperial city. Although himself a Monothélite, Sergius did not consider agreement in his opinion necessary as a condition of orthodoxy. In conversation with Sophronius, he dwelt on the importance of regaining the Monophysites throughout the Egyptian patriarchate; he asked the monk to produce any express authority for speaking of *two* operations in Christ; and, as Sophronius could not do this,^b the patriarch obtained from him a promise to let the question rest. Sergius then wrote to Cyrus, desiring him to forbid all discussion on the subject, lest the late union of parties should be endangered.^c

In the following year, Sophronius became patriarch of Jerusalem. He seems to have felt that he was thus released from his promise—that the silence which might have been proper in a humble monk would be treachery to the faith in the occupant of a patriarchal throne.^d On hearing of his elevation, Sergius took the alarm, and, without waiting for the formal announcement of it, wrote to Honorius of Rome, detailing the previous history of the question.^e The pope, in his answer, echoed the opinions of his correspondent; he not only agreed with him as to the expediency of enforcing silence, but in a personal profession of Monothelism:—"We confess," he says, "one will of our Lord Jesus Christ, forasmuch as it is evident that that which was assumed by the Godhead was our nature, not the sin which is in it—our nature as it was created before sin, not as it was corrupted by transgression."^f After discussing St. Paul's words as to the will of the flesh and the will of the mind, he concludes that the Saviour had not the fleshly will; and he spoke of the question as to two operations as one fit only for grammarians.^g Sophronius, in his enthronistic letter, set forth very fully, and with great ability, the doctrine of the Incarnation, with special reference to the controversy which had arisen.^h He admits the word *theandric*,

^a Maximus ap. Baron. xi. 647.

^b It is said that Sophronius afterwards, in a work which is now lost, produced six hundred passages from the fathers in favour of his doctrine. Hefele, iii. 132.

^c Serg. ad Honor. ap. Hard. iii. 1316.

^d Neand. v. 247.

^e Hard. iii. 1312-7.

^f Ib. 1320. The answer is obvious—that, as a part of the sinless nature, He took the innocent human will, and had

this jointly with the Divine will. See Dorner, ii. 232.

^g Baronius boldly attempts to justify Honorius (633. 32. seqq.). Pagi gives up the pope's language and conduct, but maintains his personal orthodoxy, xi. 285-298, 390-2. See Combesse, 33-6; Walch, ix. 125-6; Schröckh, xx. 402; Döllinger, i. 157; Hefele, iii. 137.

^h Hard. iii. 1257-96; Hefele, iii. 139. The extant works of Sophronius are in vol. lxxxvii. pt. 3, of the Patol. Gr.

but applies it to the joint action of both natures in the Divinely-human Person—an application different from that in which it had been used by Sergius and his partisans.¹ Honorius obtained from the envoys who conveyed this letter to Rome a promise that their master would give up speaking of two wills, if Cyrus would cease to speak of one will;² but the controversy was not to be so easily appeased.

The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Arabs may be supposed to have soon after engrossed the attention of Sophronius; and he did not long survive.^m But before his death he led Stephen, bishop of Dor, the first of his suffragans, to Calvary, and there, in the most solemn manner, charged him, by the thoughts of the crucifixion and of the last judgment, to repair to Rome, and never to rest until he should have obtained a condemnation of the Monothelite doctrine.ⁿ

The distractions of the church continued, and in 639, Heraclius, unwarned by the ill success of his predecessors in such measures, put forth, at the suggestion of Sergius, an edict composed by the patriarch, which bore the title of *Ecthesis*, or Exposition of the faith.^o After stating the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation, it proceeded to settle the controversy by forbidding the discussion of the question as to one or two operations. All operation suitable either to God or to man (it was said) proceeds from the same one incarnate Word. To speak of a single operation, although the phrase had been used by certain fathers, caused trouble to *some*; to speak of two operations, was an expression unsupported by any authority of approved teachers, and gave offence to *many*, as suggesting the idea of two opposite wills. The impious Nestorius himself, although he divided the Person of the Saviour, had not spoken of two wills; one will was to be confessed, agreeably to the doctrine of the holy fathers, forasmuch as the Saviour's manhood never produced any motion contrary to the inclination of his Godhead.^p Even if the *Ecthesis* had not in its substance been thus evidently partial to the Monothelites, no satisfactory result could have been reasonably expected from a document which aimed at putting an end to differences by concealing them, or from a policy which, in silencing both parties, necessarily favoured the more subservient, while it was galling to the more zealous.

¹ Hard. iii. 1280 B. See Dorner, ii. 214.

Clinton, ii. 175.

² Honor. Ep. 5 (Patrol. lxxx.); Hefele, iii. 147.

^m Hard. iii. 713.

^o Walch, ix. 139-141.

ⁿ Theophanes, 520; Pagi, xi. 314;

^p Hard. iii. 796.

The Ecthesis was approved by councils at Constantinople under Sergius and his successor Pyrrhus, and at Alexandria under Cyrus.^a The patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, suffering under the oppression of the Arabs, were in no condition to oppose it. But Honorius of Rome was dead; his successor, Severinus (whose pontificate lasted only two months, and was chiefly remarkable for the plunder of the papal treasures by the exarch of Ravenna^b), appears to have rejected the new formulary;^c and the next pope, John IV., with a council, certainly did so. Heraclius hereupon wrote to John, disowning the authorship of the Ecthesis; it had, he said, been drawn up by Sergius some years before, and he had only consented to issue it at the patriarch's urgent entreaty.^d A.D. 640.

Heraclius died in February 641, leaving the empire jointly to Constantine, son of his first marriage, and Heracleonas, the offspring of his second marriage with his niece Martina.^e Constantine survived his father little more than three months, and Martina then attempted to rule in the name of her son; but the senate, backed by the army and by the inhabitants of the capital, deposed her and Heracleonas, as guilty of the death of Constantine, whose son, Constans II., was then set on the throne.^f On this revolution the patriarch Pyrrhus, who was regarded as an accomplice of Martina, thought it expedient to abandon his dignity, and sought a refuge in Africa.^g There he met with Maximus, a man of noble Byzantine family, who, after having been a secretary of state under Heraclius, had embraced the monastic profession, and became the ablest controversialist in opposition to Monothelism.^h In 645, a disputation was held between the two, in the presence of Gregory, governor of the province, with many bishops and other eminent persons.ⁱ Pyrrhus started with the proposition that, as the Saviour's person is one, He could have but one will; to which Maximus replied that, as He is both God and man, each of his natures must have its own proper will. The discussion was long, and was carried on with much acuteness; but, in addition to the superiority of his cause,

^a Hard. iii. 798-804; Pagi, xi. 336.

^b Anastas. Patrol. cxxviii. 709. He was chosen, A.D. 638; confirmed and died, 640; Cenni, ib. 715.

^c See Walch, xi. 145-8; Hefele, iii. 159.

^d Maximus, ap. Baron. xi. 640-9; Walch, ix. 199.

^e Niceph. Cpol. 10, 18. The incestuous union is placed in 613 by Baron. (613. 3). See Pagi, xi. 119.

^f Nic. Cpol. 19-20; Gibbon, iv. 402-2.

^g Nic. Cpol. 21; Theophanes, 508; Cedren. 430; Gibbon, iv. 402.

^h Baron. 640. 5; Dupin, vi. 43; Walch, ix. 194. His works, among which are commentaries on the pseudo-Dionysius, were edited by Combefis, Paris, 1675, and are reprinted in the Patrol. Gr.

ⁱ Printed at the end of Baronius, vol. xi. See Dorner, ii. 222-3.

Maximus had evidently the advantage in ability and in dialectic skill. At length Pyrrhus avowed himself convinced, and he accompanied Maximus to Rome, where the pope, Theodore, admitted him to communion, and treated him as patriarch of Constantinople. But Pyrrhus soon after went to Ravenna, and there (probably under the influence of the exarch, and in the hope of recovering his see) retracted his late professions. On hearing of this relapse, Theodore held a council, at which Pyrrhus was condemned and excommunicated; and, in order to give all solemnity to the sentence, the pope subscribed it in the wine of the eucharistic cup, and laid it on the tomb of St. Peter.^b

Both John IV.^c and Theodore had urged the successive emperors to withdraw the *Ecthesis*, which was still placarded by authority. In 648, Constans put forth a new formulary, which was intended to supersede the *Ecthesis*, and is known by the name of the *Type* (or Model) of faith. The tone of this document (of which the patriarch Paul was the author) is less theological than that of the *Ecthesis*, and more resembles that of an ordinary imperial decree. While, like the earlier edict, it forbade the discussion of the controversy, and the use of the obnoxious terms on both sides, it did so without betraying an inclination to either party; and it enacted severe punishments against all who should break the rule of silence.^d

Paul had carried on some unsatisfactory correspondence with Rome on the subject of the controversy, when at length Theodore, with a council, declared him excommunicate. On being informed of the sentence, the patriarch overthrew the altar of the papal chapel at Constantinople; he forbade the Roman envoys to celebrate the Eucharist, treated them with harshness, and persecuted their partisans.^e At this stage of the proceedings it was that the *Type* appeared; but, notwithstanding the publication of it, the controversy raged more and more fiercely. Maximus was unceasing and indefatigable in his exertions to stir up opposition to the Monothelite doctrines; and Rome was beset by applications from African councils, from Greece, and from other quarters, to act in defence of the faith.^f

In July, 649, Theodore was succeeded by Martin, and in October of the same year the new pope held a synod, which, from

^b Theophanes, 509; Anastas. 138-9. It afterwards became usual, in signing solemn documents, to make the sign of the cross "calamo in pretioso Christi sanguine intincto." Ducange, s. v. *Cruz*, p. 679. See Martene, i. 253.

^c Hard. iii. 614.

^d Ib. 824-5. See Hefele, iii. 189.

^e Ib. 700.

^f Ib. iii. 702, 720, 728, 738, &c.; Walch, ix. 208; Neand. v. 257.

having met in the "Basilica of Constantine," adjoining the Lateran palace, is known as the First Lateran Council. It was attended by a hundred and five bishops, among whom was the bishop of Ravenna.⁵ In the course of five sessions the history of the controversy was discussed, and the chief documents of it were examined. Stephen of Dor presented a memorial, praying that the errors of Monothelism might be rejected, and stating the solemn charge which the patriarch Sophronius had laid on him with regard to it.⁶ Passages from the writings of the leading Monothelites were confronted with extracts from Catholic fathers,¹ and were paralleled with the language of notorious heretics.² The Type of Constans was said to place truth and error on the same level, to "destroy the righteous with the wicked;"³ to leave Christ without will and operation, and therefore without substance and nature.⁴ The Council declared that there are in the Saviour two natural wills and operations, the Divine and the human,—“the same one Lord Jesus Christ willing and working our salvation both as God and as man.”⁵ Among the contents of the twenty canons, the doctrine of two united wills and of two operations was laid down, and an anathema was uttered against all who should deny it.⁶ The expression “*one* theandric operation” was denounced,⁷ and anathemas were passed against Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul of Constantinople, with the “most impious Ecthesis” and the “most impious Type,” which Sergius and Paul respectively had persuaded Heraclius and the reigning emperor to issue.⁸ Martin followed up this council by announcing its decisions to the emperor, to the patriarchs, to the bishops of Africa, and to other important persons both in the east and in the west.⁹ The pope’s language throughout these letters is in a tone of extreme denunciation, although he may perhaps have thought to guard himself against the emperor’s resentment by professions of great reverence for his person, and by referring the Ecthesis and the Type to Sergius and Paul as their authors.¹

While the council was sitting, the exarch Olympius arrived at Rome, with instructions to enforce the signature of the Type, and,

⁵ The Acts, in Hardouin, iii. 687, seqq., embody some documents already quoted.

⁶ Hard. iii. 713.

¹ Ib. iii. 771, seqq.; 853, seqq. As the pseudo-Dionysian writings were quoted, Baronius takes occasion to inveigh against the “*perfrictam frontem recentiorum hæreticorum*,” who have impugned them. 649. 19.

² Hard. iii. 783, seqq., 891, seqq.

³ Ib. 825. (Genes. xviii. 23.)

⁴ Ib. 700-717.

⁵ Ib. 920-1.

⁶ Cc. 10, 14.

⁷ C. 15. See above, p. 42, note 7.

⁸ C. 18.

⁹ Hard. iii. 625-34, 655, 933, &c.

¹ Schröckh, xx. 430.

if possible, to carry off the pope to Constantinople. He did not, however, execute his commission, probably because he meditated a revolt, and was willing to pay court to the papal party; and he was soon after killed in Sicily on an expedition against the Saracens.^a Martin, notwithstanding the fresh provocation which he had given to the court, appears to have been left in peace for three years and a half, until a new exarch, Theodore Calliopas, appeared, who seized him and despatched him towards the eastern capital. The tedious journey lasted from the 19th of June, 653, to the 17th of September in the following year. The pope was treated without any consideration for his office, his age, or the weakness of his health. Although his conductors often landed for recreation, he was never allowed to leave the vessel except at Naxos, where he remained a year on shore, but debarred from such comfort as he might have received from the visits or from the presents of his friends. On reaching Constantinople he lay for a day on the deck, exposed to the mockery of the spectators who crowded the quay; and he was then removed to a prison, where he was confined six months.^a During this time he was subjected to repeated examinations, which, however, did not relate to charges of erroneous doctrine, but to political offences, such as an alleged connexion with Olympius, and even with the Saracens. He was subjected to extreme cruelty; he was paraded about the streets as a criminal sentenced to death; and would probably have been executed but for the intercession of the patriarch Paul, who was then dying, and, on receiving a visit from the emperor, expressed his fear lest this unworthy treatment of a bishop opposed to him might tell against him at the judgment-day.^c Martin, who had borne his trials with much dignity and courage, was then banished to Cherson,^a where he lingered for a time in want of the necessities of life. Two letters are extant in which he pathetically complains of the neglect in which he was left by his flock, and by the many who had formerly partaken of his bounty.^a In this exile he died, in September 655.^b

Maximus, the most learned and most persevering opponent of Monothelism, was carried to Constantinople with two disciples in the same year with Martin^c (A.D. 653). The three were kept in

^a Anastas. 139; Baron. 649. 49-51; Pagi, xi. 423.

^a Accounts by Martin himself and another, in Hardouin, iii. 673, seqq., 688; Pagi, xi. 431, 451-3.

^c Hard. iii. 683. On the death of

Paul, Pyrrhus received the patriarchate, but held it only for a few months.

^a See vol. i. p. 507.

^a Hard. iii. 686-8.

^b Pagi, xi. 464.

^c Ib. xi. 435. The documents re-

prison until after the banishment of the pope, and were then brought to examination. Against Maximus, too, an attempt was made to establish a political crime by the charge of a connexion with Gregory, governor of Africa, who had April, 655. revolted.^d But the accusations were chiefly of a theological or ecclesiastical kind. Among other things, it was imputed to him that he had offended against the imperial privileges by denying that the emperor possessed the priesthood; by uttering an anathema against the Type, which was construed into anathematising the emperor himself; and by denying that the imperial confirmation gave validity to canons. To these heads he answered, that the emperor could not be a priest, inasmuch as he did not administer the sacraments, and was spoken of as a layman in the offices of the church; that his anathema against the Type applied only to the false doctrine which it contained; and that, if councils became valid by the emperor's confirmation, it would be necessary to receive the Arian councils to which such sanction had been given.^e "Are you alone to be saved," it was asked, "and are all others to perish?" "God forbid," he answered, "that I should condemn any one, or should claim salvation for myself only! But I would rather die than have on my conscience the misery of in any way erring as to the faith."^f Maximus and his companions were inflexible in their opinions, although kindness as well as severity was employed in order to influence them, and although they were pressed by the authority of the new pope, Eugenius, who had complied with the wishes of the court.^g They were sent into exile at Bizya in Thrace; and, after having been there subjected to great severities, were again carried to Constantinople, where they underwent a fresh examination.^h Their invincible constancy was punished by the loss of their tongues and of their right hands; they were banished to Lazica; and after a time they were separated, for the purpose of adding to their sufferings. Maximus sank under the cruel treatment which he received in August 662; one of his disciples (who both bore the name of Anastasius) is said, notwithstanding his mutilations, to have still effectively served the faith both by speech and by active correspondence, until his death in 666.ⁱ

Constans II., by whose authority these barbarities were sanc-

lating to Maximus are printed, with a translation by Anastasius the Librarian, in vol. cxxix. of the Latin *Patrologia*.

^d Patrol. cxxix. 603.

^e Ib. 609, 611, 613.

^f Ib. 611-3.

^g Ib. 613. Eugenius had been chosen during the lifetime of Martin. See Hefele, iii. 215.

^h Patrol. cxxix. 619-621.

ⁱ Ib. 657, 683; Pagi, xi. 503-4, 519-20; Hefele, ii. 205-214.

tioned, had put his own brother to death, and by this and other acts had provoked the detestation of his eastern subjects. Yielding to the general feeling, he withdrew from Constantinople in the year 663, and visited Rome, where he was received with great honour by the bishop, Vitalian.^k After having stripped off the brazen roof of the Pantheon (which had been a church since the reign of Phocas), and having plundered it and other churches of their precious ornaments, the emperor passed into Sicily, where he indulged his tyranny and vices without control, until in 668 he was murdered in a bath at Syracuse.^m The fate of pope Martin had disposed his successors, Eugenius and Vitalian, to peaceful courses,

A.D. 672-677. and the controversy smouldered until Adeodatus, the successor of Vitalian, again broke off communion with Constantinople;ⁿ whereupon the patriarchs Theodore of Constantinople and Macarius of Antioch excited a commotion by attempting to strike out of their diptychs the name of Vitalian, the only recent pope who had been commemorated in them.^o

The son and successor of Constans, Constantine IV., who is styled *Pogonatus* (the Bearded), was distressed by the divisions of the Church, and resolved to attempt a remedy. He therefore

A.D. 678. wrote to Donus, bishop of Rome, desiring him to send some delegates to Constantinople, for the purpose of conferring on the subjects in dispute.^p Before this letter arrived

June, 678. at Rome, Donus had been succeeded by Agatho, who, on receiving it, assembled a council. Among the hundred

and twenty-five prelates who attended, were the Lombard primate, Mansuetus of Milan, two Frankish bishops, and

A.D. 680. the famous Wilfrid of York; the rest were subjects of the empire.^q Monothelism was condemned, and two prelates with

a deacon were sent to Constantinople as representatives of the pope, bearing with them a letter to the emperor, which was intended to serve a like purpose with Leo's famous epistle to Flavian in the Eutychian controversy;^r while the council was represented by three bishops, with other clerks and monks.^s The pope in his letter expresses regret that the unquiet circumstances of Italy prevent the possibility of deep theological study, and professes to

^k Anastas. 141; Muratori, A.D. 663. Baronius makes amusing excuses for this, 663. 3-5.

^m Theophanes, 538; Paul Warnef. Hist. Langob. vi. 11; Anastas. 141.

ⁿ Neand. v. 266.

^o Walch, ix. 376. See Hard. iii. 1163, 1167.

^p Hard. iii. 1043-7.

^q See Inett, i. 92, seqq. Pagi places the council in 679; Jaffé and Hefele (iii. 229), in March, 680.

^r Dörner, ii. 229, 248. See vol. i. pp. 463, 471.

^s Hard. iii. 1076-7.

rely, not on the learning of his deputies, but on their faithfulness to the doctrine of earlier councils and fathers.^a

Constantine now determined, instead of the conference which had been intended, to summon an "ecumenical" synod—by which term, however, it would seem that he meant nothing more than one which should represent the whole empire; for no subjects of other governments were present.^a This assembly—the Sixth General Council, and Third Council of Constantinople^a—met in a room of the palace, which, from its domed roof, was styled *Trullus*.^c The sessions were eighteen in number, and lasted from November 7th, 680, to September 16th in the following year. The emperor presided in person at the first eleven sessions and at the last;^a in his absence, the presidential chair was unoccupied. At the earlier meetings, the number of bishops was small; but it gradually rose to nearly two hundred. Among them were George, patriarch of Constantinople, and Macarius of Antioch (whose dignity was little better than titular);^a while the sees of Alexandria and Jerusalem were represented by two presbyters. Twelve high officers of the empire, and some monks, were also present.^b

The proceedings were conducted with a decency and an impartiality of which there had been little example in former assemblies of the kind, and the emperor sustained his part in a very creditable manner.^c The principal documents of the controversy were read, and extracts from the writings of the Monothelites were compared with passages intended to refute or to support them, or to prove their identity in substance with heresies which had been already condemned.^d At the eighth session, the patriarch of March 7, Constantinople professed his adhesion to the views of 681. Agatho and the Roman synod, and the bishops of his patriarchate followed the example.^e But Macarius of Antioch still maintained the doctrine of a single theandric will and operation—that, as the mind moves the body, so in Christ the divine will directed the humanity.^f He produced a collection of authorities in favour of

^a Hard. iii. 1077.

^a Ib. 1049; Walch, ix. 391.

^a The sixth is the last which any Anglican writers acknowledge as a General Council.

^c Hard. iii. 1055. On the word, see Baron. 680. 41, with Pagi's notes; Hefele, iii. 236.

^a Pighius, a Romanist, ventures to call the genuineness of the Acts in question on account of the part thus ascribed to the emperor! Walch, ix. 388-9.

^a See Gieseler, I. ii. 470.

^b Hard. iii. 1056.

^c Walch, ix. 428; Schröckh, xx. 445; Giesel. I. ii. 475.

^d Hard. iii. 1152-4; 1202, seqq.; 1226-1304.

^e Ib. 1157, 1163-6.

^f Ib. 1171. Macarius held that this was consistent with the Chalcedonian doctrine of the two natures, inasmuch as the one nature was active, and the other was a passive instrument. Dörner, ii. 207, 231.

his opinion; but the council, after examining these, pronounced them to be spurious or garbled, or, where genuine, to be misapplied,—as when words which had really been used to express the relations of the Divine Persons in the Trinity were transferred to the relations of the Saviour's Godhead and manhood.^a As the Syrian patriarch persisted in his opinion, declaring that he could not abandon it even on pain of being cut in pieces and cast into the sea, he was deposed and excommunicated, with a disciple named Stephen; and, while the emperor was hailed as a new Constantine the Great, a new Theodosius, a new Marcian, anathemas were loudly uttered against Macarius as a second Apollinaris and Dioscorus.^b

The fifteenth session was marked by a singular incident. An aged monk named Polychronius presented a confession of faith, April 26, and undertook to prove its correctness by raising a dead 681. man to life. He said that he had seen a vision, in which a person of dazzling brightness and of terrible majesty had told him that whosoever did not confess a single will and theandric operation was not to be acknowledged as a Christian. The synod adjourned to the court of a public bath, and a corpse was brought in on a bier. Polychronius laid his creed on the dead man's breast, and for a long time whispered into his ears; no miracle, however, followed. The multitude, who had been admitted to witness this strange experiment, shouted out anathemas against Polychronius as a deceiver and a new Simon; but his confidence in his opinions was unshaken by his failure, and the synod found it necessary to depose him.¹

The faith on the subject in dispute was at length defined. The Monothelites were condemned as holding a heresy akin to those of Apollinaris, Severus, and Themistius; as destroying the perfection of our Lord's humanity by denying it a will and an operation.^k The doctrine of the Incarnation was laid down, according to the earlier decisions of the church; and to this it was added,—“We in like manner, agreeably to the teaching of the holy fathers, declare that in Him there are two natural wills and two natural operations, without division, change, separation, or confusion.

^a Hard. iii. 1249, 1175, seqq. See Hefele, iii. 115-8.

^b Hard. iii. 1166, 1175, 1182, 1198, 1327-8, 1413.

¹ Ib. 1374-8. Rufinus relates that the famous monk Macarius the elder confuted a heretic by raising a dead man to life. Hist. Monach. 28. (Patrol.

xxi.) Macarius, Polychronius, and others were sent to Rome, where two of the party retracted, and were absolved by Leo II.; but the others, being obstinate, were imprisoned in monasteries. Anastas. de Leone II. (Patrol. cxxviii. 847.)

^k Hard. iii. 1398-9.

And these two natural wills are not contrary, as impious heretics pretend; but the human follows the divine and almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it; for, according to the most wise Athanasius, it was needful that the will of his flesh should be moved, but that it should be subjected to his divine will. . . . As his flesh, although deified, was not destroyed by his Godhead, so too his human will, although deified, was not destroyed."^m . . . An anathema was pronounced against the chief leaders of the Monothelites. The name of Honorius had been unnoticed by the Roman councils—a fact which significantly proves that, while desirous to spare his memory, they did not approve of the part which he had taken in the controversy. John IV. in his letter to Constantine, the son of Heraclius, had endeavoured to clear his predecessor by the plea that he had only meant to deny the existence of two *contrary* wills in the Saviour, "forasmuch as in His humanity the will was not corrupted as it is in ours;"ⁿ and Maximus, in his conference with Pyrrhus, had been unwilling to give the Monothelites the benefit of a Roman bishop's authority.^o But the general council, after examining the letters of Honorius, declared that "in all things he had followed the opinions of Sergius and had sanctioned his impious doctrines;" and the Monothelite pope was included in its anathema.^p

The decisions of the council were confirmed by the emperor, and severe penalties were enacted against all who should contravene them.^q Pope Agatho died in January 662, while his legates were still at Constantinople; but his successor, Leo II., zealously

^m Ib. 1400.

ⁿ Ib. 611. Against this plea, see Walch, ix. 127-132; Hefele, iii. 149.

^o Max. ap. Baron. xi. 645.

^p Hard. iii. 1331-4. The condemnation of Honorius has caused great difficulty to some Roman controversialists. Baronius pretends that the acts of the council are interpolated, and that the name of Honorius has been substituted in them for that of Theodore, the predecessor of George in the patriarchate of Constantinople (681. 13-21; 682. 4). The groundlessness of this is shown by Pagi, who himself maintains that Honorius was personally orthodox, and that he was condemned only on account of his "economy" in attempting to stifle the discussion of the question (xi. 31-32). Bellarmine (De Rom. Pont. v. 11), Garnier (Dissert. ii. in Lib. Diurn. Patrol. cv.), Pétau (De Incarn. I. xxi. 144), Combefis (in Auctar. Bibl. Patrum, iii.), Muratori (Annali, IV. i.

108), Noël Alexandre (x. 463-8), and others take a (more or less) similar line, and are refuted by Walch, ix. 409-418; Schröckh, xx. 446-8; Gieseler, I. ii. 477-8; Dorner, ii. 217-220. There is an essay in favour of Honorius by Molkenbuhr (Patrol. lxxx.). In our own time, Döllinger (i. 157-8) and Hefele (who argues the matter very fully and with great candour, iii. 150-2, 264-284) give up the pope, although they suppose that he thought more soundly than he expressed himself; even Rohrbacher can only excuse him by representing him as the dupe of Sergius, and concludes his remarks on the subject by saying that "Nous y voyons un avertissement divin à tous ses successeurs, de bien peser les paroles de leurs écrits, et de ne jamais traiter légèrement les questions de doctrine." (x. 88, 167-8, 381.)

^q Hard. iii. 1445-1457.

exerted himself to procure the reception of the council by the churches of the west. In letters to the emperor, to the Spanish bishops, and to others, Leo expressed his approval of the condemnation of Honorius, on the ground that that pope, instead of "purifying the Apostolic Church by the doctrine of apostolical tradition," had "yielded its spotlessness to be defiled by profane betrayal of the faith."¹

The last two general councils, unlike those of earlier times, had confined themselves to matters of faith, and had not passed any canons relating to other subjects. In order to supply this defect, Justinian II., who in 685 succeeded his father Constantine Pogonatus,² assembled a new synod, which is known by the name of *Trullan*, from having been held in the same domed hall with the late general council, and by that of *Quinisext*, as being supplementary to the fifth and sixth councils.³ Its hundred and two canons were subscribed by the emperor and by the four eastern patriarchs; and immediately after the imperial signature, a space was left for that of Sergius, bishop of Rome. It does not appear whether Sergius had been invited to send special deputies to the council;⁴ his two ordinary representatives at Constantinople subscribed, and Basil, metropolitan of Gortyna, in Crete, professed to sign as representing the "whole synod of the Roman Church."⁵ But among the canons were six which offended the pope, as inconsistent with the rights or the usages of his Church.⁶ The 2nd, in enumerating the earlier canons which were *exclusively* to be observed, sanctioned eighty-five under the name of apostolical, whereas Rome admitted only fifty;⁷ and it omitted many synods which were of authority in the west, together with the whole body of papal decretals. The 13th allowed those of the clergy who had

¹ Hard. iii. 1476. So he elsewhere says that Honorius "flamman hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit" (1730). Baronius has recourse to his familiar device of declaring the letters to be forged (683. 14). Pagi owns their genuineness, but says that Honorius is only censured in them for supineness and connivance—not for heresy. But, even if Leo's words did not necessarily imply more than this, his meaning certainly went further, since he unreservedly recommends the decisions of the council, and names Honorius with Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, &c., among those who were condemned as traitors to the faith. (1730.) See Hefele, iii. 279, seqq.

² Gibbon, iv. 405.

³ The most probable date is 691 (Pagi, xii. 120; Hefele, iii. 299). Some place it in 692 (see Walch, ix. 44); others, as early as 686 (see Hefele, l. c.); Hardouin, as late as 706.

⁴ Schröckh, xix. 509.

⁵ Hard. iii. 1697-9. On these signatures see Pagi, xii. 122; De Marca, V. x. 3; Hefele, iii. 314.

⁶ Schröckh, xix. 508; Giesel. I. ii. 480.

⁷ See Drey, Ueber die Constitut. u. Kanones der Apostel, 203-9, 419. In the decree of Gelasius as to books allowed or forbidden (see vol. i. 536), the whole of the Apostolical Canons are condemned. (Patrol. lix. 163.)

married before their ordination as subdeacons to retain their wives.^a The 36th renewed the decrees of the second and fourth general councils as to the privileges of the see of Constantinople. The 55th ordered that the "apostolical" canon which forbade fasting on any Saturday except Easter-eve should be extended to Rome, where all the Saturdays of Lent had until then been fast-days. The 67th forbade the eating of blood. The 82nd prescribed that the Saviour should be represented in his human form, and not under the symbolical figure of a lamb.^b In contradicting Roman usages, the 13th and 55th canons expressly stated that they were such, and required the Roman Church to abandon them; it would seem, indeed, as if the eastern bishops were bent, as at Chalcedon, on moderating the triumph of Rome in the late doctrinal question by legislating on other matters in a manner which would be unpalatable to the pope;^c and the recognition of these canons by the east only, where they were quoted as the work of the sixth general council, was the first manifest step towards the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches.^d

On receiving the canons, Sergius declared that he would rather die than consent to them. The protospathary Zacharias was commissioned to seize him and send him to Constantinople. But a rising of the people, and even of the soldiery, who looked more to the bishop of Rome than to their distant imperial master, compelled Zacharias in abject terror to seek the protection of his intended prisoner.^e About the same time, the vices of Justinian, the exorbitant taxation which was required to feed his ex-
A.D. 695.
 penses, and the cruelties which were committed in his name by his ministers, the eunuch Stephen and the monk Theodosius, provoked a revolt, by which a general named Leontius was raised to the throne. From regard for the memory of Constantine Pogonatus, Leontius spared the life of Justinian;^f but the deposed emperor's nose was cut off (a mutilation which had become common in the east), and he was banished to the inhospitable Chersonese.^g

^a From this time the bishops of the Greek Church were chosen from among the monks. Finlay, ii. 113.

^b "MM. Raoul-Rochette and Didron observe, that the council wished to effect an entire substitution of history for symbolism" (Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 72), and from about this time Raoul-Rochette dates the introduction of the crucifix (*ibid.* 91). See vol. i. p. 346.

^c Giesel. I. ii. 479.

^d Giesel. I. ii. 481. Pope John VIII.

(A.D. 872-892) sanctioned such of the Trullan canons as were not contrary to the Roman decrees or canons, or to good morals. (Anast. Praef. ad Synod. vii. Patrol. cxxix. 196.) See the Preface to Theodore the Studite, in Sirmondi Opera Varia, tom. v. b. c., and Nat. Alexand. x. 473, seqq.

^e Anastas. 149.

^f Niceph. Cpol. 26. Schlosser questions this motive, but seemingly without reason, 109.

^g Theophanes, 562-6.

Leontius, after a reign of three years, was put down by Tiberius Apsimar, and was committed to a monastery. The Chersonites, in fear that the schemes which Justinian was undisguisedly forming for the recovery of his throne might draw on them the suspicion and anger of the new emperor, resolved to put the exile to death or to send him to Constantinople; but the design became known to him, and he sought a refuge among the Chazars of the Ukraine, where he married a sister of the reigning prince. Even among

A.D. 705. these remote barbarians, however, he found that he was in danger from the negotiations of Apsimar; and his desperation urged him to attempt the execution of the design which he had seemed to have abandoned.^a While crossing the Euxine in a violent storm, his companions exhorted him, as a means of obtaining deliverance, to promise that, if restored to the empire, he would forgive his enemies. "May the Lord drown me here," he replied, "if I spare one of them!" and when his daring enterprise had been crowned with success, the vow was terribly fulfilled. Leontius was brought forth from his monastery; he and Apsimar were laid prostrate in the circus, and, as the emperor looked on the games, his feet pressed the necks of his fallen rivals, while the multitude shouted the words of the 91st Psalm—"Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder." The two were then dragged about the streets of the city, and at length were beheaded.¹ All who had taken part in the expulsion of Justinian were mercilessly punished; many of them were tied up in sacks, and were cast into the sea. The patriarch Callinicus, who had been driven by the tyrant's oppression to favour the rebellion of Leontius, was deprived of his eyes and nose, and was banished to Rome.² For some unknown reason, Felix, archbishop of Ravenna, was blinded, deposed, and sent into exile in Pontus;^m and Constantine of Rome—the seventh Greek refugee from the Mahometan conquests who successively filled the seeⁿ—might well have trembled when in 710 he was summoned to Constantinople. Perhaps Justinian may have required the pope's presence with a view of enforcing the Trullan Council on the west; perhaps he may have meant to secure his own authority in Italy against a repetition of such scenes as that which had taken place in the pontificate of Sergius.^o But Con-

^a Niceph. Cpol. 27.

¹ Theophanes, 574; G. Hamartolos, pp. 622-3; Schlosser, 110-4.

² Nic. Cpol. 28; Pagi, xii. 191; Gibbon, iv. 406-8.

^m Agnellus, Patrol. cvi. 704; Muratori,

A.D. 709. Felix was restored by Philippicus. Agnell. l. c. 707.

ⁿ The election of so many Greeks seems to indicate an influence of the exarchs. Murat. A.D. 705.

^o Giesel. I. ii. 488; Milman, ii. 142.

stantine's ready and courageous obedience appears to have disarmed the tyrant. Justinian received the pope as an equal; it is even said that, at the first meeting, he fell down and kissed his feet;^p and Constantine returned home with a confirmation of all the privileges of his Church. It has been conjectured that these favours were not obtained without the pope's consenting to the canons of the Quinisext council in so far as they were not directly contrary to the Roman traditions.^q

Justinian's abuse of his recovered power excited his subjects to a fresh rebellion, which began by an outbreak of the Chersonites, on whom he had intended to avenge by an exemplary cruelty the treachery which they had meditated against him during his exile.^r In 711 he was again dethroned and was put to death. His young son Tiberius, who had been crowned Augustus, fled to the church of the Blachernæ, hung the relics which were regarded as most sacred around his neck, and clasped the altar with one hand and the cross with the other; but a leader of the insurgents pursued him into the sanctuary, plucked the cross from him, transferred the relics to his own neck, and dragged the boy to the door of the church, where he was immediately slain. Thus ended the dynasty of Heraclius, about an hundred years after the accession of its founder.^s

The revolution raised to the throne an adventurer named Bardanes, who on his accession took the name of Philippicus. Bardanes was of a Monothelite family, and his early impressions in favour of the heresy had been confirmed by the lessons of Stephen, the associate of Macarius of Antioch.^t It is said that, many years before, he had been told by a hermit that he was one day to be emperor; and that he had vowed, if the prophecy should be fulfilled, to abrogate the Sixth General Council.^u He refused to enter the palace of Constantinople until a picture of the council should have been removed; he publicly burnt the original copy of its acts, ordered the names of Honorius, Sergius, and the others whom it had condemned, to be inserted in the diptychs,^x ejected

In 706, Justinian had sent the Trullan canons to John VII., desiring him to lay them before a council, and to accept or reject them in detail; but the pope, "*humana fragilitate timidus*," declined the task, and sent them back untouched. He died soon after. Anastas. in *Patrol.* cxxxviii. 930; Murat. A.D. 706.

^p Anastas. 153. Dean Milman regards this as a western fiction, ii. 85.

^q Anast. 153; Pagi, xii. 220; Murat. Ann. IV. i. 292-3; Schröckh, xix.

514-5. As to the treatment of the council by later popes, see Hefele, iii. 317.

^r Nic. Cpol. 29-30; Schlosser, 119-123.

^s Nic. Cpol. 31; Theophanes, 583; Gibbon, iv. 408-9; Schlosser, 124-5.

^t Agatho Diac. ap. Hard. iii. 1836; Walch, ix. 430. See p. 52.

^u Theophanes, 581.

^x An account of these proceedings is given by a deacon named Agatho, who

the orthodox patriarch Cyrus, and required the bishops to subscribe a Monothelite creed. The order was generally obeyed in the east, but at Rome it met with different treatment. Constantine refused to receive it; the people would not allow the emperor to be named in the mass, nor his portrait to be admitted into a church, where, instead of it, they hung up a representation of the Sixth Council; and, on the arrival of a newly-appointed commander from Constantinople, an outbreak took place, which was only suppressed by the pope's interposition on the side of authority.⁷ Philippicus, after a reign of a year and a half, during which he had given himself up to extravagance and debauchery, was deposed and blinded.

A.D. 713.

His successor, Anastasius, was a Catholic; and John, who had been intruded into the patriarchate of Constantinople on the deprivation of Cyrus, now sued for the communion of Rome, professing that he had always been orthodox at heart, and that his compliance with the late heretical government had arisen from a wish to prevent the appointment of a real Monothelite.⁸ The pope's answer is not known; but in 715 John was deprived, and Germanus, bishop of Cyzicum, was appointed to the patriarchal chair.⁹ Anastasius was dethroned in 716 by Theodosius III., and Theodosius, in the following year, by Leo the Isaurian, whose reign witnessed the commencement of a new and important controversy.

The readiness with which the formulary of Philippicus was received by the eastern bishops and clergy, may be regarded not only as a token of their subserviency, but also as indicating that the Monothelite party at that time possessed considerable strength.^b The public profession of Monothelism, however, soon became extinct, its only avowed adherents being the Maronite community in Syria. A monastery, dedicated to a saint of the name of Maron,^c stood between Apamea and Emesa as early as the sixth century; and in the end of the seventh it was under the government of another Maron, who died in 701.^d The name of Maronites, which originally belonged to the members of this monastery, was gradually extended to all the inhabitants of the district of Lebanon,^e a population chiefly composed of refugees from the Saracen conquests. Among these the Monothelite opinions were held; and,

had written the original acts. Hard. iii. 1836, seqq.

⁷ Anastas. 158; Schlosser, 127.

⁸ Hard. iii. 1837. Pagi defends the patriarch's "economy," xii. 234.

⁹ Baron. 714. 3-4; Pagi, xii. 255-261.

^b Giesel. I. ii. 482.

^c See Theodoret, Hist. Relig., 16.

^d Schröckh, xx. 452-4.

^e See Walch, ix. 477. Against the identification of Maronites with *Mar-daites* (as by Walch, ix. 485; Schröckh, xix. 44; xx. 454), see Giesel, I. ii. 483.

while the other Christian communities of Syria had each its political attachment—the Jacobites being connected with the Mahometan conquerors, and the Catholics (or Melchites) with the emperor—the Maronites preserved their independence together with their peculiar doctrines, under the successors of Maron, who styled themselves patriarchs of Antioch. Thus the community continued until, in the age of the Crusades (A.D. 1182), they submitted to the Latin patriarch of Antioch, and conformed to the Roman church,^f which in later times has been indebted to the Maronites for many learned men.^g

^f They were then about 40,000 in number. Will. Tyr. xxii. 8 (Patrol. cci.); Gibbon, iv. 383-5; Wilkins, III. ii. 204.

^g Of these the Assemani are the most famous. They and other Maronites attempt to clear their ancestors

from the charge of Monothelism. Bat Pagi (xi. 311-3, 602-4; xii. 77; xviii. 211-2) is said to be the only considerable non-Maromite authority among the Romanists who takes this view. See Walch, ix. 476; Schröckh, xx. 454-6; Döllinger, i. 163.

CHAPTER III.

THE WESTERN CHURCH FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY THE GREAT
TO THE PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE SECOND.

A.D. 604-715.

I. THE relations of the papacy with the empire during the period between the first and the second Gregories may in some degree be understood from the foregoing chapter.

The Monothelite controversy for a time weakened the influence of Rome, both through the error of Honorius in favouring the heretical party and through the collisions between the papacy and the imperial power. But although Martin suffered severely in person for his proceedings in the Council of Lateran, these proceedings—the assembling of such a synod without the emperor's sanction, and the bold condemnation of his ecclesiastical measures—remained as important steps in the advance of the papal claims; and in no long time the authority of the Roman name was re-established by the sixth general council.^a At that council the title of *Ecumenical* or *Universal Bishop*, which Gregory had not only denounced in others but rejected for himself, was ascribed to Agatho by his representatives,^b and the bishops of Rome thenceforth usually assumed it.^c

Agatho obtained from Constantine Pogonatus an abatement of the sum payable to the emperor on the appointment of a pope;^d and the same emperor granted to Benedict II. that, in order to guard against a repetition of the inconveniences which had been felt from the necessity of waiting for the imperial confirmation, the pope should be consecrated immediately after his election.^e Yet the confirmation by the secular power still remained necessary for the possession of St. Peter's chair,^f and disputed elections gave the exarchs of Ravenna ample opportunities of interfering in the establishment of the Roman bishops;^g if indeed the meaning of

^a Walch, ix. 292; Giesel, I. ii. 487.

^b Hard. iii. 1424-6.

^c It occurs in the profession of faith to be made by a bishop according to the 'Liber Diurnus,' about A.D. 682-5, c. iii. tit. 6 (Patrol. cv.); Giesel, I. ii. 487.

^d "Relevata est quantitas," says Ana-

stasius (144)—an expression which may mean either that the payment was lessened or that it was abolished.

^e lb. 146.

^f As appears from the Liber Diurnus. (See vol. i. p. 550.) Giesel, I. ii. 487.

^g Milman, ii. 83.

the edict for the immediate consecration of the pope were not that the exarch's ratification should be sufficient, without the necessity of referring the matter to Constantinople.^a

The political influence of the popes increased in proportion as the emperors were obliged by the progress of the Saracens to concentrate their strength for the defence of their eastern dominions, and to devolve on the bishops of Rome the care of guarding against the Lombards. The popes now possessed some fortresses of their own, and from time to time they repaired the walls of Rome.¹ The Italians came to regard them more than the sovereigns of Constantinople; and such incidents as the rising of the soldiery against the attempt to carry off Sergius, a similar rising in the pontificate of John VI.,² and the refusal of the Romans to recognise the authority of Philippicus, are significant tokens of the power which the bishops of Rome had acquired in their own city.^m

The desolation of the churches of Palestine by the Saracens, and the withdrawal of the patriarchs from Antioch and Jerusalem to the enjoyment of a titular dignity within the empire, furnished the popes with a pretext for a new interference in the affairs of the east. A bishop of Joppa had taken it on himself, perhaps with the imperial sanction, to fill up some vacant sees. In opposition to him, Theodore of Rome commissioned Stephen bishop of Dor (whose name has occurred in the history of the Monothelite controversy)ⁿ to act as his vicar in the Holy Land. The execution of the commission was resisted by the influence of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch; but similar delegations were afterwards given by other popes, although it does not appear with what effect.^o

The differences between the popes and the court encouraged the archbishops of Ravenna to set up pretensions to independence, which they rested on the eastern principle that the civil importance of their city entitled it to such ecclesiastical dignity.^p The claim caused considerable difficulty to the popes, but was at length set at rest, in 683, by Leo II., who obtained an imperial order that the archbishops should repair to Rome for consecration.^q The schism of Istria, which had arisen out of the controversy on the Three Articles in the middle of the sixth century,^r was, after many

^a Note in Mosheim, ii. 83. But see Pagi, xii. 40.

¹ Schröckh, xix. 513; Giesel. I. ii. 485-6.

² A.D. 701. Anastas. 151.

^m Giesel. I. ii. 488.

ⁿ Pp. 44, 47.

^o Hard. iii. 639, 642, 717; Baron. 643. 13; Walch, ix. 214; Giesel. I. ii. 487-8; Hefele, iii. 207.

^p Giesel. I. ii. 489. See Agnell. Hist. Pontiff. Ravenn.—Patrol. cvi. 270, &c.

^q Agnell. 689; Anastas. 145.

^r See vol. i. p. 531; ii. pp. 4, 13.

temporary accommodations, finally healed by Sergius in 698.^a But in the Lombard kingdom, although Catholicism was established from the reign of Grimoald (A.D. 662-671), the church still remained independent of Rome, and the entire relations of the Lombards with the papacy were not of any cordial or satisfactory kind.^b

II. The history of the Spanish Church for a century after its abjuration of Arianism consists chiefly in the records of its synods. These assemblies did not confine themselves to the matters of ecclesiastical regulation, but also took an active concern in the affairs of state.^c As the sovereignty was elective, the voice of the bishops was influential in the choice of kings; and the kings, who, from the time of Recared, were solemnly crowned by the chief pastors of the church,^d were naturally desirous to fortify their throne by the support of the clergy. Hence the bishops acquired very great political importance: they were charged with the oversight, not only of the administration of justice, but of the collection of taxes.^e By this relation between the ecclesiastical and the secular powers, the Church became nationalised, and the connexion with Rome, in which the Catholic bishops had at first found a means of influence and strength, was gradually weakened during the lapse of time from the period of the reconciliation.^f Gregory had bestowed the pall on his friend Leander, bishop of Seville, but no record is found of its arrival in Spain;^g later bishops of Seville do not appear to have applied for it;^h and the primacy of Spain was transferred by the royal authority from that city to the capital, Toledo.ⁱ

The most eminent men of the Spanish Church during this time were Isidore, bishop of Seville (*Hispalensis*), and Ildefonso, bishop of Toledo. Isidore, the brother and successor of Leander, held his see from 595 to 636, and was a voluminous writer. His works, which are very miscellaneous in character, are little more than compilations, and are valuable chiefly for the fragments of earlier writings which are preserved in them. But his learning and

^a Anastas. 150; see Pagi, xii. 169; Giesel. I. ii. 410.

^b Giesel. I. ii. 489-490.

^c Schröckh, xix. 451, seqq.

^d Lembke, i. 85.

^e Planck, ii. 263-5; Giesel. I. ii. 494.

^f Planck, ii. 693, 701; Guizot, ii. 331.

^g Greg. Ep. ix. 121. Gieseler sup-

poses that Leander may have died before its arrival. I. ii. 495.

^h See as to Isidore, Arevalo, 'Isidoriana,' i. 22 (Patrol. lxxx.).

ⁱ Giesel. I. c. There is a fable that a bishop of Seville went into Africa, and turned Mahometan; and that thereupon King Chindasuintha transferred the primacy. See Mariana, iv. 218.

genius were in his own day admired as extraordinary, and his fame afterwards became such that in the ninth century his name was employed to bespeak credit for the great forgery of the Decretals.^d Ildefonso, who filled the see of Toledo in the middle of the seventh century, distinguished himself in asserting the perpetual virginity of the Saviour's mother. His exertions are said to have been rewarded by her appearing in splendour over the altar of his cathedral, and presenting him with a magnificent vestment, to be worn at the celebration of the Eucharist on her festivals.*

In the first years of the eighth century, king Witiza forbade appeals to Rome, authorised the marriage of the clergy, and obtained for his measures the sanction of a synod held at Toledo in 701; and it is said that he threatened such

A.D. 701-10.

of the clergy as should oppose these measures with death.^f This prince is described as a prodigy of impiety, tyranny, and vice;^g but it has been shown that the darkness of his reputation appears more strongly in later writers than in those who lived near his own time;^h and it has been conjectured that he may have only meant to prevent the recurrence of complaints against the immorality of the clergy by reviving the liberty of marriage, which had always existed during the Arian period of the Spanish Church.ⁱ But, whatever may have been his motives or the details of his acts, the effects of these were soon brought to an end by the Arab conquest of Spain, which dethroned his successor Roderick.^k The mountaineers of the north alone retained their independence with their Christianity. The Christians who fell under the Mahometan dominion received the same humiliating toleration in Spain as elsewhere; and in their depressed condition they were glad once more to look for countenance to the see of Rome.

A.D. 710-1.

III. In France the disorders of the time tended to lessen the connexion of the Church with Rome. Such differences as arose were necessarily decided on the spot; and there is hardly any trace of intercourse with the papal see between the pontificates of

^d Mariana, iv. 209. See the collection of testimonies in his honour, Patrol. lxxxi. 198-203; lxxxii. 65-70. For the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, see below, Book IV. c. i. s. 4.

^e Cyrila, Vita Ildef. 7 (Patrol. xcvi.); Mariana, iv. 233-42.

^f Mariana, iv. 305-6; Baron. 702. 12; Planck, ii. 703. The synod is doubtful. (Schröckh, xix. 463.) Hefele takes no notice of the law as to marriage ascribed

to it. iii. 326.

^g Mariana, iv. 308; Baron. 701. 11-2.

^h See Giesel. I. ii. 495.

ⁱ Ib. 497. The vulgar story represents him as having sanctioned a Mahometan license as to the marriage both of clergy and of laity. Pseudo-Liutprand, Chron. 174, 181. (Patrol. cxxxvi.)

^k Isid. Pacens. Chron. Ær. 749 (Patrol. xcvi.); Pagi, xii. 229; Gibbon, v. 155-7.

the first and the second Gregories.^m The same troubles which led to this effect caused a general decay of discipline both among the clergy and in the monasteries.ⁿ When men of the conquering race began to seek after the emoluments and dignities of the Church—a change which is marked by the substitution of Teutonic for Roman names in lists of bishops from the seventh century^o—they brought much of their rudeness with them, and canons against hunting and fighting prelates began to be necessary.^p

At the same time the wealth and temporal influence by which such persons were attracted into the ranks of the clergy were continually on the increase. Vast gifts of land and of money were bestowed by princes on churches and monasteries, sometimes from pious feeling, sometimes by way of compromise for the indulgence
A.D. 628–
638.

of their vicious passions. Thus Dagobert, the last Merovingian who possessed any energy of character, by the advice of St. Eligius, his master of the mint, enlarged a little chapel of St. Denys, near Paris, into a splendid monastery, furnished it with precious ornaments, the work of the pious goldsmith, and endowed it with large estates, which were partly derived from the spoil of other religious houses.^q This prince, “like Solomon,” says Fredegar, “had three wives and a multitude of concubines;” and the chronicler seems to consider it as a question whether his liberality to the church were or were not sufficient to cover his sins.^r Another writer, however, not only speaks without any doubt on the subject, but professes to give conclusive information as to the fate of Dagobert. A hermit on an island in the Mediterranean, it is said, was warned in a vision to pray for the Frankish king’s soul. He then saw Dagobert in chains, hurried along by a troop of fiends, who were about to cast him into a volcano, when his cries to St. Denys, St. Michael, and St. Martin, brought to his assistance three venerable and glorious persons, who drove off the devils, and, with songs of triumph, conveyed the rescued soul to Abraham’s bosom.^s

On the re-union of the monarchy under Dagobert’s father, Clotaire II., the bishops were summoned to an assembly of the

^m Guizot, ii. 167.

ⁿ Pagi, xi. 576; Giesel. I. ii. 497.

^o Pitra, Vie de S. Léger, 150.

^p Ozanam, Civ. Chrét. chez les Francs, 89.

^q Gesta Dagoberti, 17 (Patrol. xcvi.).

^r “Seems,” I must say; for the passage is beyond my power of construing. Fredeg. Chron. c. 60 (Patrol. lxxi.).

^s Gesta Dagob. (cc. 23, 44). Baronius (647. 5) maintains the truth of this story, which is represented on the beautiful monument of Dagobert, erected at St. Denys by St. Louis. Pagi disbelieves the legend, but says that Dagobert repented betimes, and lived many years in piety. This, however, seems very questionable.

leudes, and seventy-nine of them appeared at it. The laws passed by the joint consent of the spiritual and temporal aristocracies show traces of ecclesiastical influence, not only in the increase of clerical privileges, but in the humane spirit which pervades them.^a From that time bishops appear mixing deeply in political strife. Saints become conspicuous objects of general interest.^a The severity of their lives acquires for them reverence and power, but this power is exercised in the rude contentions of the age. One of the most famous of these saints, Leodegar (or Leger), bishop of Autun, may be mentioned by way of example.^a Leodegar was sprung from or connected with the most powerful families of the Frankish nobility. He acquired great credit with Bathildis, the saintly Anglo-Saxon, who rose from the condition of a captive to be queen of Clovis II. and regent of Neustria, and by her he was promoted from the abbacy of St. Maixent to the see of Autun.⁷ He is celebrated for the austerity of his life, for his frequency in prayer, for his eloquence as a preacher, for his bounty to the poor and to his church, and for his vigilant administration of his episcopal office.^a But he appears as the political chief of a powerful party of nobles; he takes the lead in setting up and in dethroning kings; and, if he did not actually bear the title of Mayor of the Palace, he for a time exercised the power of the mayoralty in the Neustro-Burgundian kingdom. After various turns of fortune, Leodegar fell into the hands of his rival Ebroin, who caused his eyes to be put out—an operation which he bore with perfect calmness, singing psalms during the execution of it.^a Two years later, by order of Ebroin, he was exposed to tortures, his lips were cut off, his tongue was cut out, and he was dragged over sharp stones with such violence, that for a time he was unable to stand. Notwithstanding the loss of his organs of speech, however, the bishop was able to speak as well as ever.^b His sufferings and his merits excited a general enthusiasm in his favour, and Ebroin, in alarm, resolved on his death. A great council of bishops was summoned, and Leodegar was accused before it of having been concerned in the death of Childeric II.—a prince who had owed his throne to him, but had afterwards imprisoned him in the monastery of Luxeuil, and, during

^a Michelet, i. 364; Giesel. I. ii. 447.^a Sismondi, ii. 56-8.^a See the old Lives, by Ursinus and another, Patrol. xcvi.; also 'Vie de S. Léger,' by Dom Pitra, Paris, 1846; and Milman, ii. 158, seqq.⁷ Vita Bathild. (Patrol. lxxxvii.); Ursin. 1; Pitra, 109, 244.^a Vita Anon. 1.^a Ib. 10.^b Ib. 13; Pitra, 341.

Leodegar's confinement, had been put to death by the party with which the bishop was connected.^c He firmly denied the charge, and referred to God as his witness.^d But his guilt was considered as

certain; his robe was rent, in token of degradation from his order; and, although a bright light appeared around his head in attestation of his innocence and sanctity, he was beheaded by order of Ebroin.^e Leodegar was revered as a martyr, and is said to have performed innumerable miracles after death. Yet among his opponents also were some who are ranked in the number of saints—such as Audoen (or Ouen), bishop of Rouen, the friend and biographer of St. Eligius, Præjectus (Prix) of Clermont, and Agilbert of Paris. Ouen's part in the struggle is celebrated for the short and significant answer which he gave when consulted by Ebroin—"Remember Fredegund,"^f—words which may have been intended only to recommend the imitation of that famous queen's readiness and decision, but which we can hardly read without thinking also of the unscrupulous wickedness by which her purposes were accomplished.

IV. The Irish Church, from which Columba had gone forth to labour in Scotland, and Columban in Gaul and Italy, was in these ages fruitful in missionaries, of whom many further notices will occur hereafter. But its internal history, however full of interest for the antiquarian inquirer, offers little that can find a place in such a narrative as this. It will be enough to mention here certain peculiarities of administration which not only throw light on the condition of the Irish Church, but serve also to explain the "unusual arrangement"^g of St. Columba's foundation at Iona, and to account both for the commonness of the episcopal title among the Irish missionary clergy, and for the irregular character of their proceedings.

In the early Irish Church it was held that the power of ordination belonged to the bishops alone; but the episcopate was merely a personal distinction, which conveyed no right of local jurisdiction.^h The number of bishops was unlimited,ⁱ and, like the chorepiscopi

^c Sismondi, ii. 68-9.

^d Vita, 14; Pitra, 378.

^e Vita, 14-5. In the account of his death, Pitra chiefly follows a very legendary "Passion." Rohrbacher even exceeds his usual absurdity of manner in an attack on Sismondi for some inaccuracies as to this saint. x. 327.

^f Gesta Regum Franc. 45 (Patrol. xcvi.).

^g Beda, iii. 4. See vol. i. p. 543.

^h For the substance of this paragraph I am indebted to the Rev. R. King's 'Memoir Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh,' Armagh, 1854. Comp. Ware, 'Antiq. of Ireland,' 232-6.

ⁱ Bernard. Vita S. Malachise, 19 (Patrol. clxxxii.); King's Primer, 985-6.

of other countries, they were consecrated by a single bishop.^k The position of Irish bishops, therefore, was widely different, both in spiritual and in temporal respects, from that of bishops elsewhere. The care of the ecclesiastical property was from early times committed to officers who were styled Erenachs; and, by a remarkable variation from the usual order of the Church, the spiritual government was exercised by a class of persons who, as having succeeded to the churches of eminent early missionaries, were styled their Coarbs or successors.^m These coarbs occupied positions which had originally been held by abbots; and while some of them were bishops, they more commonly belonged to the order of presbyters. The office of erenach was not transmitted from father to son, but according to the system of *tanistry*—a *tanist*, or successor, being chosen during the lifetime of each holder.ⁿ The dignity of coarb was not originally restricted to particular families; but from the tenth century it seems to have become for the most part hereditary—passing from a deceased possessor to his brother, his nephew, or (as the marriage of the clergy was usual in the Irish Church) to his son.^o The erenachs were originally taken from the ranks of the clergy, but the office gradually fell into the hands of laymen;^p and at length—probably in consequence of the Danish invasions in the tenth century, when the power of defending the Church's possessions became a chief qualification for ecclesiastical government—the laity were even admitted to the office of coarbs; so that, according to a complaint of St. Bernard, the church of Armagh was held by eight laymen in succession.^q

V. The early history of Christianity in the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is marked by much similarity of circumstances. Missionaries meet with a friendly reception: the king, after some prudent hesitation, becomes a convert, but his successors relapse into heathenism; until, after a time, the throne is filled by a prince who had learnt the truths of the Gospel in exile, and the profession of the faith is restored. Matrimonial alliances exercise the same

^k Lanfranc, Ep. 38 (Patrol. cl.); Anselm. Cantuar. Epp. iii. 142, 147 (ib. clx.); Joh. Tinmuth. in King, Primer, 1007. Lanigan supposes that there was an order of bishops consecrated in the canonical manner, and that besides these there was an order of chorepiscopi consecrated by one bishop. But Mr. King shows that there is no ground for this. (Memoir, 9-11.)

^m King, Memoir, Preface, and pp. 6, 17. Comp. Lanigan, iv. 80-6. Mr.

King informs me that until about the year 1000 the title Coarb is never used, except in connexion with the name of a person (e. g. "Coarb of Patrick"); afterwards it is sometimes, although seldom, connected with the name of a place (e. g. "Coarb of Armagh").

ⁿ King, Mem. 19.

^o Ib. 21.

^p Ib. 26.

^q Ib. 22-3; Bern. Vita Malach. 19.

See below, Book V. c. xi. 6.

influence in the spreading of religion which had before been seen among the barbarian conquerors of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Among the evidences by which the Gospel was recommended, we find frequent mention of miracles, and not uncommonly the argument from temporal interest—the experience of the fruitlessness of serving the pagan deities, and the inference that they had no power to help or to punish.⁷

In the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons two rival agencies were concerned—that of the Irish or Scottish, and that of the Roman party.⁸ Some of the differences as to usage between the Roman missionaries and the native clergy have already been mentioned—among them, the variation as to the time of Easter, produced by the adhesion of the Britons to a cycle which at Rome had long been obsolete.⁹ Another subject of contention was the form of the tonsure. It was not until monachism became popular that any tonsure was introduced; nor was it common among the western clergy until the sixth century.¹⁰ But a far earlier origin was now claimed for the fashions which contended in Britain. The Romans, who shaved the crown of the head, in imitation of the crown of thorns, deduced their practice from St. Peter;¹¹ while that of the Scots and Irish, who shaved the front as far as the ears, in the form of a crescent, was traced by its opponents to Simon Magus—a derivation which the Scots appear not to have disputed, contenting themselves with insisting on the virtues of some who had used their tonsure.¹² The degree in which the Irish were affected by these differences may be inferred from the statement of Laurence, the successor of Augustine, that an Irish bishop named Dagan refused, when in England, to partake of food with the Italian clergy, and even to eat under the same roof with them.¹³ Honorius and other bishops of Rome endeavoured to allay these differences by writing to the bishops of the national party.¹⁴ They succeeded in gaining the Irish,¹⁵ and

⁷ For instance, the speech of the Northumbrian priest Coifi (Beda, ii. 13). The argument, however, might be turned against Christianity also; thus the East Saxons apostatised during a pestilence. Beda, iii. 30.

⁸ On the shortcomings of the Romans in their missionary work, see Hook, i. 113-120.

⁹ Vol. i. p. 544; vol. ii. p. 20. See Smith's Dissertation in *Patrol.* xcv. 317, seqq.

¹⁰ Thomassin, I. ii. 27. 13-14; Smith, l. c. 328-9.

¹¹ Greg. Turon. de Miraculis, i. 28.

¹² Ceolfrid, Ep. ad Naitan. ap. Bed. v. 21; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 54; Lanigan,

iii. 69; Villanueva, n. in S. Patric. 34-8. Mabillon says that the Scottish tonsure was ascribed to Simon because it was "qualis Simoni Mago aliisque hominibus calvis sponte nascitur." (iii. præf. p. ix.) The authority for the sorcerer's baldness is not cited. A more probable explanation is given by Thomassin (I. ii. 28. 14) and Smith, the editor of Bede (*Patrol.* xcv. 331),—that the objectionable tonsure was referred to Simon as having been, according both to Scripture and to legend, the adversary of St. Peter. See vol. i. p. 41.

¹³ Beda, ii. 4.

¹⁴ Ib. 19.

¹⁵ The Roman Easter was received in

even some of the Britons; but the Scots continued obstinately to hold out.

Paulinus, the first archbishop of York, had, after the defeat and death of his convert Edwin of Northumbria, withdrawn to the bishoprick of Rochester, while the northern kingdom A.D. 633. fell back into idolatry.^c Oswald, who in 635 ascended the Northumbrian throne, had been converted while an exile in Scotland, and, in undertaking the conversion of his subjects, naturally looked to the same Church through which he had himself received his knowledge of the Gospel.^d At his request a bishop was sent from Iona; but the missionary was a man of stern character, and, after a short trial, withdrew in anger and despair at the obstinacy of the Northumbrians. The fathers of Iona^e met in consultation, and he indignantly related to them the failure of his enterprise; when, after he had finished, one of the monks, in a gentle tone of voice, told him that he had proceeded wrongly, and ought rather to have condescended to the rudeness and ignorance of those to whom he had been sent. Immediately the brethren exclaimed that the speaker, Aidan, was right; that the method which he had suggested was the true one, and that he was himself the fittest person to execute it.^f He was forthwith consecrated as a bishop,^g and was recommended to Oswald, who assigned the island of Lindisfarne for his residence. Here Aidan established a system closely resembling that of Iona; the bishops, with their staff of clergy, living according to monastic rule, in a community governed by an abbot.^h Oswald zealously assisted his labours in spreading the Gospel; and, as Aidan was but imperfectly acquainted with the language of the country, the king himself, who had learnt the

the south of Ireland about A.D. 633; but the northern Irish held out longer. Bede, iii. 3; Lanigan, ii. 389; Reeves, n. on Adamnan, p. 27. Archbishop Usher has published a letter from an Irish monk named Cumman to Segenus, abbot of Iona, A.D. 634, in defence of the change. Appendix to 'Religion of Ancient Irish,' in Works, iv. 432-443.

^c Bede, ii. 20.

^d Ib. iii. 3.

^e See Grub, i. 76.

^f Bede, iii. 5.

^g Against the extravagant assumption of presbyterian writers that Aidan received his episcopal consecration from presbyters (Cunningham, i. 81-3), see Grub, i. 153-6.

^h Bede, Vita S. Cuthb. 16 (Patrol.

xciv.); Hist. Eccles. iv. 27. See vol. i. p. 543. Dr. Lingard speaks of the system of Lindisfarne as identical with that of Iona (A. S. C. i. 154); but according to Mr. Grub there was "this important difference, that at Lindisfarne the abbot, who presided over the monastery, occupied his proper place in subordination to the bishop." (i. 77.) Mr. Grub's own quotations from Bede, however, seem to prove that, while the monks were under the bishop's spiritual care, the abbot was supreme in the government of the monastery—the bishop being in this respect under him. The real difference appears to have been that the bishops of Lindisfarne had diocesan authority, which the Scottish bishops of that time (like the Irish) had not.

Celtic during his exile, often acted as interpreter while the bishop delivered his religious instructions.¹

Aidan's settlement at Lindisfarne was followed by a large immigration of Scottish missionaries into England. Bede—Roman as he is in his affections, and strongly opposed to their peculiarities—bears hearty witness to the virtues of these northern clergy—their zeal, their gentleness, their humility and simplicity, their earnest study of Scripture, their freedom from all selfishness and avarice, their honest boldness in dealing with the great, their tenderness and charity towards the poor, their strict and self-denying life.² "Hence," he writes, with an implied allusion to the degeneracy of his own time, "in those days the religious habit was held in great reverence, so that wheresoever any clerk or monk appeared, he was joyfully received by all as the servant of God; even if he were met with on his journey the people ran to him, and, with bended neck, were glad to be either signed with his hand or blessed by his mouth; and they diligently gave ear to his words of exhortation. And if perchance a priest came to any village, forthwith the inhabitants gathered together, and were careful to seek from him the word of life."³ Of Aidan himself the historian says that he thoroughly endeavoured to practise all that he knew of Christian duty; and that, even as to the paschal question, while he erred in differing from the Catholics, he earnestly studied to unite with them in celebrating the great facts of our redemption through the passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Saviour.⁴ Aidan's successors were of like character. By them Christianity was not only spread over Northumbria; but other kingdoms, as Mercia and Essex, even to the northern bank of the Thames, were evangelised by missionaries who derived their orders immediately or more remotely from St. Columba's foundation at Iona.⁵

But collisions with the Roman party were inevitable. Oswy, the brother and successor of Oswald, who had learnt his Christianity and had been baptised in Scotland, married a Kentish princess, Eanfleda. The royal pair adhered to the customs of their respective teachers; and thus, while Oswy was celebrating the Easter festival, the queen was still engaged in the penitential exercises of Lent.⁶ The king's eldest son and colleague, Alfrid, strongly took up the Roman views, and expelled the Scottish

¹ Bede, iii. 8.

² iii. 2, 4, 17, 26.

³ iii. 26. See Wordsworth, *Eccles. Sonnets*, pt. i. 19. Hume refers to the passage as showing the height to which

priestly domination was carried among the Anglo-Saxons! i. 55.

⁴ Bede, iii. 17.

⁵ Ib. 21, 22, 24.

⁶ Ib. 25.

monks from a monastery at Ripon in order to substitute Romanisers, under Wilfrid, a priest of Northumbrian birth, who, having become discontented with the customs of Lindisfarne, had been sent by Eanfleda's patronage to Rome, and had returned to his native country with a zealous desire to propagate the usages of the Roman Church.^a The paschal question A.D. 664. was discussed in a conference at Streaneshalch (Whitby), in the presence of Oswy and his son. On the part of the Scots appeared Colman of Lindisfarne, with Cedd, a Northumbrian, who had been consecrated as bishop by Aidan's successor Finan, and had effected a second conversion of Essex;^b and they were strengthened by the countenance of the royal and saintly abbess Hilda, in whose monastery the conference was held. On the other side stood Agilbert, a native of France, who had studied in Ireland, and had held the see of Dorchester in Wessex,^c with Wilfrid, whom the bishop, on the plea of his own inability to speak the language of the country fluently, put forward as the champion of Rome. Wilfrid argued from the custom of that Church in which St. Peter and St. Paul had lived and taught, had suffered and had been buried. St. John, to whom the other party traced its practice,^d had, he said, observed it from a wish to avoid offence to the Jews; but the churches which that Apostle had governed had, since the Council of Nicæa, conformed to the Roman usage; and neither St. John, nor even the founder of Iona, if alive, would maintain, in opposition to Rome, a practice which was observed only by a handful of insignificant persons in a remote corner of the earth. On Wilfrid's quoting our Lord's promise to bestow on St. Peter "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," Oswy asked Colman whether these words had really been spoken to the Apostle. The bishop assented, and owned, in answer to a further question, that he could not produce any such grant of authority to St. Columba. "I tell you then," said the king, "that Peter is the doorkeeper whom I will not gainsay, lest perchance, if I make him my enemy by disregarding his statutes, there should be no one to open the door of heaven to me."^e The Roman party was victorious, and, while

^a Ib. 25; v. 19; Life of Wilfrid, by Edidi, 2-7, in Gale, Hist. Brit. Veteres, i. Wilfrid was born in 634. Eadmer, Vita Wilf. 4. (Patrol. cliv.) For his first journey to Rome, see Fagi, xi. 514-5.

^b Beda, iii. 22.

^c Ib. 7. He had resigned it in 661. Note in Godwin, De Præsulibus, 279.

^d It was, however, as we have seen, a

mistake to identify the Scottish practice with that of the Quartodecimans. See vol. i. p. 544.

^e Beda, iii. 25. Archdeacon Churton (p. 78) and Mr. Martineau (p. 80) speak of these words as a jest, and suppose that the council assented to them as such. But there is no ground for this, except the wish of the writers to

some of the Scots conformed, Colman and others withdrew to their own country.^x

The bishoprick thus vacated was bestowed on Tuda, who had been already consecrated in the southern part of Ireland, where the Roman usages were established;^y and when Tuda, in less than a year, was carried off by a pestilence,^z Wilfrid was appointed to succeed him. But the zealous champion of Roman customs chose to take his title from York, which Gregory the Great had marked out as the seat of an archbishop,^a rather than from the Scottish foundation of Lindisfarne; and as the bishops of England were all more or less tainted by a connexion with Scottish or Irish orders, he was not content to receive his consecration at their hands. He therefore passed into France, where he was consecrated, with great pomp, by Agilbert, now bishop of Paris,^b and twelve other prelates.^c On his return to England, the vessel in which he was embarked was stranded on the coast of Sussex. The savage and heathen inhabitants rushed down to plunder it, headed by a priest, who, "like another Balaam,"^d stood on a rising ground uttering spells and curses. But the priest was killed by a stone from a sling; the crew repelled three attacks, and, as the assailants were preparing for a fourth, the returning tide heaved off the vessel, which then made its way prosperously to Sandwich. Wilfrid now found that his scruples as to ordination had cost him dear; for, during his absence, the Northumbrian king had bestowed the bishoprick on Ceadda (or Chad), who had been consecrated in England, and had entered on his see. He, therefore, retired to his monastery of Ripon, where he remained for some years, except when invited to perform episcopal functions in a vacant or unprovided diocese.^e

In the year 664 (the same year in which the conference took place at Whitby) a great plague carried off the first native archbishop of Canterbury, Frithona, who, on his elevation to the see, had assumed the name of Adeodatus or Deusdedit.^f The kings of Northumbria and Kent agreed to send a presbyter named Wighard to Rome for consecration to the primacy; but Wighard died there, and pope Vitalian, apparently in compliance with a request from

save the king's character for theological argument, while they leave his decision and that of the assembly without a motive.

^x Beda, iii. 26-8.

^y Ib. 26.

^z Ib. 27.

^a See p. 19.

^b Agilbert has already been mentioned in this character, p. 66. See Pagi, xi. 540; Hussey, n. in Bed. p. 167.

^c Eddi, 12; Beda, iii. 28; iv. 19.

^d Eddi, 13.

^e Ib. 14.

^f Beda, iv. 1; Godwin, 40.

the kings, chose Theodore, a native of Tarsus, to take his place.^f Theodore was already sixty-six years of age. He was of eminent repute for learning; but his oriental birth suggested some suspicions,^h and he was not consecrated until, by allowing his hair to grow for four months, he had qualified himself for receiving the Latin tonsure instead of the Greek.ⁱ Theodore arrived in England in 669, and held his see for twenty-one years, with the title and jurisdiction of Archbishop of all England; for York had had no archbishop since Paulinus. Under Theodore the churches of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, which until then had been independent of each other, were for the first time united; and in other respects his primacy is memorable in the history of the English church. The resort of English students to the monasteries of Ireland, as seminaries superior to any that could be found in their own country,^k was now checked by the establishment of schools, in which the learning and the science of the age were taught, and it is said that not only Latin, but the Greek primate's native tongue, was spoken as fluently as English.^m To Theodore has also been ascribed the division of the country into parishes; and although this idea is now generally abandoned, it seems to be admitted that he may have paved the way for the parochial division by introducing the right of patronage, which had been established in his native church by Justinian.ⁿ

The archbishop visited every part of the country. On reaching Northumbria, he inquired into the case of Chad, and disallowed his consecration—partly, it would seem, because it was not derived from a purely Roman source, and partly on account of Wilfrid's prior claims to the see. The bishop meekly replied, "If you judge that I have not received the episcopate rightly, I willingly retire from my office, of which, indeed, I never thought myself worthy, but which, although unworthy, I agreed to undertake for the sake of obedience to command." Theodore was struck with this humility; he reordained him through all the grades of the ministry; and, while Wilfrid took possession of the Northumbrian diocese, Chad, after a short retirement in the monastery of Lastingham, was appointed by the king of

^f Beda, iii. 29; iv. 1; Milman, ii. 30.

^h The more naturally, as the visit of Constans to Rome (p. 50) had taken place shortly before. Hook, i. 148.

ⁱ The Greek tonsure, which was referred to St. Paul as its author, consisted in shaving (or rather in closely clipping)

the whole head. Thomassin, I. ii. 28. 10-11; Martene, ii. 15.

^k Beda, iii. 27.

^m Ib. iv. 2.

ⁿ See vol. i. p. 554; Collier, i. 262; Inett, i. 154; Lappenb. i. 190.

Mercia, on the archbishop's recommendation, to the see of Lichfield.^o

Gregory's scheme for the ecclesiastical organisation of England had never taken effect. The bishopricks had originally been of the same extent with the kingdoms, except that in Kent there was a second see at Rochester.^p Theodore was desirous of increasing the episcopate, and, in a council at Hertford, in 673, proposed a division of the dioceses; but, probably from fear of opposition, he did not press the matter.^q Soon after this council, Wilfrid again fell into trouble. Egfrid, the son and successor of Oswy, was offended because the bishop, instead of aiding him to overcome the inclination of his first queen for a life of virginity, had encouraged her in it, and had given her the veil; and the king was further provoked by the suggestions of his second queen, who invidiously dwelt on Wilfrid's wealth, his influence, and the splendour of his state.^r The primate lent himself to the royal schemes, and not only disregarded the rights of Wilfrid, by erecting the sees of Hexham and Sidnacester (near Gainsborough) within his diocese, but superseded him by consecrating a bishop for York

A.D. 677-8.

itself, as well as bishops for the two new dioceses which had been separated from it.^s Wilfrid determined to seek redress from Rome. A storm, which carried him to the coast of Friesland, saved him from the plots which, through Egfrid's influence, had been laid for detaining him in France;^t and he remained for some time in Frisia, where his labours were rewarded by the conversion of the king, Aldgis, with most of the chiefs and some thousands of the people. On his arrival at Rome, in 679, his case was investigated by pope Agatho, with a council of fifty bishops. . It was decided that, if his diocese were divided, the new sees should be filled with persons of his own choosing, and that those who had been intruded into them should be expelled;^u and Wilfrid was invited to take a place in the council against the Monothelites, where he signed the acts as representative of the whole church of Britain.^v

The Roman Council had denounced heavy penalties against all who should contravene its decisions; kings, in particular, were

^o Beda, iv. 2-3.

^p See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 86; Lap-
penberg, i. 183.

^q Wilkins, i. 43; Inett, i. 96; Lin-
gard, A. S. C. i. 132-3.

^r Beda, iv. 19; Eddi, 23; Inett, i. 89.

^s Beda, iv. 12 and notes; Eddi, 23;
see Johnson, i. 118.

^t Eddi, 25-6.

^u Wilkins, i. 44-7; Eddi, 29-31. For
documents relating to Wilfrid, see Pa-
trol. lxxxix. 46, seqq.

^v Hard. iii. 1131. See Pagi, xi. 628;
Collier, i. 248; Inett, i. 99; Hefele, iii.
229; and p. 50 of this volume.

threatened with excommunication. But Egfrid, instead of submitting, imprisoned Wilfrid on his return from Italy, and only offered to release him, and to restore him to a part of his old diocese, on condition of his renouncing the papal statutes. The imprisonment lasted nine months, at the end of which Wilfrid was set at liberty through the influence of the queen, who had been smitten with dangerous illness for possessing herself of his reliquary.⁷ He now sought a field of labour at a distance from his persecutors—the kingdom of Sussex, the scene of his perilous adventure in returning from France many years before. Until this time the only Christian teachers who had appeared in Sussex were six poor Irish monks, who had a little monastery at Bosham, but made no progress in converting the inhabitants. The king, however, Ethelwalch, had lately been baptised in Mercia, and gladly patronised the new preacher of the Gospel. The people of Sussex were indebted to Wilfrid for the knowledge of fishing and other useful arts, as well as of Christianity. He established a bishoprick at Selsey, and extended his labours to the Isle of Wight and into the kingdom of Wessex.⁸

Theodore, at the age of eighty-eight, feeling the approach of death, began to repent of the part which he had taken against Wilfrid. He sent for him, begged his forgiveness, reconciled him with Aldfrid,^a the new king of North-umbria, and urged him to accept the succession to the primacy. Wilfrid professed a wish to leave the question of the primacy to a council; but he recovered the sees of York and Hexham, with the monastery of Ripon.^b The archbishop died in the same year, and was succeeded by Berctwald; and after a time Wilfrid was again ejected for refusing to consent to certain statutes which had been enacted by the late primate. He withdrew into Mercia, where he remained until, in 702, he was summoned to appear before a synod at Onestrefield, in Yorkshire. On being required by this assembly to renounce his episcopal office, and to content himself with the monastery of Ripon, the old man indignantly declared that he would not abandon a dignity to which he had been appointed forty years before. He recounted his merits towards the Church—saying nothing of his zealous labours for the spreading of the Gospel, of his encouragement of letters, or of the stately churches which he had erected, but insisting on his oppo-

⁷ Eddi, 33-8.⁸ Beda, iv. 13, 16; v. 19; Eddi, 40-1.^a A different person from Alfrid pre-

viously mentioned. Mabill. v. 702.

^b Eddi, 41-2.

sition to the Scottish usages, on his introduction of the Latin chant, and of the Benedictine rule; and again he repaired to Rome, while his partisans in England were put under a sort of excommunication.^c The Pope, John VI., was naturally inclined to favour one whose troubles had arisen from a refusal to obey the decrees of Theodore except in so far as they were consistent with those of the Apostolic see. And when, at Easter 704, the acts of Pope Agatho's synod against the Monothelites were publicly read, the occurrence of Wilfrid's name among the signatures, with the coincidence of his being then again at Rome, as a suitor for aid against oppression, raised a general enthusiasm in his favour.^d He would have wished to end his days at Rome, but by the desire of John VII., whose election he had witnessed, he returned to England, carrying with him a papal recommendation addressed to Ethelred of Mercia and Aldfrid of Northumbria.^e The primate, Berctwald, received him kindly; but Aldfrid set at nought the pope's letter, until on his deathbed he relented, and the testimony of his sister as to his last wishes procured for Wilfrid a restoration to the see of Hexham, although it does not appear that he ever recovered the rest of his original diocese. In 709 Wilfrid closed his active and troubled life at the monastery of Oundle.^f

The Roman customs as to Easter and the tonsure gradually made their way throughout the British Isles. In 710 they were adopted by the southern Picts, in consequence of a letter addressed to King Naitan (or Nectan) by Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow.^g It was in vain that Adamnan, abbot of Iona, who had been converted to the Roman usages in Northumbria, attempted, in the last years of the seventh century, to introduce them into his monastery;^h but he was more successful among his own countrymen, the northern Irish, who at his instance abandoned their ancient practice about 697;ⁱ and at length, in 716, Egbert, an English monk who had received his education in Ireland,^k induced the monks of St. Columba to celebrate the Catholic Easter.^m The ancient British Church adhered to its paschal calculation until the end of the eighth century, but appears to have then conformed to the Roman

^c Eddi, 43-7. "This," says Fuller, "may be observed in this Wilfrid; his *πρόεργα* were better than his *εργα*, his casual and occasional were better than his intentional performances; which shows plainly that Providence acted more vigorously in him than his own prudence." i. 133.

^d Eddi, 51; Beda, v. 19.

^e Patrol. lxxxix. 59.

^f Eddi, 54-61; Beda, iv. 20; Pagi, xii. 201; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 144.

^g Beda, v. 21.

^h Ib. v. 15; Reeves's Adamnan, xlviii.

ⁱ Beda, v. 15; Reeves, li., 27.

^k Beda, iii. 4.

^m Ib. v. 22. He died on Easter-day, 729. Ib.

usage; and, if disputes afterwards arose on the subject, they excited little attention, and speedily died away.ⁿ

Christianity had had a powerful effect on the civilisation of the Anglo-Saxons,^o and through the exertions of Theodore, Wilfrid, and others, arts and learning were now actively cultivated in England. Benedict Biscop, the founder of the abbey of Wearmouth, who was the companion of Wilfrid in his first visit to Rome, brought back with him the arch-chanter John, by whom the northern clergy were instructed in the Gregorian chant, the course of the festivals, and other ritual matters.^p From six expeditions to Rome Benedict returned laden with books, relics, vestments, vessels for the altar, and religious pictures.^q Instead of the thatched wooden churches with which the Scottish missionaries had been content,^r Benedict and Wilfrid, with the help of masons from France, erected buildings of squared and polished stone, with glazed windows and leaded roofs.^s Wilfrid built a large structure of this kind over the little wooden church at York; in which Paulinus had baptised the Northumbrian king Edwin, but which had since fallen into disrepair and squalid neglect.^t At Ripon he raised another church, which was consecrated with great pomp and ceremony; two kings were present, and the festivities lasted three days and nights.^u Still more remarkable than these was his cathedral at Hexham, which is described as the most splendid ecclesiastical building north of the Alps.^x Benedict Biscop's churches were adorned with pictures brought from Italy. Among them are mentioned one of the Blessed Virgin, a set of scenes from the Apocalypse, representing the last judgment, and a series in which subjects from the Old Testament were paralleled with their antitypes from the New; thus, Isaac carrying the wood for his sacrifice corresponded to our Lord bearing the Cross, and the Brazen Serpent to the Crucifixion.^y

Monasteries had now been founded and endowed in great numbers. In some of them recluses of both sexes lived, although in separate parts of the buildings.^z Many ladies of royal birth became abbesses or nuns; and at length it was not unusual for English kings to abdicate their thrones, to go in pilgrimage to

ⁿ Lingard, A. S. C. i. 63.

^o Milman, ii. 18.

^p Beda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 18; Vitæ Abbatum, 6.

^q Beda, VV. Abb. 3; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 207; Southey; Vindiciæ, 61, seqq.

^r Beda, iii. 25. See Reeves's Adamnan, p. 177.

^s Beda, VV. Abb. 5; Hussey, n. in Bed. p. 319.

^t Eddi, 16.

^u Ib. 17.

^x Ib. 22. Ricard. Hagustald. ap. Twysden, 290-1.

^y Beda, VV. Abb. 9.

^z Lingard, A. S. C. i. 211, 214.

Rome, and there to end their days in the monastic habit.^a But among the Anglo-Saxons, as elsewhere, the popularity of monachism was accompanied by decay.^b Bede, in his Epistle to Egbert, archbishop of York (A.D. 734), draws a picture of corruptions in discipline and morals, both among monks and clergy, which contrasts sadly with his beautiful sketch of the primitive Scottish missionaries. Among other things he mentions a remarkable abuse arising out of the immunities attached to monastic property. Land among the Anglo-Saxons was distinguished as *folkland* or *bocland*. The folkland was national property, held of the king on condition of performing certain services, granted only for a certain term, and liable to resumption; the bocland was held by *book* or charter, for one or more lives, or in perpetuity, and was exempted from most (and in some cases from all) of the duties with which the folkland was burdened. The estates of monasteries were bocland, and, so long as the monastic society existed, the land belonged to it. In order, therefore, to secure the advantages of this tenure, some nobles professed a desire to endow monasteries with the lands which they held as folkland. By presents or other means they induced the king and the witan (or national council) to sanction its conversion into bocland; they erected monastic buildings on it, and in these they lived with their wives and families, styling themselves abbots, but having nothing of the monastic character except the name and the tonsure.^c

Among the men of letters whom the English church produced in this age the most celebrated is Bede. The fame which he had attained in his own time is attested by the fact that he was invited to Rome by Sergius I., although the pope's death prevented the acceptance of the invitation;^d and from the following century he has been commonly distinguished by the epithet of Venerable.^e Born about the year 673,^f in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, an offshoot from Benedict Biscop's abbey of Wearmouth, he became an inmate of the monastery at the age of seven, and there spent the remainder of his life. He tells us of himself, that, besides the regular exercises of devotion, he made it his pleasure every day

^a Bede, iv. 19; v. 7; Baron. 709. 5.

^b See Bede's account of Coldingham, iv. 25; Inett, i. 126-7; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 230.

^c Bede, Ep. ad Egbert. c. 7; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 226-7, 407-413; Kemble, i. 292-304; ii. 225-8; Lappenberg, i. 578-80; Hallam, Supplem. Notes, 264, and his quotation from Allen.

^d Will. Malmesb. 57-8. This has been

questioned, as by Lingard (A. S. C. ii. 190-2, and note K); but see Mr. Hardy's note on Malmesbury, and Mr. Stevenson's Preface to transl. of Bede, xiv. xvi., where the writer retracts an opinion which he had before expressed against the story. Comp. Mabillon, Patrol. xc. 16.

^e Stevenson, Preface, xxii.

^f Pagi, xii. 402.

"either to learn or to teach or to write something."^s He laboured assiduously in collecting and transmitting the knowledge of former ages, not only as to ecclesiastical subjects but in general learning. His history of the English Church comes down to the year 731, —within three years of his own death, which took place on the eve of Ascension-day, 734, his last moments having been spent in dictating the conclusion of a version of St. John's Gospel.^h

Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709, was distinguished as a divine and as a poet.ⁱ And Caedmon, originally a servant of St. Hilda's abbey, at Streaneshalch, displayed in his native tongue poetical gifts which his contemporaries referred to miraculous inspiration.^k The Anglo-Saxons were the first nation which possessed a vernacular religious poetry; and it is remarked to the honour of the Anglo-Saxon poets, that their themes were not derived from the legends of saints, but from the narratives of Holy Scripture.^m

VI. During this period much was done for the conversion of the Germanic tribes, partly by missionaries from the Frankish kingdom, but in a greater degree by zealous men who went forth from Britain or from Ireland. Of these, Columban and his disciple Gall, with their labours in Gaul and in Switzerland, have been already mentioned.ⁿ

(1) The conversion of the Bavarians has been commonly referred to the sixth century, so as to accord with the statement that Theodelinda queen of the Lombards, the correspondent of Gregory the Great, was a Bavarian princess, and had received an orthodox Christian training in her own land. But even if this statement be mistaken,^o it is certain that the Bavarians had the advantage of settling in a country which had previously been Christian (for such it was even before the time of Severin);^p and the remains of its earlier Christianity were not without effect on them.

In 613 a Frankish council, in consequence of reports which had reached it, sent Eustasius, the successor of Columban at Luxeuil, with a monk named Agil, into Bavaria, where they found that

^s Hist. v. 24.

^h Cuthbert. Vita Bedæ (Patrol. xc. 41); Stevenson, Pref. to Bede, xvii. xix.; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 200, 416; Southey, Vindiciæ, c. iii.

ⁱ Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 184-9. His works are in the Patrologia, lxxxix.

^k Bede, iv. 24; Lingard, A. S. C. ii.

154-5; Southey, Vindic. 197, seqq. For translated specimens of Caedmon see Conybeare's Anglo-Saxon Poetry, and Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 314-324.

^m Milman, ii. 40-1; Giesel. I. ii. 501.

ⁿ Pp. 26-31.

^o See p. 13, note p.

^p See vol. i. p. 495.

many of the inhabitants were infected with heretical opinions which are (perhaps somewhat incorrectly) described as Photinian.⁴

About the middle of the seventh century, Emmeran, a bishop of Aquitaine, was stirred by reports which reached him as to the heathenism of the Avars in Pannonia, to resign his see, with the intention of preaching the Gospel in that country. Accompanied by an interpreter skilled in the Teutonic dialects, he made his way as far as Radaspona (Ratisbon), where he was kindly received by Theodo, duke of Bavaria. Theodo, who was already a Christian, represented to the bishop that the disturbed state of Pannonia rendered his undertaking hopeless; he entreated him to remain in Bavaria, where he assured him that his zeal would find abundant exercise; and, when argument proved ineffectual, he forcibly detained him.⁵ Emmeran regarded this as a providential intima-

A.D. 649-
652.

tion of his duty; and for three years he preached with great diligence to the Bavarians. At the end of that time he set out for Rome, but it is said that he was pursued, overtaken, and murdered by the duke's son, in revenge for the dishonour of a sister, which the bishop, although innocent, had allowed the princess and her paramour to charge on him.⁶

In the end of the century, Rudbert, bishop of Worms, at the invitation of another duke named Theodo, undertook a mission into the same country. He baptised Theodo, and founded the episcopal city of Salzburg on the site of the old Roman Juvavium.⁷ To the labours of Rudbert is chiefly due the establishment of Christianity in Bavaria. It would seem, however, that he eventually returned to his original diocese of Worms.⁸

(2) The Christianity of the Thuringians has, like that of the Bavarians, been referred to the sixth century.⁹ The country and its rulers were, however, still heathen, when, in the latter part of

⁴ Jonas, *Vita Eustas.* 3, seqq. (*Patrol.* lxxxvii.); Neander, v. 51-3; *Rettb.* ii. 187-9.

⁵ M. Amédée Thierry thinks that Theodo wished, for political reasons, to prevent the conversion of the Avars. *Hist. d'Attila*, ii. 134-6.

⁶ *Vita Emmerammi*, rewritten by Meginfred, in the 11th century (*Patrol.* cxlii.). The story is full of improbabilities (see Schröckh, xix. 158; *Rettb.* ii. 191).

⁷ *Vita*, ap. Mabill. iii. 339, seqq.; Bouquet, iii. 632; *Conversio Bagoariorum*, c. i. ap. Pertz, xi.; Pagi, xii. 271;

Rettb. ii. 201.

⁸ So *Rettb.* (ii. 210-1) infers from the words of the '*Conversio Bagoariorum*'—"ad propriam remeavit sedem." But the editor in Pertz's collection, Dr. Wattenbach, supposes that Salzburg is meant. There has been much disputing whether Rudbert flourished in the sixth or in the seventh century; but it would seem that the earlier date is chiefly maintained from motives of local partiality. See Pagi, xii. 155-8; Giesel. I. ii. 506; *Rettb.*, ii. 193-9.

⁹ See Schröckh, xvi. 264-5; *Rettb.* ii. 297-8.

the seventh century, an Irish bishop named Kyllena or Kilian appeared in it at the head of a band of missionaries, and met with a friendly reception from the duke, Gozbert, whose residence was at Würzburg. After a time, it is said, Kilian went to Rome, and, having been authorised by pope Conon to preach where-soever he would, he returned to Würzburg, where Goz-^{A.D. 686.⁷} bert now consented to be baptised. The duke, while yet a heathen, had married his brother's widow, Geilana; and, although he had not been required before baptism to renounce this union (which was sanctioned by the national customs), Kilian afterwards urged a separation as a matter of Christian duty. Gozbert was willing to make the sacrifice; but Geilana took advantage of his absence on a warlike expedition* to murder Kilian, with two com-^{A.D. 689.^a} panions who had adhered to him. The bodies of the martyrs were concealed, but their graves were illustrated by miracles; and the vengeance of Heaven pursued the ducal house, which speedily became extinct.^b

(3). The tribes to the north of France were visited by missionaries both from that country and from the British Isles. Among the most eminent of these was Amândus, a native of Aquitaine, who was consecrated as a regionary (or missionary) bishop about the year 628, and laboured in the country near the Scheld. The inhabitants are described as so ferocious that all the clergy who had attempted to preach to them had withdrawn in despair.^c Amândus was fortified with a commission from king Dagobert, which authorised him to baptise the whole population by force; but he made little progress until, by recovering to life a man who had been hanged, he obtained the reputation of miraculous power.^d ^{A.D. 629.^e} In consequence of having ventured to reprove Dagobert for the number of his wives and concubines, he was banished; but the king, on marrying a young queen, discarded the others, re-

⁷ Pagi, xii. 89.

^a This circumstance is said to be an interpolation in the Life. Mabill. ii. 992.

^b Pagi, xii. 106.

^c Vita Kiliani, ap. Mabill. ii. 991-3. This story may be traced in its gradual growth, from the notice in Raban Maur's Martyrology (July 8, Patrol. cx.), through that of Notker (Patrol. cxxi.), &c. Besides the legendary appearance of the part which relates to Gozbert and his family, the expedition of an Irish bishop to Rome is a circumstance which savours of invention later than the time of Boniface.

The only points which can be regarded as certain are the mission of Kilian and his murder in the neighbourhood of Würzburg. Rettb. ii. 304. 7. See the notes on Menard's Martyrology, Jul. 8. (Patrol. cxxiv.); Schröckh, xix. 144-7; Lanigan, iii. 115-121.

^d Vita S. Amandi, 6 (Patrol. lxxxvii.). There is also a metrical Life in vol. cxxi., and one in prose, written in the 12th century by Philip de Harveng, in vol. cciii.

^e Vita, 7-8; Neand. v. 54-6; Rettb. i. 554.

^f Pagi, xi. 266-7.

called Amandus, entreated his forgiveness, and, on the birth of a prince, engaged him to baptise the child. It is said that at the baptism, when no one responded to the bishop's prayer, ^{A.D. 631.^f} the mouth of the little Sigebert, who was only forty days old, was opened to utter "Amen."^g Amandus, who preferred the life of a missionary to that of a courtier, hastened to return to his old neighbourhood, where, although he had to endure many hardships, with much enmity on the part of the heathen population, and was obliged to support himself by the work of his own hands, his preaching was now very effectual. After a time his zeal induced him to go as a missionary to the Slavons on the Danube; but, as he was received by them with an indifference which did not seem to promise either success or martyrdom, he once more resumed his labours in the region of the Scheld, and, on the death of a bishop of Maastricht, he was appointed to that see in the year 647.^h He found, however, so much annoyance both from the disorders of the clergy and from the character of the people, that he expressed to pope Martin a wish to resign the bishoprick. Martin, in a letterⁱ which is significant as to the position of the Roman see, endeavoured to dissuade him from this desire. He requests Amandus to promulgate the decisions of the Lateran synod against the Monothelites, which had just been held,^k and, with a view to fortifying himself against the empire, he urges the bishop to aid him in strengthening the connexion of king Sigebert with Rome. Notwithstanding the pope's remonstrances, however, Amandus withdrew from his see, after having held it three years, and he spent the remainder of his days in superintending the monasteries which he had founded.^m

About the same time with Amandus, and in districts which bordered on the principal scene of his labours, two other celebrated missionaries were exerting themselves for the furtherance of the Gospel. One of these was Livin, an Irishman, who became bishop of Ghent, and was martyred about the year 650;ⁿ the other was Eligius (or Eloy), bishop of Noyon. Eligius was originally a goldsmith, and, partly by skill in his art, but yet more by his integrity, gained the confidence of Clotaire II. He retained his position under

^f Pagi, xi. 337.

^g Vita Amandi, 14-5; Gesta Dagob. 24 (Patrol. xcvi.); Vita Sigeb. 4-5 (ib. lxxxviii.).

^h Vita, 9-10.

ⁱ Hard. iii. 945-8.

^k See p. 47.

^m Vita, 10, 11, 16; Pagi, xi. 412,

428; Retzb. i. 555. In a written codicil, he directs that he should be buried in his monastery of Elnon, and imprecates curses on any one who should remove his bones. Patrol. lxxxvii. 1273.

ⁿ Vita S. Livini ap. Mabill. ii. 449 (wrongly ascribed to St. Boniface).

Dagobert,^o to whom he became master of the mint, and coins of his workmanship are still extant.^p While yet a layman he was noted for his piety. The Bible always lay open before him as he worked; his wealth was devoted to religious and charitable purposes; he made pilgrimages to holy places; he built monasteries; he bought whole shiploads of captives—Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, and especially Saxons from Germany^q—and endeavoured to train them to Christianity.^r Such was his charity that strangers were directed to his house by being told that in a certain quarter they would see a crowd of poor persons around the pious goldsmith's door;^s and already, it is said, his sanctity had been attested by the performance of many miracles.^t After having spent some time in a lower clerical office, he was consecrated bishop of Noyon in 640, his friend and biographer Audoen (or Ouen) being at the same time consecrated to the see of Rouen.^u The labours of Eligius extended to the neighbourhood of the Scheld. The inhabitants of his wide diocese were generally rude and ferocious; part of them were heathens, while others were Christians only in name, and the bishop had to encounter many dangers and to endure many insults at their hands.^x His death took place in the year 659.^y

(4). Among the tribes which shared in the ministrations of Eligius were the Frisians, who then occupied a large tract of country.^z The successful labours of Wilfrid among them at a later time (A.D. 678), have already been mentioned;^a but the king whom he converted, Aldgis, was succeeded by a heathen, Radbod.^b Wulfram, bishop of Sens, at the head of a party of monks, undertook a mission to the Frisians.^c He found that they were accus-

^o Vita S. Elig., i. 5, 9, 14 (Patrol. lxxxvii.). Ascribed to St. Ouen, but probably altered or re-written by a later hand (ib. 478; Rettb. ii. 508).

^p Barthélemy, in his translation of the Life (Paris, 1847), gives engravings of some of these.

^q See Barthélemy, note, p. 338.

^r Vita, i. 10, 15-18, 21.

^s Ib. 20, 37, &c.

^t Ib. 22-31.

^u Ib. ii. 2; Gallia Christ. quoted in Patrol. lxxxvii. 485-6; Pagi, xi. 345.

^x Vita, ii. 3, seqq.; Barthélemy, 358.

^y The sermon of Eligius, 'De Rectitudine Catholice Conversationis,'—or rather the composition which his biographer gives as containing the essence of many of his sermons (Vita, ii. 15-6; Barthélemy, 412),—is celebrated on account of the injustice done to its character

as a piece of Christian teaching by Mosheim, Maclaine, Dr. Robertson, and other writers of the last century, whose misrepresentations have been repeatedly exposed, especially by Dr. Maidland, in his viiith Letter on "the Dark Ages." It is printed not only in the Life of Eligius, but in the Appendix to St. Augustine's works (Patrol. xl. 1169-1190), and is said to be in great part derived from the sermons of St. Cæsarius of Arles, which were very popular in Gaul. Bähr, ii. 468.

^a Page 74.

^b Rettb. ii. 502, 512.

^c Life, by Jonas, in Mabill. iii. 357, seqq. The date is uncertain. Pagi gives 689 (xii. 177); Baronius, 700; Döllinger, about 712 (i. 314). Neander thinks that Wulfram was probably later than Willibrord, v. 60.

tombed to offer human sacrifices, the victims being put to death by hanging. In answer to the taunt that, if his story were true, the Saviour of whom he spoke^d could recall them to life, he restored five men who had been executed, and, after this display of power, his preaching made many converts. Radbod had allowed one of his children to be baptised, and had himself consented to receive baptism; but, when one of his feet was already in the font, he adjured the bishop in God's name to tell him in which of the abodes which he had spoken of the former king and nobles of the nation were. Wulfram replied, that the number of the elect is fixed, and that those who had died without baptism must necessarily be among the damned. "I would rather be there with my ancestors," said the king, "than in heaven with a handful of beggars;" he drew back his foot from the baptistery, and remained a heathen.^e

But the chief missionary efforts among the Frisians proceeded from the British Islands. Egbert, a pious Anglo-Saxon inmate of an Irish monastery (the same who afterwards persuaded the monks of Iona to adopt the Roman Easter),^f conceived the idea of preaching to the heathens of Germany. He was warned by visions, and afterwards by the stranding of the vessel in which he had embarked, that the enterprise was not for him; but his mind was still intent on it, and he resolved to attempt it by means of his disciples.^g One of these, Wigbert, went into Frisia in 690, and for two years

A.D. 692.

preached with much success. On his return, Willibrord, a Northumbrian, who before proceeding into Ireland had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon, set out at the head of twelve monks,—a further opening for their labours having been made by the victory which Pipin of Heristal, the virtual sovereign of Austrasia, had gained over Radbod at Dorstadt. Pipin received the missionaries with kindness, gave them leave to preach in that part of the Frisian territory which had been added to the Frankish kingdom, and promised to support them by his authority. After a time Willibrord repaired to Rome with a view of obtaining the

^d "Christus tuus." Jonas, 6.

^e Jonas, 9-11. Neander (v. 60) supposes that Radbod was not sincere in his desire of baptism, and that he spoke "in a half bantering way." But there is no trace of this in the original writer, and his report of the adjurations which the king used is decisive against the supposition. That Radbod (as Jonas relates) died within three days after his rejection of baptism is certainly untrue;

and, as two versions of the main story are found, which differ considerably from each other, but agree in showing that one who is reprobate would, even at the last moment, be excluded from baptism and salvation, Rettberg thinks that the whole is an invention devised in behalf of the rigid predestinarian doctrine (ii. 515-6). In this he is followed by Ozanam, 167.

^f See p. 76.

^g Beda, v. 9.

papal sanction and instructions for his work, as also a supply of relics to be placed in the churches which he should build.^b On his return, the work of conversion made such progress, that Pipin wished to have him consecrated as archbishop of the district in which he had laboured, and for this purpose sent him a second time to Rome. The pope, Sergius, consented, and, instead of Willibrord's barbaric name, bestowed on him A.D. 696. that of Clement. The archbishop's see was fixed at Wiltaburg,¹ and he appears to have succeeded in extirpating paganism from the Frankish portion of Frisia.^k He also attempted to spread the Gospel in the independent part of the country, and went even as far as Denmark, where, however, his labours had but little effect. In his return he landed on Heligoland, which was then called Fositesland, from a god named Forseti or Fosite.^m The island was regarded as holy; no one might touch the animals which lived on it, nor drink, except in silence, of its sacred well: but, in defiance of the popular superstition, Willibrord baptised three converts in the well, and his companions killed some of the consecrated cattle. The pagan inhabitants, after having waited in vain expectation that the vengeance of the gods would strike the profane strangers with death or madness, carried them before Radbod, who was then in the island. Lots were cast thrice before any one of the party could be chosen for death. At length one was sacrificed, and Willibrord, after having denounced the errors of heathenism with a boldness which won Radbod's admiration, was sent back with honour to Pipin.ⁿ The renewal of war between Radbod and the Franks interfered for a time with the work of the missionaries. After the death of the pagan king, in 719, circumstances were more favourable for the preaching of the Gospel in the independent part of Frisia; and Willibrord continued in a course of active and successful exertion until his death in 739.^o Among his fellow-labourers during a part of this time was Boniface, afterwards the apostle of Germany.

^b Ib. v. 10-1; Alcuin. Vita Willib. i. 3-6 (Patrol. ci.).

¹ Utrecht then belonged to Radbod, while Wiltaburg, on the opposite side of the Rhine, was Frankish (Gieseler, II. i. 24). It would seem, therefore, that Bede, who states that Pipin gave the archbishop Wiltaburg (v. 11), and Alcuin (i. 12), who says that Charles Martel gave him Utrecht (which had in the interval come into possession of the

Franks), may both be right; and that Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. ii. 333), who sets Bede aside in favour of Alcuin, is mistaken in identifying the towns.

^k Schröckh, xix. 152.

^m He was supposed to be the son of Balder. Thorpe, Northern Mythology, i. 30.

ⁿ Alcuin, i. 9-10.

^o Rettb. ii. 520-1.

CHAPTER IV.

ICONOCLASM.

A.D. 717-775.

THE gradual advance of a reverence for images and pictures,^a from the time when art began to be taken into the service of the Church, has been related in the preceding volume.^b But when it had reached a certain point, art had little to do with it. It was not by the power of form or colour that the religious images influenced the mind; it was not for the expression of ideal purity or majesty that one was valued above another, but for superior sanctity or for miraculous virtue.^c Some were supposed to have fallen down from heaven; some, to have been the work of the evangelist St. Luke; and to others a variety of legends were attached. Abgarus, king of Edessa, it was said, when in correspondence with our Lord,^d commissioned a painter to take the Saviour's likeness. But the artist, dazzled by the glory of the countenance, gave up the attempt; whereupon the Saviour himself impressed his image on a piece of linen, and sent it to the king. This tale was unknown to Eusebius, although he inserted the pretended correspondence with Abgarus in his history;^e and the image was said, in consequence of the apostasy of a later king, to have been built up in a wall at Edessa, until, after a concealment of five centuries, it was discovered by means of a vision. By it, and by a picture of the Blessed Virgin, "not made with hands," the city was saved from an attack of the Persians.^f Cloths of a like miraculous origin (as was supposed) were preserved in other places;^g and many images were believed to perform cures and other miracles, to exude sweat or odoriferous balsam, to bleed, to weep, or to speak.

When images had become objects of popular veneration, the

^a In the account of the controversies as to "images," the word will be used to express paintings as well as works of sculpture.

^b Pp. 345-6, 567-8.

^c Milman, ii. 90-3.

^d See vol. i. p. 3.

^e i. 13. Procopius, two centuries later, says that our Lord was popularly believed to have promised that Edessa

should be impregnable (*De Bello Pers.* ii. 12); but he does not mention the image.

^f Evagrius, v. 27; Cedren. 176-7.

^g Gibbon, iv. 465-7; Neand. v. 278. Heraclius took one with him in his Persian expedition. Georg. Pisida de Exp. Pers. i. 139, seqq. (*Patrol. Gr.* xcii.)

cautions and distinctions which divines laid down for the regulation of it were found unavailing. Three hundred years before the time which we have now reached, Augustine, while repelling the charge of idolatry from the Church, had felt himself obliged to acknowledge that many of its members were nevertheless "adorers of pictures;"^b and the superstition had grown since Augustine's day. It became usual to fall down before images, to pray to them, to kiss them, to burn lights and incense in their honour, to adorn them with gems and precious metals, to lay the hand on them in swearing, and even to employ them as sponsors at baptism.¹

The moderate views of Gregory the Great as to the use and the abuse of images have been already mentioned.^k But although, of the two kindred superstitions, the reverence for relics was more characteristic of the western, and that for images of the eastern Church,^m the feeling of the West in behalf of images was now increased, and the successors of Gregory were ready to take a decided part in the great ecclesiastical and political movements which arose out of the question.

Leo the Isaurian, who had risen from the class of substantial peasantry through the military service of Justinian II., until in 717ⁿ he was raised by general acclamation to the empire, was a man of great energy, and, as even his enemies the ecclesiastical writers do not deny, was possessed of many noble qualities, and of talents which were exerted with remarkable success, both in war and in civil administration.^o In the beginning of his reign he was threatened by the Arabs, whose forces besieged Constantinople both by land and by sea; but he destroyed their fleet by the new invention of the "Greek fire,"^p compelled the army to retire with numbers much diminished by privation and slaughter, and by a succession of victories delivered his subjects from the fear of the Arabs for many years.^q

It was not until after he had secured the empire against foreign enemies that Leo began to concern himself with the affairs of religion. In the sixth year of his reign^r he issued an edict ordering that Jews and Montanists should be forcibly baptised.

^b See vol. i. p. 346.

¹ Basnage, 1335; Schröckh, xx. 515-6; Neand. v. 278; Schlosser, 410.

^k Page 26. To the same purpose is part of another letter, which, however, labours under suspicion—ix. 52, Ad Secundinum.

^m Neand. v. 278.

ⁿ Theophan. 600-6; Pagi, xii. 263;

Finlay, ii. 17, 29.

^o Gibbon, iv. 410-1; Schlosser, 140-2; Finlay, vol. ii., c. 1.

^p As to this, see Gibbon, iv. 182-4.

^q Nic. Cpol. 35; Theophan. 607-613; Finlay, ii. 17-22.

^r Schlosser, 161. I have generally followed this writer as to the order and dates of the proceedings under Leo.

The Jews submitted in hypocrisy, and mocked at the rites which they had undergone.^a The Montanists, with the old fanaticism of the sect whose name they bore,^b appointed a day on which, by general concert, they shut themselves up in their meeting-houses, set fire to the buildings, and perished in the flames.

From these measures it is evident that Leo seriously misconceived the position of the temporal power in matters of religion, as well as the means which might rightly be used for the advancement of religious truth. In the following year, after a
A.D. 724. consultation with his officers, he made his first attempt against the superstitious use of images.^c The motives of this proceeding are matter of conjecture.^d It is said that he was influenced by Constantine, bishop of Nacolia, and by a counsellor named Bezer, who had for a time been in the service of the caliph, and is described as an apostate from the faith.^e Perhaps these persons may have represented to him the difficulties which this superstition opposed to the conversion of Jews and Mahometans, who regarded it as heathen and idolatrous;^f they may, too, have set before him the risk of persecution which it must necessarily bring on the Christian subjects of the caliphs.^g Leo had seen that towns which relied on their miraculous images had fallen a prey to the arms of the Saracens, and that even the tutelar image of Edessa had been carried off by these enemies of the cross.^h And when, by whatsoever means, a question on the subject had been suggested, the inconsistency of the popular usages with the letter of Holy Scripture was likely to strike forcibly a direct and untutored mind like that of the emperor.ⁱ But in truth it would seem—and more especially if we compare Leo's measures against images with those against Judaism and Montanism—that his object

^a See Schröckh, xix. 316.

^b Whether they were the same sect with the Montanists of earlier history, is a question. Dean Milman supposes them to have been probably Manichæans (ii. 96). Baronius also thinks that they may have been Manichæans, and supposes that they were called Montanists (*Montanæi*, Theophan. 617), from having been driven to take refuge among the mountains (722. 1). But see Pagi's note to the contrary. The sect may have been identical with the early Montanists, although its doctrines may have undergone much change in the course of five centuries and a half. Peter of Sicily, in the ninth century, however, mentions the Montanists as distinct from

Manichæans, p. 42, ed. Rader.

^c Schlosser, 166. The chronology is doubtful. See Hefele, iii. 345, who questions the statements as to a consultation. 346.

^d See Walch, x. 204; Gfrörer, ii. 102.

^e Theophan. 617-8.

^f Walch, x. 216-8; Schlosser, 161. See Hefele, iii. 343.

^g Spanheim, 'Historia Imaginum Restituta' (Miscellanea Sacre Antiquitatis, vol. i. Lugd. Bat. 1703), p. 729.

^h Gibbon, iv. 467. It is said to have been bought from the Saracens, and transferred to Constantinople, by the emperor Romanus Lecapenus. Cedren. 178.

ⁱ Giesel. II. i. 2.

was as much to establish an ecclesiastical autocracy as to purify the practice of the Church.^d

The earlier controversies had shown that the multitude could be violently agitated by subtle questions of doctrine which might have been supposed unlikely to excite their interest. But here the matter in dispute was of a more palpable kind. The movement did not originate with a speculative theologian, but with an emperor, acting on his own will, without being urged by any party, or by any popular cry. An attack was made on material and external objects of reverence, on practices which were bound up with their daily familiar religion, and by means of which the sincere, although unenlightened, piety of the age was accustomed to find its expression. It merely proposed to abolish, without providing any substitute, without directing the mind to any better and more spiritual worship; and at once the people, who had already been discontented by some measures of taxation, rose in vehement and alarming commotion against it. The controversy which had occupied the Church for a century was now forgotten; Monothelites were absorbed among the orthodox when both parties were thrown together by an assault on the objects of their common veneration.^e

Leo would seem not to have anticipated such an excitement. He attempted to allay it by an explanation of the edict which had been issued. It was not, he said, his intention to do away with images, but to guard against the abuse of them, and to protect them from profanation, by removing them to such a height that they could not be touched or kissed.^f But A.D. 726. the general discontent was not to be so easily pacified, and events soon occurred which added to its intensity. A Saracen army, which had advanced as far as Nicæa, was believed to be beaten off by the guardian images of the city.^g A volcanic island was thrown up in the Ægean, and the air was darkened with ashes—prodigies which, while the emperor saw in them a declaration of heaven against the idolatry of his subjects, the monks, who had possession of the popular mind, interpreted as omens of wrath against his impious proceedings.^h The monkish influence was especially strong among the islanders of the Archipelago. These rose in behalf of images; they set up one Cosmas as a pretender to the

^d Finlay, ii. 10. 67.

^e Baron. 722. 3; Walch, x. 78; Baron. 726. 1-5; Schlosser, 167. Walch Schröckh, xx. 513; Neand. v. 273, 306; (x. 225-6) and Hefele (iii. 347) question this.

^f Döllinger, i. 348; Giesel. II. i. 5-6; Milman, ii. 87-9.

^g Theophan. 624.

^h Nic. Cpol. 37.

cultu Imaginum,' Francof. 1608, p. 16.

throne, and an armed multitude, in an ill-equipped fleet, appeared before Constantinople. But the Greek fire discomfited the disorderly assailants; their leaders were taken and put to death;¹ and Leo, provoked by the resistance which his edict had met with, issued a second and more stringent decree, ordering that all images should be destroyed, and that the place of such as were painted on the walls of churches should be covered with whitewash.²

The emperor, relying on the pliability which had been shown on some former occasions by Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople,³ had made repeated attempts to draw him into the measures against images.⁴ But Germanus, who was now ninety-five years of age, was not to be shaken. He reminded Leo of the oath which he had taken at his coronation, to make no innovations in religion. It is said that in a private interview he professed a conviction that images were to be abolished, "but," he added, "not in your reign." "In whose reign, then?" asked Leo. "In that of an emperor named Conon, who will be the forerunner of Antichrist." "Conon," said the emperor, "is my own baptismal name."⁵ Germanus argued that images were meant to represent, not the Trinity, but the Incarnation; that, since the Saviour's appearance in human form, the Old Testament prohibitions were no longer applicable; that the Church had not condemned the use of images in any general council: and he referred to the Edessan impression of our Lord's countenance, and to the pictures painted by St. Luke. "If I am a Jonas," he said, "throw me into the sea. Without a general council, I can make no innovation on the faith." He refused to subscribe the new edict, and resigned his see, to which his secretary Anastasius was appointed.⁶

A serious disturbance soon after took place on the removal of a noted statue of the Saviour, which stood over the "Brazen Gate" of the imperial palace, and was known by the name of "the Surety."⁷ This figure was the subject of many marvellous legends, and was held in great veneration by the people.

¹ Theophan. 624; Schlosser, 170-1. Mr. Finlay thinks that this insurrection was provoked by heavy taxation, and that the question of images was added to the grievance. ii. 43.

² Gibbon, iv. 468. See Walch, x. 225-6.

³ Giesel. II. i. 3.

⁴ See the letters of Germanus, Hard. iv. 240-261.

⁵ Theophan. 626-7. Against this story see Basnage, ii. 1345. For the legend

of the promise to Conon that he should be emperor, Finlay, ii. 29-32.

⁶ Nic. Cpol. 38; Vita Steph. jun. in Patol. Gr. c. 1085; Theophan. 626-9; Baron. 726. 6; Pagi, xii. 387-8; Walch, x. 172, 182, 240; Schlosser, 175-6.

⁷ Ἀντιφωστής. This name was derived from a tale of its having miraculously become security for a pious sailor who had occasion to borrow money. Hefele, iii. 348.

When, therefore, a soldier was commissioned to take it down, crowds of women rushed to the place, and clamorously entreated him to spare it. He mounted a ladder, however, and struck his axe into the face; whereupon the women dragged down the ladder, the soldier was either killed by the fall or by their hands, and his body was torn in pieces.¹ They were now excited to frenzy, and, having been joined by a mob of the other sex, rushed to the new patriarch's house with the intention of murdering him. Anastasius took refuge in the palace, and the emperor sent out his guards, who suppressed the commotion, but not without considerable bloodshed.² "The Surety" was taken down, and its place was filled with an inscription, in which the emperor gave vent to his enmity against images.³

This incident was followed by some proceedings against the popular party. Many were scourged, mutilated, or banished; and the persecution fell most heavily on the monks, who were especially obnoxious to the emperor, both as leaders in the resistance to his measures, and because the images were for the most part of their manufacture. Leo is charged with having rid himself of his controversial opponents by shutting up schools for general education which had existed since the time of the first Christian emperor,⁴ and even by burning a splendid library, with the whole college of professors who were attached to it.⁵

But beyond the emperor's dominions the cause of images found a formidable champion in John of Damascus, the most celebrated theologian of his time.⁶ John, according to his legendary biographer, a patriarch of Jerusalem who lived two centuries later,

¹ Gregor. II. ap. Hard. iv. 11.

² Theophan. 622-3. See the various accounts in Walch, x. 178-180. The women who perished on this occasion were afterwards canonised. Schlosser, 178-9.

³ Theod. Studita, p. 136. Georgius Hamartolus tells us that the emperor wrote on an image of Christ, "O, Saviour, save thyself and us!" and threw it into the sea, which rebuked his impiety by conveying the image to Rome. cxlviii. 15.

⁴ Theophan. 623.

⁵ G. Hamart. cxlviii. 13; Cedren. 454. Spanheim, who defends the iconoclasts against all accusations, asserts that this is a fiction of the 11th century. Hamartolus, who was unknown to Spanheim, shows that it was current in the 9th century; but his manner of introducing the story (φασι δὲ τινες πισ-

τάτατοι ἄνδρες) is suspicious. Basnage (1346) says that the library was really destroyed by an accidental fire, which he places under Basiliscus, and Mr. Finlay under Leo (ii. 52). Walch regards the story as fabulous (as does also Hefele, iii. 346), but thinks that the schools may have been suspended for a time by Leo (x. 184, 231-4). Schlosser, however, upholds it. 163-4.

⁶ Baron. 727, 18-20. John was author of the earliest work of systematic theology, 'A Correct Exposition of the Orthodox Faith.' ('Εκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως.') This was long the standard authority in the Greek church. In the west, it became known from the 12th century by a Latin translation, and John is considered as the ancestor of the schoolmen. Schröckh, xx. 230-327; Hagenbach, i. 390-1; Gfrörer, ii. 107; Giesel. vi. 438.

was a civil officer, high in the service of the caliph of Damascus, when his writings against the emperor's measures provoked Leo to attempt his destruction.* A letter was counterfeited in imitation of his handwriting, containing an offer to betray Damascus to the Greeks, and this (which was represented as one of many such letters) Leo enclosed to the caliph, with expressions of abhorrence against the pretended writer's treachery. The caliph, without listening to John's disavowals of the charge, or to his entreaties for a delay of judgment, ordered his right hand to be cut off; and it was exposed in the market-place until evening, when John requested that it might be given to him, in order that by burying it he might relieve the intolerable pain which he suffered while it hung in the air. On recovering it, he prostrated himself before an image of the Virgin Mother, prayed that, as he had lost his hand for the defence of images, she would restore it, and vowed thenceforth to devote it to her service. He then lay down to sleep; the "Theotokos" appeared to him in a vision, and in the morning the hand was found to be reunited to his arm. The caliph, convinced of John's innocence by this miracle, requested him to remain in his service; but John betook himself to the monastery of St. Sabbas, near Jerusalem, where the monks, alarmed at the neophyte's great reputation, were perplexed how to treat him, and subjected him to a variety of degrading, and even disgusting, trials. But his spirit of obedience triumphed over all; he was admitted into the monastery, and was afterwards advanced to the order of presbyter.

Of the three Orations in which John of Damascus asserted the cause of images, two were written before, and the third after, the forced resignation of Germanus.^a He argues that images were forbidden to the Jews lest they should fall into the error of their heathen neighbours, or should attempt to represent the invisible Godhead; but that, since the Incarnation, these reasons no longer exist, and we must not be in bondage to the mere letter of Scripture.^b True it is that Scripture does not prescribe the veneration of images; but neither can we read there of the Trinity, or of the Coessentiality, as distinctly set forth; and images stand on the same ground with these doctrines, which have been gathered by the fathers from the Scriptures. Holy Scripture countenances images by the directions for the making of the Cherubim, and also by our Lord's words as to the tribute-money. As that which bears

* Vita Joh. Damascen. 15-20, in his works, ed. Le Quien, Paris, 1712, t. i. pp. x.-xiii. Against this tale, see Bas-

nage, 1279; Spanheim, i. 740.

^a Walch, x. 176.

^b Orat. i. 7, 8, 16; ii. 7, 8.

Cæsar's image is Cæsar's, and is to be rendered to him; so, too, that which bears Christ's image is to be rendered to Christ, forasmuch as it is Christ's.^c That images are material, is no good reason for refusing to reverence them; for the holy places are material, the ink and the parchment of the Gospels are material, the eucharistic table, its vessels and its ornaments,—nay, the very body and blood of the Saviour,—are material.^d "I do not," says John, "adore the matter, but the Author of matter, who for my sake became material, that by matter He might work out my salvation."^e Images, he continues, are for the unlearned what books are for those who can read; they are to the sight what speech is to the ears.^f He distinguishes between that sort of worship which is to be reserved for God alone,^g and that which for His sake is given to His angels and saints or to consecrated things.^h He rejects the idea that, if the images of the Saviour and of the Blessed Virgin are to be allowed, those of the saints should be abolished; if (he holds) the festivals of the saints are kept, if churches are dedicated in their honour, so, too, ought their images to be revered.ⁱ He adduces a host of authorities from the fathers, with much the same felicity as his quotations from Scripture,^k while the story of Epiphanius and the painted curtain,^m which had been alleged by the iconoclasts, is set aside on the ground that the letter which contains it might be a forgery, or that Epiphanius might have intended to guard against some unrecorded local abuse; that the Cypriot bishop's own church still used images, and that, in any case, the act of an individual does not bind the whole church.ⁿ He denies that the emperor has any authority to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs:—"The well-being of the state," he says, "pertains to princes, but the ordering of the church to pastors and teachers;" and he threatens Leo with scriptural examples of judgment against those who invaded the rights of the church.^o

In Italy, the measures of Leo produced a great agitation. The allegiance of that country had long been gradually weakening. The exarchs were known to the people only as taxgatherers who drained them of their money, and sent it off to Constantinople; for defence against the Lombards or other enemies, the Italian sub-

^c Ib. i. 20; ii. 20, 21; iii. 11.

^d Ib. ii. 14; cf. i. 15.

^e Ib. i. 16.

^f *Aarpela, service.*

^g Orat. i. 14; iii. 16-39.

^h Ib. i. 19, 21; ii. 11, 15.

ⁱ Ib. i. 17.

^k Ib. i. 27 seqq.; ii. 23; iii. 39. See Dupin, vi. 102; Schröckh, xx. 547-8.

^m See vol. i. p. 346.

ⁿ Orat. i. 26. In ii. 18, he says absolutely that the letter is forged.

^o Ib. ii. 12.

jects of the empire were obliged to rely on themselves, without any expectation of effective help from the emperor or his lieutenant.^p The pope was the virtual head of the Italians; and the connexion which the first Gregory and his successors had laboured to establish with the Frankish princes, as a means of strengthening themselves against the empire, had lately been rendered more intimate by the agency of the great missionary Boniface.^q But the ancient and still undiminished hatred with which the Romans regarded their neighbours the Lombards weighed against the motives which might have disposed the popes to take an opportunity of breaking with the empire; and Gregory II., although he violently opposed Leo on the question of images, yet acted in some sort the part of a mediator between him and his Italian subjects.^r

Gregory, on receiving the edicts against images, rejected them. The people of Ravenna expelled the exarch, who sought a refuge
A.D. 726- at Pavia. Liutprand, king of the Lombards, eagerly
730. took advantage of the disturbances to pour his troops into the imperial territory, and, sometimes in hostility to the exarch, sometimes in combination with him against the pope, endeavoured to profit by the dissensions of his neighbours. The exarch was killed in the course of the commotions. The pope, hoping for the conversion of Leo (as it is said by writers in the Roman interest^s), restrained the Italians from setting up a rival emperor; and, when Liutprand, in alliance with a new exarch, appeared before the walls of Rome, he went out to him, and prevailed on the Lombard king to give up his design against the city. Thus far, therefore, it would appear that the Emperor was chiefly indebted to Gregory for the preservation of his Italian dominions.^t But the relations between these potentates were of no friendly kind. It is said that repeated attempts were made by Leo's order to assassinate Gregory; perhaps the foundation of the story may have been that, as the pope himself states, there was an intention of carrying him off to the east, as Martin had been carried off in the preceding century.^u On the resignation of Germanus, Gregory refused to acknowledge his successor,^x and wrote to Leo in a style

^p Schröckh, xix. 518; Milman, ii. 143.

^q Schröckh, xix. 519-20. See the next chapter.

^r Schlosser, 172-4. ^s Anastas. 156.

^t ^u Ib. 157; P. Warnefr. de Gestis Langob. vi. 49. The history of these movements is very intricate, and is full of matter for dispute. Dean Milman's

account (ii. 204-7) is the clearest. See also Baron. 726. 25, seqq.; Walch, x. 248-255, 280; Schröckh, xix. 52, seqq.; Schlosser, 167-9; Giesel. II. i. 32-3; Hefele, iii. 352, seqq.

^x Greg. II. ap. Hard. iv. 11; Anastas. 156-7; Walch, x. 283-5; Schröckh, xix. 521; xx. 548.

^y Schlosser, 177.

of vehement defiance.⁷ He urges the usual arguments in behalf of images, and reproaches the emperor with his breach of the most solemn engagements. "We must," he says, "write to you grossly and rudely, forasmuch as you are illiterate and gross. . . . Go into our elementary schools, and say, 'I am the overthrower and persecutor of images;' and forthwith the children will cast their tablets at you, and you will be taught by the unwise that which you refuse to learn from the wise." Leo, he says, had boasted of being like Uzziah;² that, as the Jewish king destroyed the brazen serpent after it had existed 800 years, so he himself had cast out images after a like time; and the pope, without raising any question either as to Jewish or Christian history, makes him welcome to the supposed parallel. It would, he says, be less evil to be called a heretic than an iconoclast; for the infamy of the heretic is known to few, and few understand his offence; but here the guilt is palpable and open as day. Leo had proposed a council, as a means of settling the question; but he is told that the proposal is idle, inasmuch as, if a council were gathered, he is unfit to take the part of a religious emperor in it. To say, as he had said, "I am emperor and priest," might become one who had protected and endowed the church, but not one who had plundered it, and had drawn people away from the pious contemplation of images to frivolous amusements; emperors are for secular matters, priests for spiritual. The pope mocks at the threat of carrying him off to Constantinople; he has but to withdraw twenty-four furlongs from the walls of Rome into Campania, and his enemies would have to pursue the winds. Why, it had been asked, had the six general councils said nothing of images? As well, replies Gregory, might you ask why they said nothing of common food and drink; images are matters of traditional and unquestioned use; the bishops who attended the councils carried images with them. The emperor is exhorted to repent and is threatened with judgments; he is charged to take warning from the fate of the Monothelite Constans, and from the glory of that prince's victims, the martyrs Maximus and Martin.

The sequel of Gregory's proceedings is matter of controversy.

⁷ His two letters (Hard. iv. 1-18) were first published by Baronius (xii. 346-359), but were wrongly referred by him to the year 726, whereas they were really written about 729, according to Muratori (IV. i. 343) and Jaffé, or within the last four months of 730, according to Pagi. (xii. 345, 390.)

Hefele, however, is inclined to agree with Baronius as to the earlier of the letters (iii. 370-2). Their genuineness has been questioned, but is generally allowed. Walch, x. 174; Schröckh, xx. 535-6.

² The mistake will be readily seen.

Extreme Romanists and their extreme opponents agree in stating that the pope excommunicated the emperor, withdrew his Italian subjects from their allegiance, and forbade the payment of tribute—by the rightful exercise of apostolical authority, according to one party; by an anti-Christian usurpation according to the other.* But more temperate inquirers have shown that these representations are incorrect. The popes of that age made no pretension to the right of dethroning princes or absolving subjects from their allegiance; Gregory, in his second letter, while he denies that the emperor is entitled to interfere with the Church, expressly disclaims the power of interfering with the sovereign. The story as to the withdrawal of tribute seems to have grown out of the fact of a popular resistance to an impolitic increase of taxation.^b Although Gregory condemned iconoclasm, it appears that he did not pronounce any excommunication against the emperor; and, even if he excommunicated him, the sentence would have been unheeded by the Church of Constantinople. The utmost that can be established, therefore, appears to be, that, by raising a cry against Leo as a heretic and a persecutor, he rendered him odious to his Italian subjects, and so paved the way for that separation from the empire which followed within half a century.^c

In the following year Gregory II. was succeeded by a third pope of the same name, for whom it was still held necessary that,

Feb. 731. before his consecration, the election should be confirmed by the exarch.^d Gregory III., a Syrian by birth, was

zealous in the cause of images, and laboured to increase the popular veneration of them. He remonstrated with Leo against

Nov. 731. his iconoclastic proceedings, and held a council of ninety-eight bishops, which anathematised all the enemies of

images, but without mentioning the emperor by name.^e Leo, indignant at the pope's audacity, imprisoned his envoys, and resolved to send a fleet to reduce Italy into better subjection.

* Baronius says that the pope, after long forbearance, found that it was time to lay the axe to the root of the tree, and to say, "Cut it down;" thus giving his successors an example not to suffer obstinately heretical princes to reign (730. 5). See also Bellarmine, *De Rom. Pontif.* v. 8; and, on the extreme protestant side, the *Magdeburg Centuries*, Cent. VIII., pp. 380, 518 (ed. Basil. 1624); or Spanheim, 732-4. The foundation of this account comes from the Greek writers, as Theophanes (621-9), G. Hamartolus, cxlviii. 18.

^b Pagi, xii. 390; Walch, x. 249

(who, however, questions whether there were any *new* tax); Milman, ii. 150; Hefele, iii. 358.

^c See *Nat. Alex.* xi. 169-174; *De Marca*, III. xi. 3; *Muratori*, Ann. IV. i. 342; *Pagi*, xii. 390; *Walch*, x. 263-275, 280-2; *Giannone*, i. 405-7; *Gibbon*, iv. 473-4; *Schröckh*, xix. 522-7; *xx.* 531; note in *Mosheim*, ii. 164; *Milman*, ii. 147-9; *Hefele*, iii. 358-9.

^d *Pagi* in *Patrol.* lxxxix. 569; *Milman*, ii. 150.

^e *Anastas.* 158; *Walch*, x. 175; *Schröckh*, xx. 548.

But the fleet was disabled by storms, and the emperor was obliged to content himself with confiscating the papal revenues (or "patrimony") in Sicily, Calabria, and other parts of his dominions, and transferring Greece and Illyricum from the Roman patriarchate to that of Constantinople.^f A.D. 733.

Gregory III. was succeeded in 741 by Zacharias, and Leo by his son Constantine, whose reign extended to the unusual length of thirty-four years. This prince (who is commonly distinguished by the name *Copronymus*, derived from his having in infancy polluted the baptismal font)^g is charged by the ecclesiastical writers with monstrous vices, and with the practice of magical arts;^h while his apologists contend that he was remarkably chaste and temperate.ⁱ The characteristics which are beyond all controversy, are his vigour, his ability, and his cruelty.^k In war he successfully defended his empire against Saracens, Bulgarians, and other enemies, and under him its internal administration was greatly improved.^m

The Saracen war, and the discontents arising out of the question as to images, encouraged the emperor's brother-in-law, Artavasdus, to pretend to the throne; it would seem, indeed, that he was almost forced into this course by the jealousy of Constantine.ⁿ Artavasdus appealed to the popular affection for images, and restored them in all places of which he got possession. He was crowned by the patriarch Anastasius, who, holding the cross in his hands, publicly swore that Constantine had avowed to him a belief that our Lord was a mere man, born in the ordinary way.^o Pope Zacharias acknowledged Artavasdus as emperor;^p but, after having maintained his claim for three years, the rival of Constantine was put down, and he and his adherents were punished with great severity. Anastasius was blinded, and was exhibited in the hippodrome, mounted on an ass, with his face towards the tail; yet, after this, Constantine restored him to the patriarchate, by way, it would seem, of proclaiming his contempt for the whole body of the clergy.^q

It is said that Constantine expressed Nestorian opinions, and a

^f Hadrian I. in *Patrol.* xcviii. 1292; Pagi, xii. 781; Walch, x. 262; Schlosser, 190-5; Giesel. II. i. 33.

^g Theophan. 613. This story has, however, been questioned, and other reasons have been given for the name. See Ducange, s. v. *Cuballinus*.

^h Theophan. 636, 685, 694.

ⁱ Basnage, 1356-7; Walch, x. 361.

^k Theophan. 683-5.

^m Gibbon, iv. 411-2; Schlosser, 222-4.

ⁿ Schlosser, 201. ^o Theophan. 639.

^p He dated by the year of Artavasdus' reign, *c. g.* Ep. 6 (*Patrol.* lxxxix.). Schröckh, xix. 543. But this, says Hefele, did not imply partisanship. iii. 378.

^q Theophan. 647-8; Milman, ii. 110.

disbelief in the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints. But if so, the words were spoken in conferences which were intended to be secret; and it was the emperor's policy to feel his way carefully before taking any public step in matters of religion.⁷ On the question as to images, he wished to strengthen himself by the authority of a general council, and summoned one to meet in the year 754, having in the preceding year desired that, by way of preparation, the subject should be discussed by the provincial assemblies of bishops.⁸ The see of Constantinople was then vacant by the death of Anastasius—a circumstance which may have tended to secure the ready compliance of some who aspired to fill it.⁹ The remaining three patriarchs of the East were under the Mahometan dominion, and Stephen of Rome disregarded the imperial citation. In the absence of all the patriarchs, therefore, the bishops of Ephesus and Perga presided over the council, which was held in a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, with the exception of the final sitting, which took place in the church of the Blachernæ.¹⁰ The number of bishops, although collected from the emperor's dominions only, amounted to three hundred and thirty-eight,¹¹ and their decisions, after sessions which lasted from February to August, are described as unanimous—a proof rather of the subjection in which the episcopate was held than of any real conviction.

The assembled bishops professed to rest their judgment on the authority of the fathers, from whose writings extracts were read. They declared all representations made for religious purposes by the art of painter or sculptor to be presumptuous, heathenish, and idolatrous.¹² Those who make such representations of the Saviour, it is said, either limit the incomprehensible God to the bounds of created flesh, or confound the natures, like Eutyches, or deny the Godhead, like Arius, or, with Nestorius, separate it from the manhood so as to make two persons.¹³ The eucharist alone is declared to be a proper image of the Saviour—the union of the Divine grace with the material elements typifying that of the Godhead with his human form.¹⁴ All images, therefore, are to be removed out of churches. Bishops, priests, or deacons contravening the

⁷ Theophan. 671, 678; Neand. v. 307. See Gfrörer, ii. 139.

⁸ Basnage, 1354.

⁹ This remark of Schlosser (213) seems more reasonable than that of Spanheim (754),—that, if Constantine had wished to influence the Council, he would have filled the patriarchal throne with a tool.

¹⁰ Theophan. 59, ed. Paris; Schlosser,

213. Its definitions are in the sixth session of the second Council of Nicæa, Hard. iv. 325, seqq.

¹¹ Hard. iv. 345.

¹² Ib. 380, 415.

¹³ Ib. 360-1.

¹⁴ Ib. 368-9. The inconsistency of this with the later Roman doctrine is evident, as otherwise the humanity would be *docetic*.

decisions of the council, whether by invoking images, by worshipping them, by setting them up, or by secretly keeping them, are to be deposed; monks and lay persons offending in like manner are to be excommunicated.^b But it was ordered that no one should deface or meddle with sacred vessels or vestments, under pretext of their being adorned with figures, unless by permission of the emperor or of the patriarch; and that no person in authority should despoil churches on this account, as had already been done in some instances.^c With a view, perhaps, of clearing themselves from the aspersions which were thrown on the emperor's faith, the bishops formally declared the lawfulness of invoking the Blessed Virgin and the saints.^d And they pronounced anathemas against all religious art,^e anathematising by name some noted defenders of images—Germanus, George of Cyprus, and John of Damascus, whom they designated by the name of *Mansour*,^f loaded with a profusion of dishonourable epithets, and denounced with a threefold curse.^g

Fortified by the decisions of the council, Constantine now ordered that all images should be removed. For the religious paintings on church-walls, he ordered that other subjects, such as birds and fruits, or scenes from the chase, the theatre, and the circus, should be substituted.^h He required the clergy and the more noted monks to subscribe the decrees of the synod;ⁱ and at a later time an oath against images was exacted from all the inhabitants of the empire.^k It does not appear that any of the bishops refused to comply; but the monks were violent and obstinate in their resistance, and the emperor endeavoured to subdue them by the most barbarous cruelties.^m The zeal of the monks in behalf of images provoked him even to attempt the extirpation of monachism by forcing them to abandon their profession.ⁿ Thus we read that a number of monks were compelled to appear in the hippodrome at Constantinople, each holding by the hand a woman of disreputable character, and so to stand while the populace

^b Hard. iv. 416-7.

^c Ib. 420-1.

^d Ib. 429-432.

^e Ib. 424, seqq.

^f It would seem that this was the name of John's father, or was slightly varied from it, and was intended to be understood as meaning a *bastard*. See Theophan. 342, ed. Paris; Georg. Hamart. pp. 639, 651; Cedren. 456; Ducange, Gloss. Med. et Inf. Græcitat. s. v. *Μανσορ*; Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. ix. 685.

^g Hard. iv. 437; Theophan. 643.

^h Theophan. 659. Vita Stephani junioris, in Patol. Gr. c. 1113. Hence the biographer of Stephen speaks of him as having turned a church into *παροφυλάκιον* (Psalm lxxxviii. i. lxx.), *καὶ ὄρνεοσκοπεῖον*. 1120.

ⁱ Schröckh, xx. 561-3.

^k A.D. 766. Niceph. Cpol. 47. Walch, x. 381. Neander (v. 307) supposes that it was only enforced in Constantinople.

^m See Theophan. 684; Schröckh, xx. 564, seqq.

ⁿ Niceph. Cpol. 46.

mocked at them and spat on them.^o The new patriarch, Constantine, whom the emperor had presented to the council in that character on the last day of its meeting,^p was obliged publicly to forswear images, and, in violation of the monastic vows which he had taken, to attend the banquets of the palace, to eat and drink freely, to wear garlands, to witness the gross spectacles, and to listen to the indecent language and music, in which the emperor delighted. Monasteries were destroyed, converted into barracks, or applied to other secular uses.^q The governor of the Thracian Theme, Michael Lachanadraco,^r especially distinguished himself by the energy of his proceedings against the monks. He assembled a great number of them in a plain, and told them that such of them as were inclined to obey the emperor and himself must forthwith put on a white dress and take wives; while those who should refuse were to lose their eyes and to be banished to Cyprus. Some of them complied, but the greater part suffered the penalty. Lachanadraco put many monks to death; he anointed the beards of some with a mixture of oil and wax, and then set them on fire; he burnt up monasteries, sold the plate, books, cattle, and other property which belonged to them, and remitted the price to the emperor, who publicly thanked him for his zeal, and recommended him as an example to other governors.^s Relics were to some extent involved in the fate of images, although not so much as consistency might have seemed to require.^t Lachanadraco seized all which he found carried about the person, and punished the wearers as impious and disobedient. The relics of St. Euphemia, at Chalcedon, which even as early as the time of the Fourth General Council had been famous for miraculous virtue,^u and were believed to exude a fragrant balsam, were thrown into the sea, and the place where they had been preserved was defiled. But it is said that they were carried by the waves to Lemnos, where visions indicated the spot in which they were to be found, and secured their preservation until more favourable times.^x

The monks, on their part, no doubt did much to provoke the emperor and his officers to additional cruelty by violent and fanatical behaviour. Thus, one, named Peter "the Calybite,"^y made his

^o Theophan. 675-6.

^p Ib. 659.

^q Ib. 675, 684.

^r Ib. 684-5.

^s Ib. 688-690. Spanheim sets off the *dragoons* of Louis XIV.'s time against this iconoclastic *draco*. Basnage, by his tone in speaking of persecution carried on by iconoclasts, shows not a little of that persecuting spirit which he would

have reprobated in the opposite party.

^t Giesel. II. i. 5.

^u See vol. i. p. 468.

^x Theophan. 679.

^y From *καλύβη*, a shed or hut. It would seem that Theophanes has confounded two monks, Andrew and Peter. See Hefele, iii. 390, 394.

way into the presence of Constantine, and upbraided him, as a new Valens and Julian, for persecuting Christ in his members and in his images. For this audacity Peter was scourged in the hippodrome, and was afterwards strangled.* Another famous sufferer was Stephen, who had lived as a monk for sixty years. He boldly defied the emperor; he remained unshaken by banishment or tortures, and, by way of illustrating the manner in which insults offered to images might be supposed to affect the holy persons whom they represent, he produced a coin stamped with the emperor's head, threw it on the ground, and trod on it. In consequence of this act he was imprisoned; but the sympathy of his admirers was displayed so warmly that Constantine was provoked to exclaim, "Am I, or is this monk, emperor of the world?" The words were caught up as a hint by some courtiers, who rushed to the prison and broke it open. Stephen was dragged through the streets, by a rope tied to one of his feet, until he was dead, and his body was then torn in pieces, which were thrown into a place appropriated to the burial of heathens and excommunicate persons, of suicides and of criminals.†

The patriarch Constantine, after all his compliances, was accused of having held treasonable communications with Stephen, and of having spoken disrespectfully of the emperor; and on these charges he was banished to an island, while Nicetas, an eunuch of Slavonic origin, was raised to the patriarchate in his stead. In the second year of his banishment, Constantine was brought back to the capital. After having been beaten until he A.D. 767. could not walk, he was carried into the cathedral, where the accusations against him were read aloud, and at every count of the indictment an imperial functionary struck him on the face. He was then forced to stand in the pulpit, while Nicetas pronounced his excommunication; after which he was stripped of the pall, the ensign of his ecclesiastical dignity, and was led backwards out of the church. On the following day he was carried into the hippodrome; his hair, eyebrows, and beard were plucked out; he was set on an ass, with his face towards the tail, which he was compelled to hold with both hands, and his nephew, whose nose had been cut off, led the animal around, while the spectators hooted at and spat on the fallen patriarch. He was then thrown violently to the ground, his neck was trodden on, and he lay pros-

* Theophan. 363, ed. Paris; Basnage, 1356.

† Nic. Cpol. 46; see the Life of Stephen in Patrol. Gr. c.; also Theo-

phan. 674; Baron. 754. 26, seqq., with Pagi's notes; 762. 3; 765. 6-10; 767. 9-19; Schlosser, 228.

trate, exposed to the jeers of the rabble, until the games of the day were over. A few days later, some patricians were sent to question him in prison as to the emperor's orthodoxy, and as to the decisions of the council against images. The wretched man, thinking to soothe his persecutor's rage, expressed approval of everything. "This," they said, "was all that we wished to hear further from thy impure mouth; now begone to cursing and darkness!" Constantine was immediately beheaded, and his head, after having been publicly exposed for three days, was thrown, with his body, into the same place of ignominy where Stephen had before been buried.^b

These details have been given as a specimen of the cruelties which are ascribed to Constantine Copronymus. To the end of his reign he was unrelenting in his enmity against the worshippers of images. In the year 775, while on a military expedition, he was seized with a burning pain in his legs, which (it is said) forced from him frequent cries that he already felt the pains of hell. He died at sea, on his way to Constantinople.^c

^b Theophan. 677-683.

^c Ib. 693-4.

CHAPTER V.

ST. BONIFACE.

A.D. 716-755.

AMONG the missionary enterprises of the Anglo-Saxons had been some attempts to convert the nations of Northern Germany. Suidbert, one of the original companions of Willibrord, was consecrated in England during his master's first visit to Rome, and went forth to preach to the Boructuarians, who occupied a territory between the Ems and the Yssel; but the disorders of the country obliged him to withdraw from it, and he afterwards laboured on the Lower Rhine.^a Two brothers, named Hewald, and distinguished from each other by the epithets White and Black, are also celebrated as having penetrated into the country of the Old Saxons, and having there ended their lives by martyrdom.^b But no great or lasting missionary success had been achieved to the east of the Rhine in the lower part of its course until the time of Boniface.^c

This missionary, whose original name was Winfrid,^d was born at Crediton, in Devonshire, of a noble and wealthy family, about the year 680.^e It was intended that he should follow a secular career; but the boy was early influenced by the discourse of some monks who visited his father's house, and at the age of seven he entered a monastery at Exeter, from which he afterwards removed to that of Nutselle (Nutshalling or Nursling) in Hampshire.^f Here he became famous for his ability as a preacher and as an expositor of Scripture.^g He was employed in important ecclesiastical business, and had the prospect of rising to eminence in

^a Beda, v. 11; Vita Suidberti, ap. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvic.* ii. 222, seqq.; Rettberg, ii. 395, 423, 525.

^b Beda, v. 10. The details of the story are legendary. See Rettb. ii. 397-9.

^c Giesel. I. ii. 507; Rettb. i. 309. The chief authorities as to St. Boniface are his own correspondence, and the lives by his disciple Willibald, and by Othlon, a monk of Ratisbon, in the latter part of the eleventh century; all printed in the *Patrologia*, vol. lxxxix.

^d The name of Boniface is generally said to have been given to him by the

pope at his consecration. But it occurs earlier, and was probably assumed when he became a monk. *Luden*, v. 454; *Lingard*, A. S. C. ii. 338; Rettb. i. 334-5.

^e Not later than 683. See Rettb. i. 336.

^f Willib. 1-2; *Kemble*, ii. 452. The disappearance of Nutselle from the list of English monasteries is traced to the ravages of the Danes. *M'Cabe's Catholic History of England*, i. 616.

^g Willib. 2-3.

the church of his own country; but he was seized with an earnest desire to labour for the extension of the Gospel, and, with two companions, he crossed the sea to Frisia, in the year 716.^b The state of things in that country was unfavourable for his design. Charles Martel, the son of Pipin of Heristal by a concubine, had possessed himself of the mayoralty of the palace in Austrasia, and was now engaged in war with Radbod of Frisia, who had made an alliance with Ragenfrid, the mayor of the Neustriap palace.^c The pagan prince had destroyed many churches and monasteries, and, although he admitted Boniface to an interview, he refused him permission to preach in his dominions.^d Boniface therefore returned to Nutselle, where the monks, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the headship of their house, were desirous to elect him abbot. But his missionary zeal induced him to withstand their importunities; by the assistance of his bishop, Daniel of Winchester, he secured the appointment of another abbot, and in the spring of 717 he set out for Rome.^e A letter from Daniel procured him a kind reception from Gregory II., who held many conferences with him during the following winter; and in 718 Boniface left Rome, carrying with him a large supply of relics, with a letter^f in which the pope authorised him to preach to the heathens of Germany wherever he might find an opportunity. After having surveyed Bavaria and Thuringia, he was induced by tidings of

Radbod's death to go again into Frisia, where for three years he laboured under Willibrord. The aged bishop wished to appoint him his successor; but Boniface declined the honour, on the ground that, as he was not yet fifty years old, he was unfit for so high an office, and that he must betake himself to the sphere for which the pope had especially appointed him.^g He therefore took leave of Willibrord, and passed into Hessaia.

Two local chiefs, Detdic and Dierolf, who, although professing Christianity, were worshippers of idols, granted him leave to establish himself at Amanaburg, on the Ohm (*Amana*^h), where in a short time he reclaimed them from their heathenish practices, and baptised many thousands of Hessians. On receiving a report of this success, Gregory summoned Boniface to Rome, and, after having exacted a formal profession of faith, ordained him as a

^b Willib. 4; Pagi, xii. 272.

^c Willib. 4; Pagi, xii. 250, 266; Sismondi, ii. 112.

^d Willib. 4.

^e Ib. 5.

^f Greg. II. Ep. i. Patrol. lxxxix.

^g Willib. 6. Neander (v. 64) connects

with this occasion a passage in the letter of Bagga to Boniface (Ep. 3), and supposes that Boniface acted on an intimation received in a dream. But the connexion seems questionable.

^h Willib. 7. See Rettb. i. 339-340.

regional bishop,^a at the same time binding him to the papal see by an oath, which was a novelty as imposed on a missionary, although, with some necessary changes, it was the same which had long been required of bishops within the proper patriarchate of Rome.^b Standing at the tomb of St. Peter, to whom the oath was addressed, Boniface solemnly pledged himself to obey the apostle, and the pope as his vicar; in no wise to consent to anything against the unity of the Catholic Church; in all things to keep his faith to the apostle, and to the interests of the Roman see; to have no communion or fellowship with bishops who might act contrary to the institutions of the holy fathers; but to check such persons, if possible, or otherwise to report them faithfully to his lord the pope.^c

The bishop received from the pope a code of regulations for the government of his church^d (probably the collection of Dionysius Exiguus); and, having learnt by experience the importance of securing the countenance of princes for missionary undertakings, he carried with him a letter from Gregory to Charles Martel, who, under the name of the effete descendants of Clovis, was the virtual sovereign of their kingdom.^e He was also furnished by the pope with letters to the nations among which his labours were to be employed.^f Charles Martel received the missionary coldly; such enterprises as that of Boniface had no interest for the rude warrior,^g nor were the clergy of his court likely to bespeak his favour for one whose life and thoughts widely differed from their own. Boniface, however, obtained from Charles the permission which he

^a Willib. 7; Othlon, i. 13-4.

^b See the 'Liber Diurnus,' iii. 8 (Patrol. cv.); De Marca, vii. 6; Schröckh, xix. 173-6; Neand. v. 66; Giesel. II. i. 22.

^c Patrol. lxxxix. 803.

^d Willib. 7.

^e Greg. Ep. 2. To the ordinary accounts of the "do-nothing" Merovingian kings (e.g. that given by Einhard, Vita Caroli, l.). Theophanes (619) and Cedrenus (453) add the Byzantine idea as to their long hair—that it grew along their backs, as in hogs! Gregory of Tours speaks of their "whips of hair" (*flagella crinium*), vi. 24; viii. 10.

^f Greg. Epp. 3-7.

^g I leave this as it stood before the publication of Dr. Perry's work, in which the religion of Charles Martel is more favourably represented. In particular, it seems to me that Dr. Perry has

made far too much of a passage in Othlon, where it is said that Boniface, in applying to Carloman for support, "poposcit ut Christianae religionis culturam, quam pater ejus in promptissimo animo coepit et excoluit, ipse quoque pro Dei amore, suique regni stabilitate . . . eodem animo excoleret" (Othl. i. 33; Perry, 284). The occasion on which such words are said to have been used will warrant us in deducting largely from their apparent meaning. On the other hand, M. Michelet (ii. 11) questions whether Charles was a Christian at all—but on no better grounds than that the epithet *Martel* reminds the historian of the hammer ascribed to Thor! Against this, see Martin, ii. 206. The name does not appear in any writer before the eleventh century. Ib.; Luden, iv. 469.

desired to preach beyond the Rhine, with a letter of protection,^a which proved to be very valuable.^a

In Hessa and Thuringia, the countries to which he now repaired, Christianity had already been long preached, but by isolated teachers, and without any regular system.^b The belief and the practice of the converts were still largely mixed with paganism; Boniface even speaks of presbyters who offered sacrifices to the heathen gods.^c The preachers had for the most part proceeded from the Irish Church, in which diocesan episcopacy was as yet unknown, and the jurisdiction was separate from the order of a bishop; they had brought with them its peculiar ideas as to the limitation of the episcopal rights;^d they were unrestrained by any discipline or by any regard for unity; they owned no subjection to Rome, and were under no episcopal authority.^e Boniface often complains of these preachers as "fornicators and adulterers"^f—words which may in some cases imply a charge of real immorality, but which in general clearly mean nothing more than that the Irish missionaries held the doctrine of their native church as to the lawfulness of marriage for the clergy.^g He speaks, too, of some who imposed on the people by pretensions to extraordinary asceticism—feeding on milk and honey only, and rejecting even bread.^h With these rival teachers he was involved in serious and lasting contentions.

Among the collection of Boniface's correspondence is a letter from his old patron, Daniel of Winchester,ⁱ containing advice for

^a Ep. 11.

^b Ep. 12, c. 702; Rettb. i. 343.

^c Willib. 8; Rettb. i. 346-7; ii. 310.

^d His report of this is known from a letter of Pope Zacharias to him. Zach. Ep. 11 (Patrol. lxxxix. c. 44). Rettb. berg thinks that these were not Christians who had fallen into idolatry, but heathens who, without renouncing their own religion, had taken up some Christian forms. (ii. 579.) See Schmidt, i. 408.

^e See p. 66.

^f Willib. 8; Rettb. i. 317.

^g E. g. Epp. 12, 27, 49; Ep. Zach. 11. col. 944.

^h Schröckh, xix. 185; Theiner, i. 409, 414; Rettb. i. 320-3.

ⁱ Ep. 12. col. 701; Rettb. i. 313. In the letter by which Gregory II. recommended Boniface to the people and clergy of Germany (Greg. II. Ep. 4), it is said that he is not to acknowledge Africans pretending to holy orders, be-

cause some of them have often been proved to be Manichæans, and others to be rebaptised (i. e. Donatists). Neander (v. 62), Reutberg (i. 312), and others, suppose this to have been carelessly copied by a scribe from a form of older date, since it occurs almost in the same words in an epistle of Gregory the Great (ii. 37), and in a form ascribed to Gelasius I. (Patrol. lix. 137; Lib. Diurn. iii. 9, ib. cv.) Ozanam, however, thinks that the prohibition was applicable to the circumstances of Germany in the time of Boniface, and that the ascetic pretenders of whom Boniface complains were Manichæans. (Civil. Chrét. 192.) But he does not explain how the African church of the eighth century could have sent forth such persons, how it is that Donatists are also mentioned in that age, or how it is that the same words are found in Gregory the Great and in the older Roman formularies.

^j Ep. 14.

the conduct of his missionary work. The bishop tells him that, in discussions with the heathen, he ought not to question the genealogies of their gods, but to argue from them that beings propagated after the fashion of mankind must be not gods but men. The argument is to be urged by tracing back the genealogies to the beginning; by asking such questions as—"When was the first god generated? To which sex did this god belong? Has the generation of gods come to an end? If it has ceased, why? Is the world older than the gods? If so, who governed it before they existed?" The missionary must argue mildly, and must avoid all appearance of insult or offence. He must contrast the truth of Christianity with the absurdities of the pagan mythology. He must ask how it is that the gods allow Christians to possess the fairest places of the earth, while their own votaries are confined to cold and barren tracts; he is to dwell on the growth of the Christian church from nothing to the predominance which it has already attained.

It would seem, however, that Boniface rarely had occasion to enter into arguments of this sort, but was obliged to rely on others of a more palpable kind.^k He found that an oak near Geismar, sacred to the thunder-god Donar,^m was held in great reverence by the Hessians, and that the impression which his words made on the people was checked by their attachment to this object of ancestral veneration. He therefore, at the suggestion of some converts, resolved to cut down the tree. A multitude of pagans assembled and stood around, uttering fierce curses, and expecting the vengeance of the gods to show itself on the missionary and his companions. But when Boniface had hardly begun his operations, a violent gust of wind shook the branches, and the oak fell to the ground, broken into four equal pieces. The pagans at once renounced their gods, and with the wood of the tree Boniface built a chapel in honour of St. Peter.ⁿ

After this triumph his preaching made rapid progress. He founded churches and monasteries, and was reinforced by many monks and nuns from his native church, who assisted him in the labours of conversion and Christian education.^o Gregory III., soon after being raised to the popedom, in 732, conferred on him the pall of an archbishop;^p and when in 738 Boniface paid a third

^k Rettb. i. 407-8.

^m The *Thor* of Scandinavian mythology. (Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 62-3, 172.) As being the god of thunder he is called *Jupiter* (Willib. 8), whence Rettberg wrongly substitutes the *chief*

god, Woden, for him. i. 344.

ⁿ Willib. 8.

^o Ib.; Othlon, i. 25; Rettb. i. 403.

^p Greg. III. Ep. 1 (*Patrol. lxxxix.*); Willib. 8.

visit to Rome, he was received with the honour due to a missionary who had by that time baptised a hundred thousand converts.^a On his return northwards, he was induced by Odilo, duke of Bavaria, to remain for a time in that country, where he had already laboured about three years before.^b He found there a general profession of Christianity; but there was only one bishop, Vivilus by name; there was no system of ecclesiastical government; and, as in other parts of Germany, he had to contend with the rivalry of the irregular missionaries from Ireland. He divided the country into four dioceses—Salzburg, Passau (which was assigned to Vivilus), Ratisbon, and Freisingen;^c and, having thus organised the Bavarian church, he returned to the more especial scene of his labours.

The name of Charles Martel is memorable in the history of the Church and of the world for having turned back the course of Mahometan conquest. The Saracens of Spain had overrun the south of France, had made their way as far as the Loire, and were marching against Tours, with the intention of plundering the treasures which the devotion of centuries had accumulated around the shrine of St. Martin, when they were met by Charles, at the head of an army collected from many races—Franks, Germans, Gauls, men of the north, and others. His victory near Poitiers (although the slaughter has been vastly exaggerated by legendary writers)^d put a stop for ever to the progress of their arms towards the north; and while they were further weakened by internal dissensions, Charles, following up his advantage, succeeded in driving them back beyond the Pyrenees.^e But the vast benefit which he thus conferred on Christendom was purchased at a cost which for the time pressed heavily on the Church of France. In order to meet the exigencies of the war, he seized the treasures of churches, and rewarded the chiefs who followed him with the temporalities of bishopricks and abbeys; so that, notwithstanding his great services to the Christian cause, his memory is branded by the French ecclesiastical writers as that of a profane and sacrilegious prince, and a synod held at

^a Greg. III. Ep. 7, col. 584; Willib. 9.

^b Willib. 9; Pagi, xii. 428; Rettb. i. 346.

^c Willib. 9; Greg. III. Ep. 4, 7; Rettb. 349-350.

^d It is said that the Infidels lost 375,000 men, and the Christians only 1500. Paul. Warnef. *De Gestis Langob.* vi. 46; see Sismondi, ii. 132; Mar-

tin, ii. 202-6; Hallam, *Supplem. Notes*, 24; Luden, iv. 105-6. The Arabian accounts ascribe the defeat to the Divine vengeance for the cruelties of which the invaders had been guilty. Conde, *'Dominacion de los Arabes en España,'* 44, ed. Paris, 1840.

^e Gibbon, v. 186-9.

Quiercy in the year 858, assured one of his descendants that for this sin Eucherius, bishop of Orleans, had seen him tormented "in the lower hell."^x

Boniface, although he found the name of the Frankish mayor a powerful assistance in his labours beyond the Rhine,⁷ was thwarted at the Frankish court by the nobles who had got possession of ecclesiastical revenues, and by the rude, secular, fighting and hunting bishops, who were most congenial to the character of Charles.⁸ In a letter to Daniel of Winchester, he complains of being obliged to have intercourse with such persons. The bishop in reply wisely advises him, on scriptural authority, to keep himself pure, and to bear with such faults in others as it may not be in his power to amend.⁹

Both Gregory III. and Charles Martel died in 741. The new pope, Zacharias, extended Boniface's power by authorising him to reform the whole Frankish church.^b The sons of Charles were glad to avail themselves of the assistance of Rome in a work of which they felt the necessity;^c and from Carloman, who had succeeded to the mayoralty of Austrasia, while Pipin held that of Neustria, Boniface received an amount of support which he had hitherto in vain endeavoured to obtain.^d He now erected four bishopricks for Hesse and Thuringia;^e and in 742, at the request of Carloman (as he says), was held a council for the reformation of the church—the first Austrasian council which had met for eighty years.^f This council was for some years followed by others, collected from one or from both divisions of the Frankish territory. They were not, however, composed of ecclesiastics only, but were mixed assemblies of the national estates;^g and, while Boniface was acknowledged in his high office as the pope's commissioner, the decrees were set forth by the Frankish princes in their own name,^h and appointments which had been already made by the papal authority were again made, afresh and independently, by the secular power. Even the jurisdiction of Boniface over other bishops was thus granted anew to him.ⁱ Their canons

^x Ep. ad Ludov. regem Germaniæ, ap. Hard. v. 469. The story is full of anachronisms: e.g. the saint who is said to have seen the sufferings of Charles after death, himself died before him. See Baron, 739. 2; 741. 16-21; Pagi, xii. 466-470; Mabillon, iii. 595.

⁷ Ep. 12. col. 702.

⁸ Epp. 49, 75; Greg. II. Ep. 9.

⁹ Ep. 12-13.

^b Zach. Ep. 6.

^c Planck, ii. 726.

^d Rettb. i. 346-7.

^e Ep. 49; Zach. Ep. 1; Rettb. i. 351; Hefele, iii. 462-3.

^f Ep. 49, col. 745; Pagi, xii. 446, 478. There had been more recent synods in Neustria. Rettb. i. 380.

^g Rettb. i. 354, 363.

^h E.g. Conc. Germ. I. ap. Hard. iii. 1919; Conc. Suevion. ib. 1932-4.

ⁱ Conc. Germ. c. 1, ap. Hard. iii. 1920; Rettb. i. 354. The genuineness of these councils has been denied without

were directed towards the establishment of order in the church by providing for annual synods, by forbidding ecclesiastics to hunt, to hawk, to serve in war; by the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy; by subjecting the clergy to the bishops, and discountenancing such as were under no regular discipline.^k An attempt was made to recover to their proper uses the ecclesiastical revenues which had been alienated by Charles Martel. The first council ordered their restoration,^m but this was not to be so easily

effected. The council of the following year was reduced

A.D. 743. to attempt a compromise, by allowing that, in consideration of the wars and of other circumstances, the property should for a time be retained by the lay holders, but that for each *casata* a *solidus* should be paid to the ecclesiastical owners.ⁿ But in the later councils the subject does not appear, and it would seem that the attempt was given up as hopeless.^o The councils also made enactments for the suppression of heathen practices,^p such as divination, the use of amulets, *needfire* (i. e. the production of fire by the friction of wood and tow),^q and the offering of sacrifices, whether to the old pagan deities, or to the saints who, with some converts, had taken their place—practices of which some, with a remarkable tenacity, have kept their hold on the northern nations even to our own day.^r

reason by some Romanists, on account of the position assigned in them to the secular power. (See Schröckh, xix. 204.) Their chronology is elaborately discussed by Hefele, iii. 467, sqq.

^k E. g. Conc. Germ. cc. 1, 3, 4; Hard. iii. 1920.

^m Can. 1.

ⁿ Conc. Liptinense, c. 2. By some this council is placed at Lestines, near Cambrai, by others at Ettines, near Binch, in Hainault (Perry, 300). The *casata*, like the English *hide* of land, was a quantity sufficient for the maintenance of one family (Ducange, s. v. *Casata*). The *solidus* is reckoned in the Ripuarian laws as the equivalent of two oxen (Ozanam, 138); but its value varied much. See Ducange, s. v.; Hefele, iii. 469.

^o Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 347. See Perry, 299-304.

^p Conc. Germ. I. c. 5; Conc. Liptin. c. 4; Conc. Suession. c. 6.

^q *Nedfyr*, from *nöthen*, to compel, because the fire was forced out of the wood (Würdtwein, in Patrol. lxxxix. 814), or from *not*, need, because used in times of calamity (Ducange, s. v. *Nedfri*). On the manner of producing it, see

Grimm, 'Deutsche Mythologie,' 570, where a great mass of learning on the subject is collected. In the 17th century it was used in Aberdeenshire, where it was stigmatised as "a highland practice." (Presbytery Book of Strathbogie, pub. by the Spalding Club, 1843, p. 117.) Grimm (567) quotes Logan's 'Scottish Gael' for evidence that it is still used in Caithness. Hefele seems to be wrong (iii. 466) in identifying the needfire with a Greek superstition condemned by the Trullan council, i. 65.

^r See Grimm, *passim*; Rettb. i. 370; W. Müller, 'Altdeutsche Religion,' Götting. 1844, pp. 114, seqq. Quarterly Rev. cx. 169-171. The curious '*Indiculus paganiarum vel superstitionum*,' annexed to the Conc. Liptinense (Hard. iii. 1923; Pertz, Leges, i. 19), was probably contemporary, although not the work of that council. See notes on it in Hefele, iii. 471-7. The like is to be said of the vernacular form of baptismal professions and renunciations—"Forsachistu Diabolæ, &c."—where after the devil are mentioned the old pagan gods. (ibid.) Rettb. i. 328, 360. Hefele says that this form shows traces of Boniface's Anglo-Saxon dialect, iii. 470, 478.

In 742 Boniface laid the foundation of the great abbey of Fulda, by means of Sturm, a noble Bavarian, whom he had trained up in his seminary at Fritzlar.* The original intention was unconnected with educational or missionary plans—to provide a place for ascetic retirement. Sturm and his companions were charged to seek out a remote and lonely position in the Buchonian forest, between the four nations to which their master had preached; and, when they had fixed on a suitable spot, on the banks of the river Fulda, they had to clear it by cutting down trees, which furnished them with materials for a little chapel.† Sturm was afterwards sent to Monte Cassino and other Italian monasteries, in order that he might become acquainted with the best monastic systems,‡ and the rule established at Fulda was more rigid than that of St. Benedict. The monks were never to eat flesh; their strongest drink was to be a thin beer,§ although wine was afterwards allowed for the sick. They were to have no serfs, but were to subsist by the labour of their own hands.¶ The new foundation soon became important, and was extended to purposes beyond those which Boniface had had in view. Princes and nobles enriched it with gifts of land, and both from the Frankish kings and from the popes it enjoyed special privileges; although grave doubts have been cast on the documents by which some of these are said to have been conferred, and especially on the grant by which Zacharias is represented as exempting it from all jurisdiction save that of the apostolic see.‡

Boniface continued to meet with difficulties. His scheme of a regular organisation, by which bishops were to be subject to metropolitans, and these to the successor of St. Peter, did not find favour with the Frankish prelates. Of three on whom the pope intended to confer the pall, and who had been persuaded to apply for it, two afterwards refused it, probably in consequence of having further considered the obligations to Rome which it involved.* And he still had to encounter the opposition of irregular or heretical teachers, whom he describes as far more numerous

* Ep. 75; Egil. Vita S. Sturmii, ap. Pertz, ii. 366; Rettb. i. 346. Pagi places the foundation in 744. xii. 516-7.

† Vita Sturm. p. 367.

‡ Ib. p. 372.

§ Ib. 371. Dr. Pertz adds a note which looks significant—"Cf. Mémoires du Baron de Poellnitz!"

¶ Epp. 75; Rettb. i. 371-4.

* Pertz, ii. 370; Pipin. ap. Bonif. Ep.

91; Zach. Ep. 15. See Schröckh, xix. 226-7; Böhmer, Regesta Karol. i. Rettberg regards these pieces as spurious or interpolated. Such exemptions as that said to have been granted by Zacharias were not known until later. i. 613-622.

† Zach. Epp. 5, 6; Fleury, xlii. 37; Planck, ii. 727; Neand. v. 88; Gieseler, II. i. 25; Rettb. i. 362.

than those of the Catholic communion, and as stained in many cases with the most infamous vices.^b

Of these opponents the most noted were Adelbert and Clement.^c Adelbert was of Gaulish descent, and had obtained uncanonical consecration as a bishop from some ignorant members of the order. He is described as affecting extraordinary sanctity, and the accounts of him lead us to suppose him a person of fanatical character. He relied much on a letter which was written in the name of the Saviour and was said to have been sent down from heaven.^d He said that an angel had brought him some relics of surpassing sanctity from the ends of the earth. In opposition to the regular bishops and clergy, he held meetings in fields and at wells; and in such places he set up crosses and built little oratories. He opposed the practice of pilgrimage to Rome. He prayed to angels of names before unknown, such as Tubuel, Sabuoc, and Simiel. He is said to have disparaged the saints and martyrs, refusing to dedicate churches in their honour, while, with a self-importance which, however inconsistent, is certainly not without parallels, he dedicated them in his own name instead.^e A life of him, filled with tales of visions and miracles, was circulated;^f and—whether from vanity or in order to ridicule the relics which Boniface had brought from Rome^g—he distributed the parings of his own nails and hair among his admirers. These, it is said, spoke of his merits as something on which they might rely for aid; and, when they prostrated themselves at his feet, for the purpose of confessing their sins, he told them that it was needless—that he knew all things and had forgiven all their misdeeds, so that they might go home in peace, with the assurance of pardon.

While Adelbert gathered his sect in Austrasia, Clement was preaching in the German territory.^h Of this person, who was a Scot from Ireland, we are told that he set at nought all canons

^b See Zach. Ep. 11, col. 944.

^c The chief sources of information respecting them are Bonif. Ep. 57, and Concil. Rom. ap. Hard. iii. 1935-41, or Patrol. lxxxix., 831 seqq.

^d It is not said that Adelbert was the writer of this letter. Walch (x. 24, 41) identifies it with a letter for which a like origin was pretended in the time of Gregory the Great and with one which was condemned in a capitulary of Charlemagne, A.D. 789. (Pertz, Leges, i. 65, c. 77.) The object of that letter was to enforce a rigid observance of the Lord's Day.

^e Rettberg is unnecessarily perplexed by the seeming inconsistency. (i. 315.) Walch supposes the story to have grown out of the circumstance that the name of "Adelbert's chapels" was popularly used. x. 47.

^f The opening of this is preserved in the acts of the Roman synod. Adelbert, it was said, was sanctified while yet in the womb; and this grace was intimated to his mother, during her pregnancy, by a vision of a calf issuing from her right side!

^g Walch, x. 48.

^h Rettb. i. 324.

and all ecclesiastical authority; that he despised the writings of the most esteemed fathers, such as Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory; that he had two sons born in "adultery" (*i. e.* in wedlock¹), and yet considered himself to be a true Christian bishop; that he judaically held marriage with a brother's widow to be lawful; that he believed our Lord's descent into hell to have delivered the souls of unbelievers as well as believers; and that on the subject of predestination he held horrible opinions, contrary to the catholic faith.²

Boniface brought the case of Adelbert before a Neustrian council at Soissons in 744, and obtained a condemnation of the heretic, with an order that the crosses which he had erected should be burnt.³ But in the following year Adelbert as well as Clement appears to have been in full activity. Boniface procured a censure of both from another council,⁴ and reported the matter for investigation to Pope Zacharias, whom he requested to obtain from Carloman an order that they should be imprisoned, and debarred from communication with all faithful Christians.⁵ In consequence of this application, the documents of the case were examined by a Roman synod, which sentenced Adelbert to be deposed, put to penance, and, in case of obstinacy, anathematised with all his followers; while Clement was to be forthwith subjected to deposition and anathema.⁶ Two years later, however, the two again appear; it would seem that, besides enjoying a great amount of veneration with the common people, who had persecuted Boniface for his proceedings against Adelbert,⁷ they even had some influence over Carloman himself;⁸ and it was probably in consequence of this that Zacharias now advised a course of dealing with them which is hardly consistent with the decided condemnation before passed on them.⁹ The further history of Clement is utterly unknown; as to Adelbert it is stated by a writer of questionable authority that he was imprisoned at Fulda, and made his escape from the abbey, but was murdered by some swineherds whom he met with in his flight.¹⁰

¹ Theiner, i. 416.

² Ep. 57. As might be expected, Walch (x. 64), Schröckh (xix. 214-6), and most especially Neander (v. 78; Mem. 467) and Baron Bunsen (Zeichen der Zeit, i. 91-4), take up the cause of Adelbert and Clement, and strain their powers of conjecture to draw forth a favourable meaning from the unfavourable representations by which alone we know anything of these teachers.

³ Capitul. Suession. 7, ap. Pertz,

Leges, i. 21.

⁴ Conc. German. III. ap. Hard. iii. 1933.

⁵ Ep. 57.

⁶ Conc. Rom. ap. Hard. iii. 1940-1; Zach. Ep. 10, c. 942.

⁷ Ep. 57, c. 752.

⁸ Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 354; Retth. i. 314.

⁹ Ep. 9. See Hefele, iii. 513.

¹⁰ Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 355; Retth. i. 368-370.

Another person with whom Boniface came into collision was an Irish ecclesiastic named Virgil.^a Virgil, when ordered by him to rebaptise some persons at whose baptism the words of administration had been mutilated by an ignorant priest, appealed against the order to Rome; and Zacharias pronounced that the sacrament was valid, inasmuch as the mistake did not proceed from heresy,

but only from grammatical ignorance.^a Some time after A.D. 745.

this, Virgil was nominated to the see of Salzburg,⁷ when Boniface objected to him that he held the existence of another world below ours, with a sun, a moon, and inhabitants of its own. Zacharias condemned the opinion, and summoned Virgil to Rome;⁸ but it would seem that he was able to clear his orthodoxy, as he was allowed to take possession of Salzburg and was eventually canonised.^a

The German church had now advanced beyond that stage in which its primate might fitly be a missionary, without any determinate see.^b Boniface wished to fix himself at Cologne—probably with a view to Frisia, which, since the death of Willibrord, in 739, he had regarded as included within his legatine care; and to this he obtained the consent of the Frankish chiefs, and the sanction of Pope Zacharias.^c But before the arrangement could be carried into effect, events occurred which caused it to be set aside. In 744, the same year in which the see of Cologne became

^a See Vit. S. Virgilii, ap. Mabill. iv. 309.

^b Zach. Ep. 7. The priest baptised "in nomine Patria, et Filia, et Spiritus Sancta."

⁷ Virgil administered the diocese for two (or, as Rettb. ii. 234, argues, for twenty-two) years before receiving consecration; and in the mean time ordinations, &c., were performed for him by one of his countrymen named Dobda, who was in episcopal orders. At length Virgil yielded to the importunities of his flock and of the neighbouring bishops, and was consecrated in 767 [?]. (Canisius, ed. Basnage, III. ii. 287.) The peculiar system of the Irish church, which has been already explained (p. 66), disposes of the construction put on this case by Rettberg (ii. 234) and others.

⁸ Zach. Ep. 11, coll. 946-7. The case of Virgil is celebrated as a parallel to that of Galileo—his opinion, according to those who so regard the matter, having been, that he believed the roundness of the earth and the existence of antipodes. Writers anxious for the credit of Rome reply that, whatever his opinion may really have been, the report

which reached the pope was, that he held the existence of men belonging to a different species from ours—not partakers in the seed of Adam or in the Christian redemption. (See Bayle, art. *Virgile de Salzbourg*; Neand. v. 86; Ozanam, 134; Whewell, Hist. of Inductive Sciences, i. 272, ed. 2; Rettb. ii. 236; Rohrbacher, xi. 39-40; Hefele, iii. 523.) Dr. Newman, however, supposes him to have been charged with teaching "the existence of the antipodes," and tells us that "the Holy See apparently evaded the question . . . passing over, in a matter not revealed, a philosophical opinion" (Lectures on University Subjects, Lond. 1859, p. 280). But in truth Zacharias condemned very strongly the opinion imputed to Virgil,—the pope's only doubt being whether Virgil really held it.

^a Pagi (xii. 538, 549) and others deny the identity of St. Virgil with the object of Boniface's suspicion; but Mabillon (iv. 308) and Lanigan (iii. 184) maintain it.

^b Rettb. i. 366.

^c Zach. Ep. 10, coll. 940, 942; Pagi, xii. 523; Neand. v. 89.

vacant by the death of Raginfrid,^d Gerold, bishop of Mentz, was slain in a warlike expedition against the Saxons, and his son, Gewillieb, who until then had been a layman of Carloman's court, was consecrated to the see. In the following year the new bishop accompanied the Mayor of the Palace to war, with a resolution to avenge his father's death; he discovered the Saxon by whose hand it had been caused, and, while the Frankish and the Saxon armies were encamped on opposite banks of the Weser, invited him to a conference in the midst of the stream. The two rode into the water, and, at their meeting, the bishop stabbed the Saxon—an act which was the signal for a battle, in which the Franks were victorious. Gewillieb returned to his see as if he had done nothing inconsistent with his episcopal character; nor does it appear that any disapprobation of it was felt by Carloman or his nobles.* But Boniface, after having so lately exerted himself to procure the enactment of canons against clerical warriors, now felt himself bound to enforce them, and submitted the case of Gewillieb to a council, which declared the bishop guilty of blood. Gewillieb yielded, resigned his see, and spent the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of some lesser benefices; and Boniface was unwillingly obliged by the Frankish nobles to accept the bishoprick thus vacated, as the seat of his metropolitan jurisdiction,^f

instead of that which he had himself chosen. The ^{A.D. 746.} pope acquiesced in the change, and subjected to him, as archbishop of Mentz, the dioceses of Worms, Spire, Tongres, Cologne, and Utrecht, with all the nations of Germany which had received the Gospel through his labours.^g

In 747 Carloman resigned his power, and became a monk on Mount Soracte, from which, on finding himself disquieted by the visits of his countrymen, he afterwards withdrew to Monte Cassino.^h This change, by which the whole power of the Frankish kingdom was thrown into the hands of Pipin, would seem to have operated to the disadvantage of Boniface.ⁱ It has been very generally believed that he officiated at the coronation of Pipin at Soissons, when the Mayor of the Palace at length assumed the name of King^k (A.D. 752); but the evidence of this is open to much doubt,

^d Hefele, iii. 494-5.

^e Othlon, i. 37; Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 354.

^f Conc. Germ. III. ap. Hard. iii. 1934-6; Zach. Ep. 10, col. 942; Schröckh, xix. 232-3; Luden, iv. 167; Rettb. i. 365-7; Hefele, iii. 511-2.

^g Zach. Epp. 11, col. 947; 14; Rettb.

i. 379.

^h Einhard, Vita Carol. 2; Petr. Casin. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1070; Mabillon, iv. 124-6; Baron. 747, 4-10.

ⁱ Rettb. i. 184-5.

^k Einhard, Annal. A.D. 750; Annal. Laurissens. A.D. 750 (Pertz, i. 138-9).

and it has even been argued that, instead of promoting, he opposed the revolution which transferred the crown from the descendants of Clovis to another dynasty.^m The duties of his office began to weigh heavily on him. He had still to struggle against much opposition on the part of bishops and clergy,ⁿ while his labours were greatly disturbed by the frequent incursions of pagans, by whom he reported to Pope Stephen in 752 that thirty churches in his diocese had been burnt or demolished.^o He had, with some difficulty, obtained permission from Rome to nominate a successor to the see of Mentz when he should feel the approach of death,^p and, with Pipin's consent, he now raised to it his countryman and disciple Lull, who, however, had a much more limited authority than Boniface,^q and did not receive the pall till twenty years later.^r

A.D. 753.

It had been Boniface's intention to spend his last days in his monastery of Fulda,^s but he felt himself once more attracted to Frisia, the scene of his early labours. He again set forth as a missionary bishop, descended the Rhine, and, having consecrated Eoban to the see of Utrecht,^t laboured with his assistance among the Frisian tribes. Many thousands were baptised, and Boniface had appointed the eve of Whitsunday for the meeting of a large number of converts at a place near Dockum,

^m This is Rettberg's view. A short time before the change, Boniface sent Lull to Rome on a mission so confidential that the purport of it could not safely be committed to writing. (Ep. 75.) Rettberg argues that such a mission was more likely to have been against than in favour of the actual holder of power among the Franks, who wished to add the title to the reality of sovereignty—that Boniface was desirous to withhold the pope from acting on considerations of interest (i. 186). He compares the chronicles which name Boniface as having crowned Pipin with those which omit his name, and plausibly accounts for the insertion of the statement in the former class (i. 384-392). Boniface's share in the affair had before been denied by some Gallican writers. Ozanam makes no other reply to Rettberg as to the question whether Boniface promoted the change, than that, as he sees no wrong in the conduct ascribed to the archbishop, he thinks it unnecessary to clear him from it. He says that Boniface must have officiated at the coronation, because such ceremonies were new to the Franks, and must have been introduced from England. The necessity of this, however,

is not evident, inasmuch as the rite was practised both in the eastern empire and in Spain; and moreover, the founder of the earlier dynasty appears to have been crowned by St. Remigius. (Testam. S. Remigii, ap. Flodoard. Hist. Rem. i. 18, Patrol. cxxxv. 67; Lehušrou, 'Institutions Carolingiennes,' ii. 329.) The tone of Boniface's letter to the archchaplain Fulrad (Ep. 79) certainly seems to show that his relations with Pipin were not such as might have been expected if he had done the new king the essential service which is generally supposed. Rettb. i. 384-5. Comp. Schröckh, xix. 234-6; Sismondi, ii. 164-5; Neand. v. 94-5; Lingard, A.S.C. ii. 349; Hefele, iii. 535-7.

ⁿ Zach. Ep. 11.

^o Ep. 78; Zach. Ep. 10, col. 940.

^p Ep. 49, col. 746; Zach. Epp. ii. 9; 11, col. 947.

^q Pagi, xlii. 587.

^r Rettb. i. 575. See Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii. 17; Mabill. iv. 394-5.

^s Ep. 75.

^t Willib. 11; Mabill. iv. 3; Rettb. i. 396; Hefele, iii. 539. Perhaps, as Pagi (xii. 621) and others say, Boniface regarded himself as bishop of Utrecht, and Eoban as his coadjutor. See Ep. 90.

in order that he might bestow on them the rite of confirmation. But instead of the neophytes whom he expected, an armed band of pagans appeared and surrounded his tent. The younger members of his party were seizing weapons for defence, but he exhorted them to give up the thoughts of preserving the life of this world, and to submit to death in the hope of a better life. The pagans massacred the whole company—fifty-two in number. They carried off from the tent some chests which they supposed to be full of treasure, but which in reality contained books and relics; and it is said that, having drunk up a quantity of wine which they found, they were excited to quarrel about the division of the fancied spoil, and avenged the martyrs by almost exterminating each other.^a Eoban had shared the fate of Boniface, but their missionary labours were continued by Gregory, abbot of Utrecht,^b and before the end of the century, the conversion of the Frisians was completed by Lebuin, Liudger, and others.^c

The body of Boniface was conveyed up the Rhine to Mentz, and thence, in compliance with a wish which he had often expressed,^d was carried to the abbey of Fulda; and, although no miracles are related of him during his lifetime (unless the destruction of the oak of Geismar be reckoned as an exception), his remains, both on the way to their resting-place and after they had been deposited there, are said to have been distinguished by profuse displays of miraculous power.^e His name for ages drew pilgrims and wealth to Fulda, and he was revered as the Apostle of Germany—a title which he deserved, not as having been the first preacher of the Gospel in the countries where he laboured, but as the chief agent in the establishment of Christianity among the Germans, as the organiser of the German church. The church of Saxon England, from which he proceeded, was immediately, and in a more particular manner than any other, a daughter of the Roman. Teutonic by language and kindred, Latin by principles and affection, it was peculiarly fitted to act in the conversion of the German nations and to impress its converts with a Roman character. And this was especially the work of Boniface. He went forth to his labours with the pope's commission. On his consecration to the episcopate, after his first successes, he bound himself by oath to reduce

^a Willib. 11; Pagi, xi. 626.

^b Life of Gregory by Liudger, in Mabill. iv. 320, seqq. He is sometimes wrongly styled a bishop. Mabill. iii. Pref. See also Rettb. ii. 531-3; Neand. Memorials, 470-3.

^c Rettb. ii. 537-540.

^d E. g. Ep. 75. The saint, however, found it necessary to repeat his wish in a vision before Lull and the people of Mentz would let the body go. Othlon, ii. 25; Eigil. Vita Sturmii, 16 (Patrol. cv.).

^e Willib. 12; Rettb. i. 401.

all whom he might influence to the obedience of St. Peter and his representatives. The increased powers and the wider jurisdiction bestowed on him by later popes were employed to the same end. He strove continually, not only to bring heathens into the church, but to check irregular missionary operations, and to subject both preachers and converts to the authority of Rome. Through his agency the alliance naturally prompted by the mutual interest of the papacy and the Frankish princes was effected. And, whether he shared or not in the final step by which the papal sanction was used to consecrate the transference of the crown from the Merovingian to the Carolingian line, his exertions had undoubtedly paved the way for it. To him belongs in no small measure the authorship of that connexion with the northern rulers which encouraged the popes to disown the sovereignty of Constantinople; and, on the other hand, to him is to be traced the character of the German church in its submission to Rome from the time of the first council held under Carloman in 742.^b

But these facts afford no warrant for the charges brought against Boniface by writers of the last century.^c One who, after having passed his seventieth year, resigned the primacy of the Frankish church to set out as a simple missionary to the barbarous Frisians, with an expectation (as it would seem)^d of the violent death which he met, may safely be acquitted not only of personal ambition, but of having been "a missionary of the papacy rather than of Christianity."^e His labours for the papacy were really performed, because, trained as he had been under the influences communicated to his native church by Theodore and Wilfrid, he believed the authority of Rome to be the true means of spreading Christianity among the heathen, and of reviving it from decay in countries where it was already established. It may have been that in his zeal for unity he made too little allowance for the peculiar tempers and positions of men, or that he was sometimes guilty of injustice towards his opponents; nor can it be pretended that his opinions were in advance of the age in which he lived, whereas ingenious conjecture may ascribe to the sectaries Adelbert and Clement all the spiritual enlightenment of modern Heidelberg or Berlin. But let it be considered how little such men, however highly they may be estimated, could have

^b Guizot, ii. 173; Giesel. II. i. 23; as carrying the depreciation to an extreme. Michelet, ii. 16.

^c Such as Mosheim (ii. 119) and Schröckh. Rettberg (i. 310) mentions J. E. C. Schmidt's Church History

^d Willib. 11; Othlon, ii. 20-1.

^e Thus Schröckh describes him, xix.

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effected; how powerless such teaching, the offspring of their personal discoveries or fancies, must have been for the great work of suppressing heathenism; how distracting to the heathen must have been the spectacle of rival and discordant types of Christianity; how necessary the operation of one uniform and organised system must have reasonably appeared to Boniface, whether for the extension of the gospel or for the reform of the church, for an effective opposition to the rudeness, the violence, the lawless passions with which he had on all sides to contend. That Boniface ever used force as an instrument of conversion there is no evidence whatever; his earnestness in the promotion of education proves how thoroughly he desired that understanding should accompany the profession of belief. And that the knowledge which he wished to spread by his educational institutions was to be drawn from the Scriptures, of which he was himself a diligent student,^f appears from the eagerness with which he endeavoured to obtain as many copies as possible of the sacred books for the instruction of his converts.^g His letters and other writings give us the impression, not only of a great missionary, but of a man abounding in human feelings and affections.^h

Strenuous as Boniface was in the cause of the papacy, his conception of it was far short of that which afterwards prevailed. He regarded the pope as the supreme ecclesiastical judge, the chief conservator of the canons, the highest member of a graduated hierarchy, superior to metropolitans, as metropolitans were to ordinary bishops, but yet not as belonging to a different order from other bishops, or as if their episcopacy were derived from him and were a function of his.ⁱ Much has been said of the strange questions on which he sometimes requests the pope's advice—as to the lawfulness of eating horseflesh, magpies, and storks; as to the time when bacon may be eaten without cooking, and the like.^k Such questions have been regarded as proofs of a wretched scrupulousness in themselves, and the reference of them to Rome has been branded as disgraceful servility. But—(besides that we are not in a condition to judge of the matter without a fuller knowledge of the circumstances)—it is easy to discover some grounds of justification against these charges. Thus the horse was a favourite victim of the gods among the northern nations, so that the eating of horseflesh was connected with the practice

^f Willib. 3.ⁱ Retib. i. 411.^g Epp. 12, col. 702; 19, 38, 42, &c.^k Greg. III. Ep. 1; Zach. Ep. 13.^h Ozanam, 210-1.

of heathen sacrifice.¹ And the real explanation of such questions would seem to be, not that Boniface felt himself unable to answer them, or needed any direction from the pope, but that he was desirous to fortify himself with the aid of the highest authority in the church for his struggle against those remnants of barbaric manners which tended to keep up among his converts the remembrance of their ancient idolatry.²

If Boniface's zeal for Rome was strong, his concern for religion and morality was yet stronger.³ He remonstrated very boldly against some regulations as to marriage which were said to have the authority of Rome, but which to him appeared immoral; he denied that any power on earth could legalise them.⁴ He remonstrated also against the Roman view which regarded "spiritual affinity"—i. e. the connexion formed by sponsorship at baptism—as a bar to marriage.⁵ He strongly represented to Zacharias the scandal of the heathenish rejoicings and banqueting which were allowed at Rome at the beginning of the year, and the manner in which persons who had visited Rome referred to these as a warrant for their own irregularities.⁶ He protested against the simoniacal appearance of the charges exacted for palls by the pope's officials, whether with or without their master's knowledge.⁷ And, as a counterpoise to all that is said of Boniface's deference to the popes, we must in fairness observe (although his assailants have not adverted to it) the tone of high consideration in which Zacharias answers him,⁸ and the earnestness with which he endeavours to vindicate himself from the suspicion of countenancing abuses—a remarkable testimony to the estimation in which the Apostle of Germany was held. Nay, if an anonymous biographer may be believed, Boniface, towards the end of his life, protested against Stephen II. for having, during his visit to France, consecrated a bishop of Metz—an act which the archbishop regarded as an invasion of the metropolitical privileges of Treves; and Pipin's mediation was required to heal the difference between the pope

¹ Agathias, i. 7 (p. 28); Grimm, 'Deutsche Mythologie,' i. 41-3; Ozanam, 189. In England, Egbert's Penitential allowed horseflesh to be eaten, "licet multæ familiæ eam emere nolint" (c. 38, ap. Wilkins, i. 123). But the papal legates at Chalcythe, in 785, denounced the eating of it as not practised by any "Orientals" (c. 19)—i. e. nations to the east of *England*. See hereafter the accounts of the conversion

of Norway and Iceland, Book IV. c. vii. sections 12-13.

² Luden, iv. 470; Rettb. i. 418.

³ Giesel. II. i. 27; Rettb. i. 412-3.

⁴ Ep. 49, col. 746.

⁵ Epp. 39-40.

⁶ Ep. 49, col. 747.

⁷ Zach. Ep. vi. 2. See De Marca, VI. x. 11.

⁸ Epp. 1, 6.

and him whom many writers have represented as the abject slave of Rome.^t

The spirit of unfair disparagement, however, has now passed away;" and both the church from which Boniface went forth and the nations among which he ministered may well combine to do honour to his memory.

^t Anon. Mogunt. ap. Pertz, ii. 356; though in communion with Rome, is Retth. i. 413; Milman, ii. 60. The very violent in his enmity to the hierarchy, vindicates Boniface. 'Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit,' to whom see below, c. IX. iii. 21. i. 87.

^u Even Ellendorf, a writer who, al-

CHAPTER VI.

PIPIN AND CHARLEMAGNE.

A.D. 741-814.

THE alienation which the iconoclastic controversy tended to produce between the Byzantine emperors and the bishops of Rome was increased by other circumstances. The nearest and most dreaded neighbours of the popes were the Lombards. The hatred with which the Romans had originally regarded these on account of their Arianism had survived their conversion to orthodox Christianity, and had been exasperated by political hostility. During the iconoclastic troubles, the Lombards, under Liutprand, appear by turns to have threatened the popes and to have affected to extend alliance and protection to them, with a view of using them as instruments for weakening the imperial influence in Italy.* When that influence seemed to be irreparably injured by the course which events had taken, the Lombards overran the exarchate, and advanced to the walls of the pope's own city. Gregory III., after a vain attempt to obtain aid from Constantinople, resolved to call in new allies from beyond the Alps—the nation of the Franks, who had been catholic from the beginning of their Christianity, with whom he had lately formed a closer connexion by means of Boniface, and whose virtual sovereign, Charles Martel, was marked out by his triumph over the Mahometan invaders of his country as the leader and champion of Western Christendom.^b As, however, it was natural to suppose that the Frankish mayor would prefer

the prosecution of his victories on the side of Spain to engaging himself in new quarrels elsewhere, the pope strengthened his petition for aid by the most persuasive gifts and proposals; he sent to Charles the keys of St. Peter's tomb, with some filings of the Apostle's chains; it is said that he offered to bestow on him the title of consul or patrician^c of Rome, and even

* Schröckh, xix. 532-4. See above, p. 94.

^b Milman, ii. 153.

^c The title of Patrician, in the later days of the empire, designated the dignity next to the throne, and might be held with several high offices (De Marca, I. xii. 4; Ducange, s. v. *Patricius*; Gie-

sel. II. i. 38). According to one reading of Gregory's first extant letter (which conveyed his *second* request for aid), the pope offered the kingdom (*regnum*) to Charles; but the true reading is *rogam* or *rogam*—i. e. petition. See Cenni's note on the letter, Patrol. xcvi. 67; Schröckh, xix. 538-541.

to transfer the allegiance of the Romans from the empire to the Frankish crown.^d A second and a third application followed soon after. The pope's tone in these is extremely piteous; but he endeavours to excite Charles against the Lombards by motives of jealousy as well as of piety. Not only, he says, have they laid waste the estates of St. Peter, which had been devoted to the purposes of charity and religion, but they have plundered the Apostle's church of the lights bestowed on it by the Frankish viceroy's ancestors and by himself; nay, Liutprand and his son Hildebrand are continually mocking at the idea of relief from the Franks, and defying Charles with his forces.^e It would seem that the letters were favourably received; but they produced no result, as the deaths of both Gregory and Charles followed within the same year.^f

In the room of Gregory, Zacharias, a Greek by birth, was chosen by the Romans, and was established in the papacy, without the confirmation either of the emperor or of the exarch—the first instance, it is said, of such an omission since the reign of Odoacer.^g By repeated personal applications to Liutprand, the pope obtained the forbearance of the Lombards and recovered some towns which they had seized.^h His relations with the empire are obscure; the state of affairs was indeed so unsettled that these relations were full of anomaly and inconsistency. But under his pontificate took place an event which produced an important change in the position of the papacy towards the Franks, and consequently in its position towards the empire. Pipin, whose accession, first, to a portion of his father's power, and afterwards to the remainder, on the resignation of his brother Carloman, has already been mentioned,ⁱ now thought that the time was come for putting an end to the pageant royalty of the Merovingians. Two confidential ecclesiastics, Burkhard, bishop of Würzburg, and Fulrad, archchaplain of the court, were sent to Rome with instructions to ask, in the name of the Frankish nation, whether the real holders of power

^d Fredeg. Contin. A.D. 741 (Patrol. lxxi.); Annal. Mettens. A.D. 741 (Pertz i.) See Pagi, xii. 453-5; Muratori, Annali, IV. ii. 6; Martin, ii. 215.

^e Patrol. xcvi. 64-8. Muratori thinks that by "Ecclesia S. Petri" the pope does not mean the *building*, but the *Roman Church* (Annali, IV. ii. 9). Some words unnoticed by Muratori, however, can, as Dean Milman remarks (ii. 155), "scarcely be explained but of the actual ornaments of the church." Yet, as St.

Peter's was then without the walls of Rome, the plunder of the church does not imply that the Lombards had entered the city (as Baronius inferred).

^f Schröckh, xix. 538-9.

^g See vol. i. p. 548. Schröckh (xix. 539) thinks the statement as to Zacharias wanting in proof. At all events he was, as pope, a subject of the empire, which some have denied.

^h Anastas. 162-3.

ⁱ Pp. 109, 115.

or the nominal sovereigns ought rather to reign.* The answer of Zacharias was favourable to the wishes of those who proposed the question; and at the national assembly of Soissons, in the year 752,^m Pipin was raised aloft on a buckler, amid the acclamations of his people, and was crowned king of the Franks, while the last of the long-haired Merovingians, Childeric III., was tonsured and shut up in the monastery of Sithiu.ⁿ

The amount of the pope's share in this revolution, and the morality of his proceedings, have been the subjects of much controversy. Einhard, in the earlier part of the following century, speaks of the deposition as effected by the "command," and of the coronation as performed by the "authority," of the Roman pontiff;^o but (besides that this writer may have misapprehended the real course of the affair) a comparison of other passages will show that the meaning of his words is less strong than might at first sight appear, and is reconcilable with the facts which are otherwise ascertained. The matter really came before Zacharias in the form of a question from the Frankish estates; his answer was an opinion, not a command; and the sovereignty was bestowed on Pipin, not by the pope, but by the choice of his own countrymen, although the pope's opinion was valuable to him, as assisting him to supplant the nominal king, and yet throwing over the change an appearance of religious sanction which might guard it from becoming a precedent for future breaches of fealty towards Pipin's own dynasty.^p The view afterwards maintained by Gregory VII. and his school^q—that the successor of St. Peter exercised on this occasion a right inherent in his office, of deposing sovereigns at will—is altogether foreign to the ideas of the time, and inconsistent with the circumstances of the case.^r

* Einhard, *Annal.* A.D. 750; Pagi, xii. 563.

^m March 1, according to Pagi, xii. 570-3; but Mansi (*ibid.*) thinks that it was after July 2. See Böhmer, *Regesta Karolorum*, i.

ⁿ St. Bertin's, near St. Omer.

^o "Jussu" (*Vita Carol.* i.); "per auctoritatem," *ib.* 3.

^p Giesel. II. i. 35. See Neand. v. 165.

^q Greg. VII. *Epp.* iv. 2; viii. 21 (*Hard.* vi. 1345, 1471).

^r "It is impossible," says Mr. Hallam, "to consider the reference as to the deposition of Childeric in any other light than as a point of casuistry laid before the first religious judge in the church. Certainly the Franks, who raised the

king of their choice upon their shields, never dreamed that a foreign priest had conferred upon him the right of governing. Yet it was easy for succeeding advocates of Rome to construe this transaction very favourably for its usurpation over the thrones of the earth" (*Middle Ages*, i. 523). See *Nat. Alex.* and. xi. 175, seqq.; *Schröckh*, xix. 551; *Schmidt*, i. 300, 378; *Planck*, ii. 731; *Giesel*. II. i. 37. Luden thinks that Pipin was urged on by Boniface or by the pope, in the expectation that the church would be the chief gainer by the change of dynasty (*iv.* 181). But this seems inconsistent with such facts as are known; and, as we have seen (*p.* 116), Boniface was, perhaps, even opposed to the change.

It is evident that the pope's answer was prompted rather by a consideration for his own interest in securing the alliance of Pipin than by any regard for strict moral or religious principle. Yet we should do Zacharias injustice by visiting it with all the reprobation which modern ideas of settled and legitimate inheritance might suggest. The question proposed to him was one which must have seemed very plausible in times when might went far to constitute right, and when revolutions were familiar in every state. The Frankish monarchy had been elective at first, and had never been bound down to the rule of strictly hereditary succession. It was held that any member of the royal house might be chosen king ;^a thus Clotaire IV. had been set up by Charles Martel in 717,^b and Childeric III. himself was a Merovingian of unknown parentage, whom Pipin and Carloman had found it convenient to establish in 742, after the nominal sovereignty had been five years vacant.^c It was also held among the Franks that kings might be set aside on the ground of incapacity. The only principle, therefore, which was violated in the transference of the crown was that which limited the choice of a sovereign to the Merovingian family ; and, in order to cover this irregularity in the eyes of the nation, it is said to have been pretended that Pipin was himself a Merovingian.^d Moreover, by whatever means the change of dynasty may have been vindicated or disguised, it does not appear to have shocked the general moral feeling of the age ; and this, although it will not suffice to justify Zacharias, must be allowed in some measure to excuse him.

Zacharias died in March, 752, a little before or after the consummation of the act which he had sanctioned. Stephen, who was chosen in his room, did not live to be consecrated, and is therefore by most writers not reckoned in the list of popes, so that his successor, another Stephen, is sometimes styled the second, and sometimes the third, of that name.^e Aistulf was now king of the Lombards, and renewed the aggressions of his predecessors on Rome.^f Stephen, by means of splendid presents, obtained from him a promise of peace for forty years ; but the treaty was almost immediately broken by Aistulf, who seized Ravenna, and required

^a Einhard, *Vita Car.* 1.

^b Pagi, xii. 277.

^c Pagi, xii. 488-9 ; Sismondi, ii. 129.

^d Lehuërou, ii. 98-111, 326.

^e See p. 124, note ^m.

^f Anastas. 165 ; Pagi, xii. 578 ; Schröckh, xix. 553. Stephen I. was the contemporary of St. Cyprian. See vol.

i. p. 122.

^a Ellendorf, in his hatred of popes, takes up the cause of the Lombards, whom he supposes to have been zealous friends of the church, although enemies to its temporal power and wealth (i. 101-2). He denies that Aistulf threatened Rome, p. 111.

the Romans to own him as their lord. The pope, in his distress, sent envoys to beg for aid from the emperor, and in the mean time he affixed the violated treaty to the cross, and occupied himself in imploring the help of God by solemn prayers and penitential processions. But the mission to Constantinople proved fruitless; and when Stephen, relying on the success of his predecessor Zacharias in similar attempts, repaired to Pavia, in the hope of moving Aistulf by personal entreaties,—although he met with respectful treatment, he was unable to obtain any promise of forbearance.^b His only remaining hope was in Pipin, with whom he had opened a secret negotiation.^c He therefore resolved to proceed into France, and, as Aistulf endeavoured to dissuade him, the fear lest the Lombard should detain him by force added speed to his journey across the Alps. On hearing of the pope's approach, Pipin sent his son Charles—the future Charlemagne—to act as escort; and he himself, with his queen, the younger princes, and the nobles of his court, went forth a league from the Jan. 6, palace of Pontyon-le-Perche to meet him. Stephen and 754. his clergy appeared in sackcloth and ashes, and, throwing themselves at the king's feet, humbly implored his assistance against the Lombards. Pipin received the suppliants with marks of extraordinary honour; he prostrated himself in turn before the pope, and walked by his side as he rode.^d

Stephen's stay in France was prolonged by illness, which compelled him to remain until the summer at St. Denys.^e During this time an unexpected opponent of his suit appeared in the person of the abdicated Carloman, who, at the instigation of Aistulf, had been compelled by the abbot of Monte Cassino to leave his monastic retreat for the purpose of urging his brother to refuse the desired assistance. But Stephen exerted his pontifical authority over the monk, and Carloman was shut up in a monastery at Vienne, where July 28, he died soon after.^f A second coronation, in which 754. Pipin's sons were included, was performed at St. Denys by the pope's own hands; and, in the hope of securing the new dynasty against a repetition of the movements by which its own royalty had been won, the Frankish nation was charged, under pain of excommunication, never to choose any other king than a descendant of him whom God and the vicar of the apostles had

^b Anastas. 167; Vita Chrodegangi, c. 24 (Pertz, x.); Pagi, xii. 580.

^c See his letters, Patrol. xcviii. 100-6.

^d The French writers relate the behaviour of Stephen, the Italians that of Pipin. I have combined the accounts

as they are not irreconcilable. See Schröckh, xix. 557; Milman, ii. 177.

^e See the 'Revelatio Stephani,' Patrol. lxxxix. 1022.

^f Anastas. 169.

been pleased to exalt to the throne. Pipin was also invested with the dignity of patrician of Rome.⁶

In the same year, Pipin, although some of the Frankish chiefs opposed the expedition, and even threatened to desert him,⁷ led an army into Italy, and compelled Aistulf to swear that he would restore to St. Peter the towns which he had seized. But no sooner had the northern forces recrossed the Alps than the Lombard refused to fulfil his engagements, invaded the Roman territory, wasted the country up to the very walls of Rome, and laid siege to the city itself.¹ As the way by land was blocked up, the pope sent off by sea a letter entreating his Frankish ally once more to assist him.² Another and a more urgent entreaty followed;³ and finally the pope despatched at once three letters,⁴ of which one was written in the name of St. Peter himself—an expedient which may perhaps have been suggested or encouraged by the impression as to the character of the Franks which he had derived from his late sojourn among them.⁵ In this strange document the apostle is represented as joining the authority of the Blessed Virgin with his own; supplication, threats, flattery are mingled; and, in consideration of the aid which is asked for the defence of the papal temporalities, assurances are given not only of long life and victory, but of salvation and heavenly glory—apparently without any reserve or condition of a moral kind.⁶ Whether induced by these promises, or by other motives, Pipin speedily returned to Italy, A.D. 755. besieged Aistulf in Pavia, and forced him, as a condition of peace, to make a large cession of cities and territory, which were transferred to the Roman See, and for the first time gave the pope

⁶ Anastas. 167-8; *Clausula de elect. Pipini* (Patrol. lxxxix. 978, note); Einhard, A.D. 753; Sismondi, ii. 187; Milman, ii. 177-8. From the expression of the '*Clausula*'—"Tali omnes interdictu et lege excommunicationis constrinxit"—it has been inferred that Stephen threatened an *Interdict*. But *interdictus* here means simply a *prohibition*, and interdicts (in the ecclesiastical sense of the word) were of later invention. See below, Book IV. c. viii. 8.

⁷ Einhard, *Vita Car.* 6.

¹ Anastas. 170; Baron. 755. 1, seqq.

² Patrol. xcvi. 103.

³ Ib. 107. ⁴ Ib. 111-126.

⁵ Milman, ii. 181.

⁶ Fleury calls this "un artifice sans exemple devant ni après dans toute l'histoire de l'Eglise," and remarks, "L'Eglise y signifie, non l'assemblée des fideles, mais les biens temporels con-

sacrés à Dieu; le troupeau de Jésus-Christ sont les corps, et non pas les âmes; les promesses temporelles de l'ancienne loi sont mêlées avec les spirituelles de l'Evangile, et les motifs les plus saints de la religion employés pour une affaire d'état" (xliii. 17; comp. Discours, ii. 3, and Murat. Annali, IV. ii. 47). These observations raise the wrath of Rohrbacher, xi. 115. (See too Cenni, in Patrol. xcvi. 103.) M. Ozanam (231) defends the letter—or rather considers it to be above the need of defence—because it was the custom of the time to substitute in charters, &c., the name of a founder or of a patron saint for that of his church. But this is obviously no parallel to a letter in which St. Peter is represented as saying, not that he writes by Stephen, but that Stephen and the Roman church write through him.

the position of a temporal prince.¹ Some Byzantine envoys, who were present at the conclusion of the treaty, urged that the ex-archate should be restored to their master, to whom it had belonged before it was seized by the Lombards; but Pipin replied that he had conquered for St. Peter, and could not dispose otherwise of that which he had offered to the apostle.² Yet it does not appear that the gift was one of independent sovereignty; the territories bestowed on the pope were held under the Frankish crown,³ and, on the other side, the anomalies of the relation between the popes and the empire became now more complex than ever. While Pipin was patrician of Rome by the pope's assumption of a right to confer the title—while the pope received from the Frankish king lands which the emperor claimed as his own—while Rome continued to be virtually separated from the empire by the consequences of the iconoclastic controversy—the popes were still regarded as subjects of the emperors, and dated by the years of their reign.⁴

In 757 Stephen II. was succeeded by his own brother, Paul, who held the pontificate ten years.⁵ While Paul was on his death-

A.D. 767.

bed, Toto, duke of Nepi, made his way into Rome, at the head of an armed multitude, forced some bishops hastily to ordain his brother, Constantine, through all the grades of the ministry, and put him in possession of the papal chair.⁶ The intruder had held it for thirteen months, when he was ejected by an opposite party, and Stephen III. (or IV.) was established in his stead. Constantine's partisans were subjected to the barbarous punishments usual in that age—such as the loss of the eyes or of the tongue; he himself, after having been thrust into a monastery by one faction of his enemies, was dragged out of it by another, was blinded, and in that condition was left in the public street.⁷ A council was held under the sanction of Charles and Carloman, who had

just succeeded their father Pipin in the sovereignty of the Franks and in the patriciate of Rome. Constantine was

brought before this assembly, and was asked why he had presumed, being a layman, to invade the apostolic see. He declared that he had been forced into the office against his will; he threw himself on the floor, stretched out his hands, and, with a profusion of tears, entreated forgiveness for his misdeeds. On the following

¹ Anast. 171; Gibbon, iv. 488-490; ritories acquired by the popes in this age, see Hefele, iii. 541-2.

² Anastas. 123.

³ See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 50, 172; Planck, ii. 743, 752-5; Guizot, ii. 335; Luden, v. 215, and note. For the ter-

⁴ Schröckh, xix. 567-571, 576; Milman, ii. 185.

⁵ Anastas. 172.

⁶ Id. 174.

⁷ Id. 176.

day he was again brought before the council, and was questioned about the "impious novelty" of his proceedings with a strictness which drove him to turn upon his judges by answering that it was not a novelty, and naming the archbishop of Ravenna and the bishop of Naples as having been advanced at once from a lay condition to the episcopate. At this reply the members of the council started from their seats in fury. They fell on the blind man, beat him violently, and thrust him out of the church in which their sessions were held. They then proceeded to annul the ordinations and other official acts which he had performed as pope, burnt the records of his pontificate, and denounced anathemas against any one who should aspire to the papacy without having regularly passed through the grade of cardinal priest, or cardinal deacon. Stephen himself, with all the clergy and a multitude of the Roman laity, prostrated themselves, and with tears professed contrition for having received the eucharist at the usurper's hands; and a suitable penance was imposed on them.^a

It was the interest of the popes to prevent the formation of any connexion between their Frankish allies and the hated Lombards. Stephen, therefore, was beyond measure disquieted when intelligence reached him, in 770, that Desiderius, the successor of Aistulf, had projected the union of his family with that of Pipin by a double tie—that he had offered his daughter in marriage to either Charles or Carloman, and that their sister was engaged to Adelgis, son of the Lombard king. The pope forthwith addressed an extraordinary letter to the Frankish princes.^a As they were both already married, he tells them that it would be sin to divorce their wives for the sake of any new alliance. But moral or religious objections hold a very subordinate place in the remonstrance, while the pope exhausts himself in heaping up expressions of detestation against the Lombards, and in protesting against the pollution of the royal Frankish blood by any admixture with that "perfidious and most unsavoury" race—since from such a marriage no other than a leprous offspring could be expected.^b The epistle concludes with denunciations of eternal fire, and the pope states that, in order to give it all possible solemnity, it was

^a Id. 176-7. See Hefele, iii. 403-7.

^b Patrol. xciii. 255-262. See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 90.

^c "Quod splendida ac nobilissima regalis vestra potentia proles perfida (quod absit!) ac fatalissima Langobardorum gente polluitur, quæ in numero gentium nequaquam computatur, de cujus natione et leprosum genus oriri

certum est" (256). The last words are sometimes interpreted as meaning that the Lombards had introduced the leprosy into the world, or, at least, into Italy. (See Manzoni, Discorso Storico, Opere, i. p. 248, ed. Paris, 1843.) But the sense given in the text appears to agree best with the tenor of the letter.

laid on St. Peter's tomb, and the eucharistic sacrifice was offered on it. Charles, unmoved by this appeal, repudiated his wife and espoused the Lombard princess; but within a year—for
 A.D. 771. what reason is unknown,^c but certainly not out of any regard to Stephen's expostulation—she was sent back to her father's court, and another queen, Hildegard, took her place.

In his relations with Stephen, Desiderius was studious to maintain a specious appearance of friendship, while he resisted or eluded all applications for the restoration of what were styled "the rights of St. Peter."^d On the election of Adrian as Stephen's successor,

A.D. 772. the Lombard king made overtures to him, and promised to satisfy all his demands, if the pope would visit him at Pavia; but the invitation was refused. Desiderius avenged himself by ravaging the borders of the papal territory, and Adrian invoked the aid of Charles.^e Carloman had died in 771, and Charles, without any regard to the rights of his brother's family, had united the whole of the Frankish dominions under his own rule. Desiderius, stimulated perhaps rather by his own daughter's wrongs than by a disinterested regard for justice, had espoused the cause of the disinherited princes, and had requested the pope to crown them; but Adrian, from unwillingness to embroil himself with Charles, and consequently to place himself at the mercy of the Lombards, had refused.^f Charles now readily listened to the petition of his ally. He asked Desiderius to give up the disputed territory, and offered him a large sum of money as compensation, while the pope sent repeated embassies to the Lombard king, and at last proposed to pay him the desired visit, on condition that Desiderius should first perform his part of the agreement by restoring the rights of St. Peter. Desiderius, supposing that Charles must be fully occupied by his war with the Saxons, attempted to satisfy him with evasive answers, and even assured him that the papal territory had already been restored; but his representations had no effect on Charles, who, in 773, invaded
 A.D. 773-4. Italy, besieged him in Pavia, and overthrew the Lombard dominion.^g Desiderius was compelled to become

^c "Incertum qua de causa," Einhard, Vita Car. 18. See Baron. 771. 3; Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 93; Manzoni, i. 237; Schröckh, xix. 583-4; Luden, iv. 260-3, 513.

^d Under the name of "justitiæ S. Petri" were comprehended all sorts of things which could be claimed as belonging to the church. Manzoni, i. 238-9.

^e Anastas. 180, seqq.

^f Einhard, Vita Car. 3-6; Anastas. 181.

^g Anastas. 183-5; Einhard, Annal. A.D. 773; Vita Car. 7. (Although I quote these works, which bear the name of Einhard, together, it ought to be mentioned that the annalist is now supposed not to be identical with the biographer.)

a monk at Liege.^h His son Adelgis escaped to Constantinople, where, although the honour of the patriciate was conferred on him, Charles was able to prevent him from obtaining any effective aid for the recovery of his inheritance.ⁱ Twelve ^{A.D. 786.} years later, by a convention with the Lombard duke of Benevento, Charles became lord of the remaining part of Italy.^k

During the siege of Pavia, in 774, Charles paid his first visit to Rome, where he arrived on Easter-eve. The magistrates were sent by the pope to meet him at the distance of thirty miles from the city. A mile outside the walls, the soldiery appeared, with all the children of the schools, who bore branches of palm and olive, and hailed him with hymns of welcome. The sacred crosses were carried forth as for the reception of an exarch, and Charles, dismounting from his horse at the sight of them, proceeded on foot towards St. Peter's, where the pope and all his clergy were assembled on the steps and in the principal porch of the church. The king, as he ascended, kissed each step; on reaching the landing-place he embraced the pope, and, taking him by the right hand, entered the building, while the clergy and monks loudly chanted "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." He kept the festival season with a great appearance of devotion; he enlarged the donation which Pipin had made to the church, confirmed it by an oath, and solemnly laid the deed of gift on the Apostle's tomb.^m The actual extent of his donation is, however, uncertain. It is said to have included not only the exarchate of Ravenna, but the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, Venetia, Istria, and other territories in the north of Italy—in short, almost the whole peninsula—together with the island of Corsica;ⁿ yet some of these had not as yet been acquired by the Franks, and in the event the papal rule seems to have been really limited to the exarchate, which was itself held not in absolute sovereignty, but in dependence on the Frankish monarchs. It would appear, therefore, that Charles, in his gratitude for the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Italy, professed to bestow on the pope spoils which had not at the time been fully won, and that he was afterwards indisposed to carry his promises

^h Pagi, xiii. 101.

ⁱ Einhard, A.D. 774; Schlosser, 252. According to Theophanes (718) Adelgis, who had taken the name of Theodotus, was killed in 788 in an unsuccessful invasion of the Neapolitan territory (see Pagi, xiii. 232). But others (as the Poëta Saxo, l. i. A.D. 774) represent him as having died in advanced age

at Constantinople. (See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 463; and the notes on Theophanes.)

^k Einhard, Vita Car. 10; Annal. A.D. 786.

^m Anastas. 185-6; Schröckh, xix. 588; Gibbon, iv. 487.

ⁿ Anastas. 186.

into effect.^o The king visited Rome again in 781, and a third time in 787; and on each occasion the Church was enriched by gifts, bestowed, as he professed in the language of the age, "for the ransom of his soul."^p His connexion with Adrian was cemented not only by interest, but by personal regard, and on hearing of the pope's death, he is said to have wept for him as for a brother.^q

In 795, Adrian was succeeded by Leo III. The political condition of Rome for many years before this time is very obscure. According to some writers,^r it had been a republic, under the popes, from the date of Pipin's donation (A.D. 755); but against this view it has been urged that the letter of Adrian to the emperor Constantine and his mother, on occasion of the second council of Nicaea, proves that even so late as 785 the imperial sovereignty continued to be in some degree acknowledged.^s Although, however, the Byzantine rulers were now in agreement with Rome on the question of images, the older differences as to that question had produced a lasting estrangement; so that Leo, in announcing his election to Charlemagne, sent him the banner of Rome with the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and begged him to send commissioners for the purpose of administering to the citizens an oath of allegiance to the Frankish crown.^t Whether we regard this as an illustration of the relations which already existed between Rome and the Franks, or as a voluntary act, by which the pope, for the sake of gaining a powerful protector, placed himself and his people in a new relation of dependence—it proves both that the connexion with the eastern empire was severed, and that, if Rome had for a time been independent, it was no longer so.^u

The promotion of Leo deeply offended some relations of Adrian who had occupied high positions in the papal government. They waited upwards of three years for an opportunity of gratifying their enmity; and at length, as the pope was conducting a procession through the streets of Rome, a party of his enemies rushed forth, dispersed his unarmed companions, threw him from his horse, and attempted to deprive him of his eyes and tongue. Whether from haste or from pity,^v they did their work

^o See Schröckh, xix. 588-592; Gibbon, ix. 489; Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 106, 116, 156; Milman, ii. 197-8.

^p "Pro mercede animæ." Adrian. ad Carol., Patrol. xcvi. 404; Schröckh, xix. 592.

^q Einhard, Vita Car. 19.

^r As Pagi, xiii. 320.

^s Giesel. II. i. 41. (See below, p. 153.)

^t Einhard, A.D. 796.

^u See Schröckh, xix. 600; Ellendorf, i. 195.

^v Theophan. 732; Schröckh, xix. 602-3.

imperfectly; but Paschal and Campulus, two of Adrian's nephews, dragged the wounded pope into the church of a neighbouring monastery, threw him down before the altar, attempted to complete the operations which had been begun, and, after having beaten him cruelly with sticks, left him weltering in his blood. Notwithstanding all these outrages, Leo retained his sight and his speech; it was popularly believed that he had recovered them through the help of St. Peter.⁷ Through the aid of his friends, he was enabled to escape from Rome; under the escort of the duke of Spoleto, a vassal of the Frankish king, he reached that city; and Charles, who was detained in the north by the Saxon war, on receiving a report of his sufferings, invited him to Paderborn, where he was received with great honour.⁸

About the same time that Leo arrived at Paderborn, some envoys from Rome appeared there, with serious charges against him. Charles promised to investigate these charges at Rome; and, after having sent back the pope with a convoy of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, who re-established him in his see, the king himself proceeded by slow and indirect Nov. 29, journeys towards the city, where he arrived in the end 799. of November, 800.^a The inquiry into Leo's case was opened before an assembly of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and Dec. 1, nobles; but no testimony was produced against the 800. pope, and the prelates and clergy who were present declined the office of judging, on the ground of an opinion which had gradually grown up, that the successor of St. Peter was not amenable to any human (or, rather, perhaps, to any ecclesiastical) judgment.^b On this Leo declared himself ready to clear his innocence Dec. 23, by an oath; and on a later day, he ascended the pulpit, 800. and solemnly swore on the Gospels that he had neither committed nor instigated the offences which were laid to his charge.^c The

⁷ Anastas. 197-8. (See the various accounts in Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 202-5.) The monk of St. Gall assures us that both for use and for appearance the new eyes were far better than the old. Gesta Caroli, i. 28.

^a Einhard, A.D. 799; Poëta Saxo, 255; Anastas. 198.

^b Einhard, A.D. 800; Schröckh, xix. 603-4.

^c Anastas. 199; see vol. i. p. 549; and Giesel. I. ii. 403-4; II. i. 43.

^d Anastas. 199. The nature of these charges is unknown. Alcuin mentions the intrigues of some persons who attempted to get the pope deposed for

adultery or perjury. He treats the matter very tenderly, as if he believed Leo to be guilty, yet wished to uphold the credit of the Roman See. (Ep. 92; Lorenz, Life of Alcuin, 199-201.) The words of Leo's purgation, "*nec perpetravi nec perpetrari jussi*" (Pertz, Leges, ii. 15), seem inconsistent with the idea that unchastity was the sin imputed to him. Dean Milman (ii. 205) therefore thinks that he was charged with *spiritual* adultery—i. e. simony—a sin of which Alcuin writes, in 803, that it prevailed almost up to the apostolic chair (Ep. 116). Yet the *jussi* need not relate to all the charges.

conspirators who had been concerned in the assault on him were soon after tried, and, as they could make no defence, were condemned to death; but at the pope's request the sentence was commuted to banishment.^d

But between the purgation of Leo and the trial of his assailants an important event had taken place. On Christmas-day—the first day of the ninth century, according to the reckoning then observed in the west^e—Charles attended mass in St. Peter's, when, as he was kneeling before the altar, the pope suddenly placed a splendid crown on his head, and the vast congregation burst forth into acclamations of "Life and victory to Charles, crowned by God emperor of Rome!"^f Leo then proceeded to anoint Charles and his son Pipin, king of Italy, and led the way in doing homage to the new emperor.^g In conversation with his attendants, Charles professed great surprise, and even displeasure, at the coronation, declaring that, if he had expected such a scene, not even the holiness of the Christmas festival should have induced him to go into the church on that day.^h There can, however, be little question that his elevation to the imperial dignity had been before arranged. Perhaps the idea had been suggested to him by a letter in which his confidential friend Alcuin spoke of the popedom, the empire, and the sovereignty of the Franks as the three highest dignities in the world, and pointed out how unworthily the imperial throne, the higher of the two secular monarchies, was then filled.ⁱ On his way to Rome, the king had visited Alcuin at Tours; and he now received from him as a Christmas-gift a Bible corrected by the learned abbot's own hand, with a letter in which the present was said to be intended in honour of the imperial power.^k It may therefore be conjectured that the assumption of the empire had been settled between Charles and Leo during the pope's residence at Paderborn; or, at least, that Leo had there discovered the king's inclination, and that Alcuin had been for some time in the secret.^m

Yet we need not tax Charles with insincerity in his expressions

^d Einhard, A.D. 801; Ado, A.D. 800 (Patrol. cxxiii.).

^e Teulet, n. in Einhard, i. 249.

^f "Carolo plissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria." (Anast. 199.) The metrical biographer thus paraphrases the cry—

"Augusto Carolo magno, pacemque ferenti,
Imperil merito Romani sceptrum tenenti,
Gloria, prosperitas, regnum, pax, vita, triumphus!"—*Poeta Suseo*, 259.

^g Anastas. 199.

^h Einhard, Vita Car. 28.

ⁱ Ep. 80; Rettb. i. 430. Luden thinks that the idea of the empire arose in the mind of Charles as the case of Leo pressed Italian affairs on his attention, iv. 405, seqq.

^k Alc. Epp. 103, 185; Lorenz, 278-9.

^m Schröckh, xix. 24; Rettb. i. 431; Milman, ii. 206; Mounier, Vie d'Alcuin, 225-6. See Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 212-5.

of dissatisfaction after the coronation ; rather, as dissimulation was no part of his general character, we may suppose that, while he had desired the imperial title, he was displeased at the manner in which it was conferred. He may have regarded the pope's act as premature, and as an interference with his own plans. He may have seen that it was capable of such an interpretation as was afterwards actually put upon it—as if the pope were able to bestow the empire by his own authority—a pretension altogether inconsistent with the whole spirit of Charlemagne's policy.^a Perhaps it had been the king's intention to procure his election by the Romans, and afterwards to be crowned by the pope, as the Greek emperors, after having been elected by the representatives of their subjects, were crowned by the patriarch of Constantinople ; whereas he had now been surprised into receiving the empire from the pope, when the acclamations of the Romans did not precede, but followed on, the imposition of the crown by Leo.^o Although, however, the pope's act was capable of an interpretation agreeable to the claims of his successors in later times, such claims appear to have been unknown in the age of Charlemagne ; Leo, after having placed the crown on his brow, was the first to do homage to him as a subject of the empire.^p

By the coronation of Charles, Rome was finally separated from the Greek empire, and again became the acknowledged capital of the West. Charlemagne was invested with the double character of head of Western Christendom and representative of the ancient civilisation.^q The Byzantine court was naturally offended by a step which appeared to invade its rights, both of dignity and of sovereignty ; but Charles, by a conciliatory policy, overcame the irritation ; his imperial title was recognised by the ambassadors of Nicephorus in 812, and the Greek emperors addressed his son as emperor, although not of Rome, but of the Franks.^r

^a Luden, iv. 420-4.

^o Funck, Ludwig der Fromme, 243 ; Ellendorf, i. 198-9. Ozanam suggests that Charles was averse from sinking his German nationality in the traditions of Rome, and that he did not for some time accommodate himself to the change (362). But the Capit. Aquisgr. of 802, which M. Ozanam quotes, seems to be against this.

^p Giannone, i. 511, seqq. ; Schröckh, xix. 605 ; Neander, v. 165 ; Milman, ii. 207-8.

^q Sismondi, ii. 383 ; Milman, ii. 207-8.

^r Einhard. Vita Car. 28 ; Schlosser,

281 ; Martin, ii. 487. The question whether Charlemagne's imperial title was intended to supersede that of the Byzantines—either on the supposition that the empire was transferred from east to west (Gesta Epp. Metens. Patrol. clxiii. 593 ; Baron. 800. 91-3), or that he was chosen to fill the place vacated by the dethronement of Constantine VI. (Chron. Moissiac. ap. Pertz, i. 305 ; Palgrave, Normandy and England, i. 29), need not be here discussed. See Mr. Hallam's remarks, Suppl. Notes, 26-8. In later times the emperors of the East and of the West quarrelled about the title, each of them assuming

The reign of Charles the Great,* or Charlemagne, from the time of his father's death, extended to nearly half a century. His fame rests not only on his achievements as a warrior and as a conqueror, but on his legislation and administration both in civil and in ecclesiastical affairs; on his care for the advancement of learning, of commerce, of agriculture, of architecture, and the other arts of peace; on the versatility and capacity of a mind which embraced the smallest as well as the greatest details in the vast and various system of which he was the head. His wars, aggressive in their form, were essentially defensive; his purpose was, to consolidate the populations which had settled in the territories of the Western empire, and to secure them against the assaults of newer migrations. Carrying his arms against those from whom he had reason to apprehend an attack, he extended his dominions to the Eider and to the Ebro, over Brittany and Aquitaine, far towards the south of Italy, and eastward to the Theiss and the Save.¹ The impression which he produced on the Greeks is shown by their proverb, "Have the Frank for thy friend, but not for thy neighbour."² His influence and authority reached from Scotland to Persia; the great caliph Haroun al Raschid exchanged presents with him, and complimented him by sending him the keys of the holy sepulchre;³ and, although the empire of Charlemagne was broken up after his death, the effect of its union remained in the connexion of western Christendom by one common bond.⁴ On looking for the emperor's defects, we must notice as an injustice altogether without excuse the seizure of his brother's dominions, to the exclusion of his nephews; we see that his policy was sometimes stern, even to cruelty; and in his personal conduct we cannot overlook an excessive dissoluteness, which continued even to his latest years, and of which the punishment was believed to have been revealed by visions after his death.⁵ But with this exception, his private character appears such as to increase our

it for himself while he styled the other king. For the Byzantine view of the question, see Cinnamus, v. 10.

* The epithet *Magnus* was not given to him until after his death (Pagi, xiii. 536). M. Michelet asserts that the name *Charlemagne* is not formed from *Carolus Magnus*, but from *Carloman* (ii. 33). But his arguments are ridiculous.

¹ Guizot, ii. 188-191.

² Einhard, 15.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Quart. Rev. xlviii. 423. See too Luden, v. 185-6, and Sir J. Stephen's Third Lecture on Modern History.

⁵ Visio S. Wettini, ap. Mabillon, v.

265, seqq. "I padri Bollandisti, ed altri, considerate tante virtù, e massimamente la religione di questo gran principe, hanno sostenuto che si fatte concubine fossero mogli di coscienza; mogli, come suol dirsi, della mano sinistra; e però lecite, e non contrarie a gl' insegnamenti della chiesa, la quale poi solamente nel Concilio di Trento diede un migliore regolamento al sacro contratto del matrimonio. Si ciò ben suffista, ne lascerò io ad altri la decisione" (Murat. Ann. IV. ii. 209). The Vision of Wettin is enough to expose this supposition.

admiration for the great sovereign. He was in general mild, open, and generous; his family affections were warm, and his friendships were sincere and steady.^a

The wars of Charlemagne against the barbarians were not religious in their origin; but religion soon became involved in them. His conquests carried the Gospel in their train, and, mistaken as were some of the means at first employed for its propagation, the result was eventually good.^b Of his fifty-three campaigns, eighteen were against the Saxons of Germany.^c Between this people and the Franks wars had been waged from time to time for two hundred years. Sometimes the Franks penetrated to the Weser, and imposed a tribute which was irregularly paid; sometimes the Saxons pushed their incursions as far as the Rhine; and on the borders of the territories the more uncivilised of each nation carried on a constant system of pillage and petty annoyance against their neighbours.^d The Saxon tribes were divided into three great associations—the Westphalians, the Angarians, and the Ostphalians; they had no king, and were accustomed to choose a leader only in the case of a national war.^e Their valour is admitted even by the Frankish writers; the perfidy which is described as characteristic of them may, in some degree, be explained and palliated by the fact that they were without any central government which could make engagements binding on the whole nation.^f

The war with the Saxons lasted thirty-three years—from 772 to 805. In the first campaign, Charlemagne destroyed the great national idol called the Irminsul, which stood in a mountainous and woody district near Eresburg (now Stadtberg).^g The Saxons

^a Einhard, 19.

^b Rettb. ii. 374, 394.

^c See a list of his expeditions in Guizot, ii. 186.

^d Einhard, 7; Rettb. ii. 382.

^e Poëta Saxo, ap. Pertz, i. 228. See Luden, iv. 277.

^f Martin, ii. 258; Milman, ii. 220.

^g Einhard, A.D. 772. What the Irminsul was, is matter of conjecture. The last syllable, which answers to the modern German *Säule*, may, like that word, denote either a *pillar* or a *statue*. By some writers it is supposed that *Irmin* means the German hero Herman or Arminius, and that the *sul* was a figure of him. (See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 327.) This is the opinion of Luden (iv. 282-4, 520), although he thinks that the Saxons, while they retained the name, had lost the memory

of its origin. But it would seem rather that *irmin* is an adjective, meaning *strong, powerful* (Rettb. ii. 385), or *universal* (Grimm, 104); and thus the *Irminsul* is supposed to have been a huge trunk of a tree, placed erect, and regarded by the Saxons as supporting the universe. (See Adam of Bremen, i. 8, in Pertz, vii. 285.) Grimm (759) renders it “*altissima, universalis columna*,” and connects the Irminsul with the tree Yggdrasil of Scandinavian mythology (for which see Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, i. 11-3, Lond. 1851). Comp. Schröckh, xix. 256; Turner, i. 222-6; Pfister, i. 417; Pertz, iii. 423 (note on Widukind, i. 12); Milman, ii. 219. Dean Milman appears to me to have somewhat misrepresented Luden’s feeling as to the destruction of this monument.

retaliated in the following year by attacking the monasteries and churches planted on their frontiers, killing or driving out the monks and clergy, and laying the country waste as far as the Rhine.^b Sturm, the successor of Boniface, was obliged to fly from Fulda, carrying with him the relics of his master.^c The Saxons associated their old idolatry with their nationality, and the Gospel with the interest of the Franks.^k

A passage in the life of St. Lebuin has been connected with the origin of the Saxon war, but ought probably to be referred to a somewhat later date.^m Lebuin, an Englishman, had preached with much success and had built several churches among the Frisians about the Yssel, when an incursion of the neighbouring heathens disturbed him in his labours. On this he determined boldly to confront the enemies of the Gospel in all their force, and, undeterred by the warnings of his friends, he appeared in his pontifical robes in the national assembly of the Saxons, which was held at Marklo, on the Weser. He spoke to them of the true God, he denounced their idolatry, and told them that, unless they would receive the Gospel and be baptised, God had decreed their ruin by means of a powerful king, not from afar, but from their own neighbourhood, who would sweep them away like a torrent. The effect of such an address was violently to exasperate the Saxons; and it was with difficulty that some members of the assembly saved the zealous missionary from the rage of their brethren. The pagans burnt his church at Deventer, and in consequence of this outrage Charlemagne with the Franks, who were informed of it when met in council at Worms, resolved on an expedition against them.ⁿ

The absence of Charlemagne on expeditions in other quarters, as in Italy or in Spain, was always the signal for a rising of the Saxons. After a time, as we are told by an annalist of his reign,^o he was provoked by their repeated treacheries to resolve on the conversion or the extermination of the whole race. In his attempts at conversion, however, he met with difficulties which it would seem that he had not expected. Whenever the Saxons were defeated, multitudes of them submitted to baptism without any knowledge or belief of Christian doctrine;^p but on the first opportunity they revolted, and again professed the religion of their fathers. The

^b Poëta Saxo, ap. Pertz, i. 230; Rettb. See Luden, iv. 281.
ii. 375, 404.

^c Eigil, Vita Sturm. 24 (Patrol. cv.).

^k Rettb. ii. 383.

^m Ib. 406.

ⁿ Vit. S. Lebuini, ap. Pertz, ii. 362-3.

^o Einhard, A.D. 775.

^p "Solitâ simulatione," says the annalist. Einh. A.D. 780; comp. Vit. Car. 7.

long war was carried on with much loss on both sides; on one occasion Charlemagne beheaded* 4500 prisoners, who had been given up to him as having shared in the last insurrection,¹ and this frightful bloodshed, instead of striking the expected terror into the barbarians, excited them to an unusually wide-spread and formidable rising in the following year.² A chief named Widikind had thus far been the soul of the Saxon movements. After every reverse, he contrived to escape to Denmark, where he found a refuge with the king, who was his brother-in-law; and when his countrymen were ripe for a renewal of their attempts, he reappeared to act as their leader. But in 785, having secured a promise of impunity, he surrendered himself, together with his brother Abbo, and was baptised at Attigny, where Charlemagne officiated as his sponsor; and—whether an intelligent conviction contributed to his change of religious profession, whether it arose solely from despair of the Saxon cause, or whether his conversion was merely to a belief in that God whose worshippers had been proved the stronger party—his engagements to the king were faithfully kept.³ The Saxons were now subdued as far as the Elbe, and many of the fiercer idolaters among them sought an asylum in Scandinavia, where they joined the piratical bands which had already begun their plundering expeditions, and which were soon to become the terror of the more civilised nations of Europe.⁴

Charlemagne proceeded to enact a law of extreme severity.⁵ It denounces the penalty of death against the refusal of baptism; against burning the bodies of the dead, after the manner of the pagans; against eating flesh in Lent, if this be done in contempt of Christianity; against setting fire to churches or violently entering them and robbing them; against the murder of bishops, priests, or deacons; against the offering of human sacrifices, and against some barbaric superstitions.⁶ All persons were to pay a tenth

* Einhard, A.D. 782; Poëta Saxo, ap. Pertz, i. 238; Ozanam, 249.

¹ Sismondi, ii. 294; Luden, iv. 337.

² Einhard, A.D. 785; Martin, ii. 300; Rettb. ii. 407-8.

³ Einhard, Vita Car. 14; Gibbon, iv. 500; Rettb. ii. 384.

⁴ "Capitula de partibus Saxonie" (Paderborn, A.D. 785). Pertz, Leges, i. 48-50.

⁵ "Si quis a diabolo deceptus crediderit, secundum morem paganorum, virum aliquem aut feminam strigam esse et homines comedere, et propter

hoc ipsam incenderit, vel carnem ejus ad comedendum dederit, vel ipsam comederit, capitis sententia punietur." (c. 6.) On the words in italics, which are clearly directed against *superstition*, Ozanam absurdly founds a charge of *cannibalism* against the Germans (227; comp. Rettb. ii. 390). Grimm contrasts this law with the superstition which has prevailed in some places even to our own times—"It is not witchcraft, but the killing of supposed witches, that the enlightened law denounces as diabolical and heathen." Deutsche Mythol. 1021.

part of their "substance and labour" to the church.^y All children were to be baptised within a year from their birth, and parents who should neglect to comply with the law in this respect were to be fined in proportion to their quality. Fines were also enacted against those who should sacrifice in groves or do any other act of pagan worship. In the case of those offences which were punishable with death, the law did not admit the pecuniary commutations which were a feature of all the Germanic codes; but instead of them there was the remarkable provision, that, if any person guilty of such offences would of his own accord confess them to a priest, and express a desire to do penance, his life should be spared on the testimony of the priest.^z The rigour of this capitulary was unlike the general character of Charlemagne's legislation and was meant to be only temporary. It was modified by an enactment twelve years later, which again allowed the principle of composition for capital offences.^a

The conversion of the Saxons was urged on by a variety of measures. Gifts and threats were employed to gain them.^b Charlemagne offered them union with the Franks on equal terms, freedom from tribute, and exemption from all other imposts except tithes.^c Bishopricks were gradually established among them, monasteries were founded in thinly inhabited districts, towns grew up around these new foundations, and each became a centre for diffusing the knowledge of religion and of civilisation.^d The Saxon youths who were received as hostages were committed to bishops and abbots for instruction;^e and, by a strong measure of policy, ten thousand Saxons were in 804 removed from their own country into the older Frankish territory, where they became incorporated with the conqueror's original subjects.^f

A like system of extending the profession of the Gospel with his conquests was pursued by Charlemagne in other quarters—as among the Frisians, the Wiltzes, (a Slavonic people north of the Elbe,) the Bavarians, the Avars in Pannonia, and the Bohemians. Among the missionaries who were most distinguished in the work

^y By a constitution of the preceding year (784) the Saxons were bound to annex a glebe (*mansus*) to every church and to pay tenths and ninths (payments which will be explained hereafter, c. IX. iii. 14) to the bishops and clergy. (Pertz, *Leges*, ii. Append. 1.) But the document is questionable, and the learned editor especially suspects the order as to *ninths*.

^z C. 14.

^a Capitul. Saxon. A.D. 797 (Pertz,

Leges, i. 75); comp. *Rettb.* ii. 591.

^b Alcuin, Ep. 3 (A.D. 790).

^c Einh. Vita Car. 7; *Rettb.* ii. 409-410.

^d Mabill. III. xxxiii.; Ozanam, 260. For the dates of the Saxon bishopricks, see Schröckh, xix. 270; *Rettb.* ii. 417; Giesel. II. i. 143.

^e See a list in Pertz, *Leges*, I. 89 (A.D. 802). This was repeatedly done. *Rettb.* ii. 392.

^f Einhard, 7; *Rettb.* ii. 392.

of conversion were Gregory, abbot of Utrecht;^a Liudger, a Frisian, who had studied under Alcuin at York, and became bishop of Mimigardeneford (Munster);^b Willehad, a Northumbrian, bishop of Bremen;^c Sturmi, of Fulda, and Arno, archbishop of Salzburg.^d Ingo, who laboured in Carinthia, may be mentioned on account of the singular means which he took to convince the heathens of their inferior condition—admitting some Christian slaves to his own table, while for their unconverted masters food was set outside the door, as for dogs. The inquiries to which this distinction gave rise are said to have resulted in a great accession of converts.^e

But although the policy of Charlemagne did much to spread the profession of Christianity, the means which he employed were open to serious objection. The enforcement of tithes naturally raised a prejudice against the faith of which this payment was made a condition, and in 793 it even produced a revolt of the Saxons.^f Alcuin often remonstrated against the unwise exaction.^g He acknowledged the lawfulness of tithes; but how, he asked, would an impost which was ill borne even by persons who had been brought up in the catholic Church, be endured by a rude and barbarous race of neophytes? Would the Apostles have enforced it in such circumstances? When confirmed in the faith, the converts might properly be subjected to burdens of this kind; but until then, it would be a grievous error to risk the faith itself for the sake of tithes. In like manner he argued against the indiscriminate administration of baptism. Instruction, he said, should first be given in the great heads of Christian doctrine and practice, and then the sacrament should follow. Baptism may be forced on men, but belief cannot. Baptism received without understanding or faith by a person capable of reason, is but an unprofitable washing of the body.^h He urges that new converts should be treated with great tenderness, and that able preachers, of such character as may not bring discredit on their teaching, should be sent to instruct them.ⁱ

During the latter part of the Merovingian period, learning had

^a See p. 117.

^b Vita S. Liudgeri, Pertz, ii. 405, seqq. On the name of his see, see Rettb. ii. 429.

^c Vita S. Willeh., Pertz, ii. 380.

^d Schröckh, xix. 288; Rettb. ii. 238. Alcuin in his letters calls Arno *brother*, which has been supposed to mean that they were related in that degree; but

he also calls him *father* and *son*. Rettb. ii. 237.

^e *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carant-anorum*, c. 7 (Pertz, xi.). Ginzel seems to misunderstand the passage in making Ingo a duke (69).

^f Einh. A.D. 793; Döllinger, i. 319.

^g Epp. 28, 31, 37, 79, 80, &c.

^h Ep. 31. ⁱ Ep. 87.

continually declined. A new era of intellectual activity now began.¹ Charlemagne himself made earnest efforts to repair the defects of his early training. He began in mature age to learn the art of writing; but, although he practised diligently, he never attained facility in it, or, at least, he was unable to master the difficulties of the ornamental calligraphy on which the professional writers of the time prided themselves.² We are told that he became as familiar with Latin as with his mother-tongue, and that, although he could not express himself with readiness in Greek, he was well acquainted with the language.³ The object of his endeavours was necessarily rather to revive the ancient Roman culture than to originate a new literature;⁴ yet, while he encouraged the study of the classic languages among his subjects, he did not neglect his native German; he laboured to raise it to the rank of a cultivated tongue by reducing it to a grammatical system, he collected its old heroic ballads, and gave Teutonic names to the winds and months.⁵ Nor, although his care for the German was little seconded in his own time,⁶ and although the Latin had become the authorised language of the Church, were the emperor's exertions in this respect without effect; for a vernacular literature now arose which had much influence on the education of the people. Among its remains are poems and hymns, metrical harmonies of the Gospels, and glosses on the Bible, for the use of the clergy.⁷

The instruments of the intellectual reform which Charlemagne contemplated were not to be found in his own dominions. He therefore sought for them from Italy and from the British islands, the only countries of the West in which the study of general learning was then pursued.⁸ The chief of these were Paul Warne-

¹ Guizot, iii. 207, 330; Ampère, iii. 2; Ellendorf, i. 309.

² "Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum literis effingendis assuesceret; sed parum successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus." (Einhard, 25.) From this it has been inferred that he could not write. (Gibbon, iv. 501—who, by omitting the words here printed in italics, deprives his readers of a somewhat important part of the evidence; Sismondi, ii. 319; Hallam, ii. 351, and Suppl. Notes, 388.) The meaning, however, seems rather to be that he *could* write, although not well or easily. Pagi (xiii. 154), the authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (iv. 370), Schröckh (xx. 48), Ampère (iii. 36-8), Bähr (Karolingische Litteratur, 15), and Ozanam

(530), understand the words to relate not to ordinary but to ornamental writing. That the emperor used a mark by way of signature, does not, as has been sometimes supposed, prove that he was unable to write his name. See Maitland, "Dark Ages," 13-5.

³ Einhard, 25.

⁴ Bähr, Karol. Litt. 18.

⁵ Einhard, 29.

⁶ See Luden, iv. 209-210, 570.

⁷ Giesel. II. i. 91-2.

⁸ The monk of St. Gall, who wrote a gossiping and not very authentic life of Charlemagne—deriving his materials chiefly from the current popular stories of his time (Hist. Litt. v. 616; Bähr, 238)—tells us that the emperor, finding the means of intellectual cultivation far short of his wishes, exclaimed, "Would that I had twelve clerks as

frid, a Lombard, Peter of Pjsa, and—the most important for talents, for influence, and for the length of his labours among the Franks—Alcuin, a native of Northumbria.

Alcuin (or Albinus) was born about the year 735.^b After having studied in the cathedral school of York, under archbishop Egbert, brother of the Northumbrian king Eadbert, he was ordained a deacon,^c and became master of the school, which he raised to such reputation that many foreigners resorted to it for instruction.^d He had already visited the Continent, when Eanbald, his old fellow-pupil, on being promoted to the see of York in 780, sent him to Rome for the purpose of bringing back the pall, the symbol of the archiepiscopal dignity which had been recovered for York by Egbert after having been suspended since the time of Paulinus. At Parma, Alcuin fell in with Charlemagne, who invited him to settle in France. With the permission of his own king and of Eanbald, he accepted the proposal, and was appointed to the mastership of the Palatine school,^e an institution A.D. 782-796.

which had existed under the Merovingians,^f and was now revived. This school accompanied the movements of the court. The pupils were the members of the royal family, with noble youths who belonged to the household, or had been permitted by the sovereign to partake of the education thus provided.^g Charlemagne himself, with his sons, his daughters, and some of his courtiers, became the scholars of Alcuin.^h It has been supposed that they formed an academy, in which each bore the name of some ancient worthy; thus Charles himself is styled David, Alcuin is Flaccus, Angilbert is Homer. But the only evidence in favour of the supposition is the fact that such names are used in correspondence.ⁱ Alcuin's instructions were given rather in the form of conversation than of lectures.^k He taught the seven sciences which were distinguished

learned as Jerome and Augustine!" To which Alcuin replied, "The Creator of heaven and earth has had no more like those two; and you would have twelve!" Pertz, ii. 734.

^b Vita Alcuini, in Froben's edition of his works, or Patrol. c.; Lorenz, *Life of Alcuin*, transl. by Jane M. Slee, London, 1837; Alcuin, par F. Mounier, Paris, 1853.

^c Mounier (17) and others say that Mabillon (*Elog. Hist. in Alc. c. 3*; Patrol. c.) is mistaken in supposing him a monk.

^d Vita, 2-5; Lorenz, 8-11.

^e Lorenz (12-4), Pagi (xiii: 154), and Luden (iv. 384, 552), think that, al-

though he visited France in 782, he did not settle there until 793.

^f See Hist. Litt. iii. 424; Pitra, *Vie de S. Léger*; Ozanam, 459.

^g Crevier, i. 47; Ozanam, 459-464, 537; Giesel. II. i. 84.

^h Einhard, 19.

ⁱ See Schröckh, xix. 50-2; Guizot, ii. 242; Lorenz, 20-48, 150-2; Mounier, 56, 88; Luden, v. 206, 568.

^k Guizot, ii. 238. The dialogue between Alcuin and the prince Pipin (Patrol. ci. 975-980), which M. Guizot quotes as a specimen of the teaching, is, however, said to be really translated or copied from a Greek work of the time of Hadrian. Finlay, ii. 268.

as liberal, and were afterwards classified under the titles of *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*—the *Trivium* ethical, consisting of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; the *Quadrivium* physical,—arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy; while above these two classes was a third—Theology.^m His writings on these subjects contain little of an original kind, and may be regarded as mere notebooks of his teaching.ⁿ His other works are very various—commentaries on scripture, liturgical treatises, tracts on the controversies of the age and on practical religion, poems, lives of saints, and a large collection of letters. They appear to be justly described by Fleury as displaying more of labour than of genius, more of memory than of invention or taste;^o but in estimating the merit of the man we are bound to compare him with his contemporaries. His work was that of a reviver.^p

Alcuin was not only the instructor of Charlemagne in religion and letters, but his most confidential adviser in affairs of state. After having taught the Palatine school for fourteen years (with the interval of a visit to his native country), he became weary of a court life, and expressed a wish to retire to Fulda for the remainder of his days; but Charlemagne provided another retreat for him, by bestowing on him the abbacy of St. Martin, at Tours, A.D. 796. a monastery of great wealth, but notorious for the disorderly character of its inmates;^q and with this he retained some other preferments which he had before received. Alcuin in some measure reformed the monks of St. Martin's, although an affray in which they were concerned towards the end of his life proves that the reformation was by no means perfect.^r He enriched the library of the abbey by importing books from England, and under his government its school attained great fame. We are told by his old biographer that he would not allow the pupils to read the "falsehoods" of Virgil, in which he had formerly delighted, and that when one of them secretly transgressed the rule, Alcuin by supernatural knowledge detected him.^s Among his scholars during this period were Raban Maur, afterwards abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mentz, Haymo, bishop of

^m Isid. Hispal. Etymolog. i. 2 (Patrol. lxxxii.); Ampère, iii. 73-4; Rettb. ii. 798. See Joh. Sarisbur. Metalog. i. 12 seqq. (Patrol. cxcix.). The first mention of this cycle of sciences is in St. Augustine, De Ordine, ii. 12-15 (Patrol. xxxii.); Giesel. II. i. 82. See, however, Hauréau, i. 20-1.

ⁿ Mounier, 30, seqq.

^o xlv. 19.

^p Bähr, 348.

^q Vita, 6; Lorenz, 131; Mounier, 236-8.

^r To this affair relate Epp. 118, 119, 195. Charlemagne was very angry with the monks, and with Alcuin for supporting them in their misconduct. See his letter, in Bouquet, v. 628; and below c. IX. v. 10.

^s Vita, 10.

Halberstadt, and other eminent men of the next generation.^t He kept up a frequent correspondence with Charlemagne on politics, literature, science, and theology; and (as we shall see hereafter) he continued to take part in the controversies of the time. From some expressions in his letters it appears that he was dissatisfied on account of the novelties introduced into the teaching of the Palatine school by his successor, an Irishman named Clement.^u At length he obtained the emperor's leave to devolve the care of discipline in each of his monasteries on younger men,^v and he died in 804.^w

Charlemagne was bent on promoting education among every class of his subjects. He urged his nobles to study, and loudly reproved those who considered their position as an excuse for negligence.^x The laity were required to learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer,—in Latin, if possible, with a view to bringing them within the Roman influence. Fasting and blows were sometimes denounced against any who should disobey.^y But it was found that the hardness of the task was regarded by many persons as even more formidable than such penalties; and it also appeared that many of the clergy were themselves unable to teach the forms in Latin. The re-enactments and the mitigations of such rules sufficiently prove how difficult it was to carry them into execution.^b The clergy were charged to explain the Creed and the Lord's Prayer to their people,^c and sponsors at baptism were required to prove their acquaintance with both forms.^d

With a view to improve the education of the clergy, Charlemagne ordered in 769 that any clergyman who should disregard his bishop's admonitions to learn should be suspended or deprived.^e In 787 he issued a circular to all metropolitans, bishops, and abbots, complaining of the incorrect style which appeared in many letters addressed to him from monasteries. This want of skill in writing, he says, leads him to apprehend that there may be also an inability to understand the language of Scripture rightly; he therefore orders that competent masters should be established, and that study should be diligently urged on.^f Two years later

^t Hist. Litt. iv. 14; Lorenz, 169-173. For the eminent men formed under Charlemagne and Alcuin, see Froben, *De Vita Alc.* c. 10; Ellendorf, i. 315; Mounier, 188.

^u Ep. 82, *Patrol.* c. 266; see Mounier, 95-9.

^v Epp. 175-6.

^w Schröckh, xix. 87.

^x Monach. Sangall. i. 3.

^y Capit. A.D. 804 (Pertz, *Leges*, i.

130), *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 45.

^b Giesel. II. i. 90-1; Retzb. ii. 36, 454-6.

^c Capit. A.D. 789, c. 69. Hatto, bishop of Basel, about 820, orders that the forms be learnt "tam Latine quam barbarice." *Hard.* iv. 1240.

^d Capit. A.D. 804 (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 128).

^e Pertz, *Leges*, i. 34.

^f *Encycl. de litteris colendis.* Ib. 52.

he ordered that there should be a school in every cathedral and monastery, open not only to the servile class (from which the clergy were usually taken), but to the freeborn; that instruction should be given in psalmody, music, grammar, and *computum* (a term which denoted the art of reckoning in general, but more especially the calculation of the calendar);⁸ and that care should be taken for the correct writing of the service-books.^h He employed Paul Warnefrid to compile a book of homilies from the fathers, and published it with a preface in his own name.ⁱ These homilies were arranged according to the ecclesiastical seasons. It seems to have been at first intended that they should be read in Latin, the language of both the church and the state; and that it was a concession to national feeling when councils of the emperor's last year directed the clergy, in using them, to render them into a tongue intelligible to the people—whether the “rustic Roman” of Gaul, or the Teutonic.^k As the manuscripts of the Scriptures had been generally much corrupted by the carelessness of copyists, Charlemagne, with Alcuin's assistance, provided for the multiplication of correct copies.^m While the pupils of the schools were employed in transcribing the less important books for churches, none but persons of mature age were allowed to write the gospels, the psalter, or the missal.ⁿ Manuscripts were acquired for libraries from England, Italy, and Greece.^o Presbyters were before ordination to be examined as to their faith, as to their knowledge of the creed and the Lord's prayer, of the canons, the penitential, the gospels, the homilies, the public services, the rites of baptism and the eucharist, and their power of instructing their flocks.^p

In addition to the education of the clergy, a new feature appears in the Articles of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, where it is ordered that in every parish the clergy should provide a school for free-born children as well as for serfs. The payment for instruction was to be only such as the parents of the pupils should freely give.

⁸ Ducange in voc.

^h Capit. A.D. 789, c. 71. Cf. Conc. Cabilon. A.D. 813, c. 3. For an account of the most famous cathedral and monastic schools under Charlemagne, see Hist. Litt. iv. 12-7.

ⁱ See Patrol. xcv. 1154, seqq.

^k Bouquet, v. 622; Pertz, Leges, i. 45; Conc. Rem. II. (813), c. 15; Conc. Turon. III. (813), c. 17.

^m Capit. A.D. 782 (Pertz, Leges, i. 45), Hist. Litt. iv. 19-20; Schröckh, xix. 48-9; xx. 197.

ⁿ Capit. A.D. 789, c. 71.

^o Lorenz, 56. A Rheims Pontifical of the 9th century, in the coronation service, directs the archbishop to pray, “Ut [Deus] regale solum, videlicet Saxonum, Merciorum, Nordanhymbrorumque sceptrum non deserat”—a curious evidence as to the quarter from which the office was borrowed (Rock's ‘Church of our Fathers,’ i. 283; comp. Martene, ii. 217, 225), although it gives no warrant for Ozanam's opinion as to the coronation of Pipin. (See p. 116, note ^m.)

^p Capit. A.D. 802 (Pertz, Leges, i. 107). Cf. Capit. A.D. 811 (ib. 171).

The bishop also invites the clergy to send their relations to the monastic schools.^a But the attempt to establish parochial schools does not appear to have been carried far even in the diocese of Orleans, and there is no evidence of its having been imitated elsewhere.^b

Charlemagne paid much deference to the usages of Rome, as the most venerable church of the West. He obtained from Adrian the Roman code of canons (which was founded on the collection of Dionysius Exiguus), and in 789 he published such of them as he considered necessary for his own dominions.^c The Roman method of chanting had been already introduced into Gaul. Pope Paul had sent books of it to Pipin, and had endeavoured to procure its establishment; but, although he was supported by Pipin in the attempt,^d the Gallican chant still prevailed. During Charlemagne's third visit to Rome, in 787, disputes arose between the Frankish and the Roman clergy on the subject of the liturgy and the chant. The Franks relied on the king's protection; but, to their dismay, he asked them, "Which is purer—the stream or the source?"—a question which admitted but of one answer; and on this answer he acted.^e He carried back into France two skilful clerks to teach the Roman chant, and stationed one of them at Metz, while the other was attached to the court.^f He also established the sacramentary of Gregory the Great in the Frankish church;^g it is even said that, in his zeal for conformity to Rome, he endeavoured to suppress the Ambrosian forms at Milan, by destroying the service-books, or carrying them "as if into exile" across the Alps; but that miracles came to the rescue of the venerable ritual, so that Pope Adrian, who had instigated the attempt against it, was brought to acquiesce in the local use of it.^h Charlemagne paid

^a Theodulph. Capit. 19-20 (A.D. 797), Hard. iv. 916.

^b Guizot, ii. 259; Giesel. II. i. 90.

^c Comp. Hard. iii. 2033, seqq., with iv. 826, or Pertz, Leges, i. 54. Sirmund thinks that the canons were procured on his third visit to Rome in 787, rather than (as is most commonly said) on his first visit, in 774. Patrol. lxvii. 135-8.

^d See Capit. 789. 79, ap. Pertz, Leges, i. 60; Pagi, xii. 645; Ducange, s. v. *Cantus Romanus*.

^e Monach. Engolism. ap. Pertz, i. 171.

^f Libri Carol. i. 6 (Patrol. xcvi.); Mon. Sangall. i. 11 (ib.); Guéranger, i. 251-4. The rough voices of the Franks were still complained of, as in the time of Gregory the Great (p. 6). The monk

of Angoulême tells us that they learnt the Roman chant, "excepto quod tremulas vel vinnulas sive collisibiles vel secabiles voces in cantu non poterant perfecte exprimere Franci, naturali voce barbarica frangentes in gutture voces potius quam exprimentes." (Pertz, i. 171.) The editor shows, from Isidore of Seville (Etymol. III. xx. 13), that the epithet *vinnulus* or *vinnulatus* comes from *vinnus*, a curl—*cincinnus molliter flexus*.

^g Adrian. in Patrol. xcvi. 436.

^h The only authority for this is the elder Landulf, a Milanese chronicler who wrote about A.D. 1070 (Hist. Mediol. ii. 10-2; Patrol. cxlvii.). He says that many of the Milanese clergy were slain in defence of their books.

special attention to the solemnity of divine worship. The cathedral which he built at his favourite place of residence, Aix-la-Chapelle, was adorned with marble pillars from Rome and Ravenna, and was furnished with vestments for all its clergy, down to the meanest of the doorkeepers.^a He diligently frequented the services of his chapel^b both by day and by night, and took great pains to improve the reading and the singing; "for," says Einhard, "he was very skilful in both, although he neither read publicly, nor sang, except in a low voice and together with others."^c A biographer of more questionable authority tells us that he used to point with his finger or with his staff at any person^d whom he wished to read; and when thus ordered to begin, or when warned by a cough^e from the emperor to stop, the reader was expected to obey at once, without any regard to sense or to the division of sentences. Thus, it is said, all were kept in a state of continual attention, because each might be called on at any moment. No one could mark his own portion with his nail or with wax; and all became accomplished readers, whether able or not to understand the language and the matter.^f Charlemagne himself is said to have composed hymns—among them the "Veni Creator Spiritus;"^g but as to that hymn, at least, the statement appears to be groundless.^h

Charlemagne's ecclesiastical legislation was carried on by his own authority. He regarded it as the duty of a sovereign to watch over the spiritual and moral well-being of his subjects; he alleges the reforms of Josiah as a scriptural precedent for the part which he took in the regulation of the church.^k Ecclesiastical subjects occupy more than a third of his capitularies.^m The ecclesiastical as well as the other laws were proposed in the assemblies which were held yearly in March and in autumn, and which bore at once the character of synods and of *malls* or diets. The clergy and the laity sat together or separately, as was most convenient, according to the nature of the subjects proposed to them.ⁿ Discussion was

^a Einhard, 17, 26; Adrian. ad Carol. Patrol. xcvi. 371; Poëta Saxo, l. v. (Patrol. xcix. 731-2); Gibbon, vi. 420.

^b The chapel of the Frank kings was so called from the *cappa* or cloak of St. Martin, which was kept in it (Walaf. Strabo, De Reb. Eccl. 31, Patrol. cxiv.; Ducange, s. v. *Cupella*). Thomassin, however (I. ii. 109), identifies the word with *capæa*, a reliquary.

^c Einhard, 26.

^d The writer's language seems to imply that he means to speak of the household in general, and not of the clergy only.

^e "Sono gutturis."

^f Monach. Sangall. i. 7.

^g Guéranger, i. 188.

^h It rests on the authority of Ekkehard's Life of Nother the Stammerer (c. 18, ap. Canis. III. ii.). Against it, see Mabill. in Patrol. cxxxi. 990.

^k Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 789 (Pertz, Leges, i. 54).

^m 415 out of 1126; Guizot, ii. 198. On the character of the capitularies, see Guizot, p. 230.

ⁿ Thus, in 813, assemblies were convened at Arles, Mentz, Tours, and Châlons-sur-Saône. In these the bishops

allowed; but both the initiative and the decision belonged to the sovereign, and in his name the decrees were published.^o

The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, although it did not add to the power which he before possessed over his subjects, invested him with a new and indefinite majesty. He was no longer the chief of a nation of warriors, but the representative of the ancient Roman traditions and civilisation, the anointed head of Western Christendom.^p The empire was to be a consecrated state, with the same ruler in ecclesiastical as in civil affairs, and this ruler directing all to the glory of God.^q In 802 an oath of allegiance to him as emperor was required of those who had already sworn to him as king; and whereas such oaths had not before been imposed among the Franks, except on persons who held office or benefice under the crown, all males above the age of twelve were now required to swear.^r The civil hierarchy in all its grades corresponded to the ecclesiastical; and forthwith a new system of commissioners (*Missi Domini*)^s was set on foot. These were chosen partly from the higher ecclesiastics and partly from the laity. They were to be men superior to all suspicion, fear, or partiality; they were to make circuits for the inspection of both secular and spiritual matters; they were to control the local administrations; to take care of churches, of widows, orphans, and the poor; to exercise a censorship of morals; to redress wrongs, or to refer to the emperor such as were beyond their power; to see to the due execution of the laws which were passed in the national assemblies.^t In spiritual as well as in temporal affairs, the emperor was regarded as the highest judge, beyond whom no appeal could be made;^u in authorising the canons of Adrian's collection, he omitted that canon of Sardica which prescribed in certain cases a reference to the bishop of Rome.^x While he cultivated friendly relations with the popes, while he acknowledged them as the highest

treated on matters of faith and discipline, the monks and abbots on monastic life, and the counts and judges on secular questions. See Hard. iv. 1008; Luden, v. 148.

^o De Marca, VI. xxv. 5; Baluz. Præf. ad Capitular. (Patrol. xcvi.); Pagi, xiii. 119; Guizot, ii. 194-6; Giesel. II. i. 57; Martin, ii. 276; Milman, ii. 223; Retzb. i. 424. For some strong expressions of synods as to Charlemagne's ecclesiastical position, see Ellendorf, i. 234-5.

^p Hallam, i. 10, and Suppl. Notes, 27; Sismondi, ii. 383; Retzb. i. 432-5; Pal-

grave, Norm. and Eng. i. 27-8; Milman, ii. 207.

^q Pfister, i. 436; Palgrave, i. 397; Milman, ii. 211.

^r Pertz, Leges, i. 91; Martin, ii. 344.

^s Pfister, i. 452-3; Ellendorf, i. 257.

^t See the instructions to them when first sent out, April 802, in Pertz, Leges, i. 197. Comp. De Marca, IV. vii. 6-8; Guizot, ii. 192; Retzb. i. 433-4, 456.

^u See vol. i. p. 304, and compare the Roman with the Frank code (Patrol. lxvii. 178; xcvi. 152, seqq.; Giesel. II. i. 63).

^x Gfrörer, 'Karolinger,' i. 74.

of bishops, and often consulted them and acted on their suggestions, the authority by which these were enforced on his subjects was his own; nor did the popes attempt to interfere with the powers which he claimed. On the conquest of Italy, he assumed the same control over the ecclesiastical affairs of that country which he had been accustomed to exercise in his hereditary kingdom, and the popes submitted to him as their lord and judge.⁷ Lofty titles and flattering language were, indeed, often addressed by bishops and others of the Franks to the successors of St. Peter; but the real amount of the authority which these enjoyed during this period is to be measured by the facts of history, not by the exaggerations of rhetorical or interested compliment.⁸

⁷ Giesel. II. i. 40-2; Rettb. ii. 439. churches. (See below, c. IX. iii. 10.)
M. Lehuéron, however, argues that he
held his superiority over the Roman
church in the character of its *Defensor*,
like the advocates or *Vidames* of lesser
Inst. Mérov. et Carolingiennes, ii. 358-360.

⁸ See Planck, ii. 769, 785, 797-8; Giesel. II. i. 60-1.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EASTERN CHURCH—CONTROVERSIES OF CHARLEMAGNE'S AGE.

A.D. 775-814.

I. CONSTANTINE Copronymus was succeeded in 775 by his son Leo IV., who, although opposed to the worship of images, was of gentler and more tolerant character than the earlier princes of the Isaurian line. Although the laws of the iconoclastic emperors remained unaltered, the monks who had been persecuted and banished were now allowed to return; and a great excitement was raised by the reappearance of these confessors in the cause of the popular religion. The empress, Irene, was of an Athenian family noted for its devotion to images; she herself cherished an enthusiastic reverence for them, and, although her father-in-law, Constantine, had compelled her to forswear them, she appears to have thought that in so sacred a cause her oath was not binding. She now exerted her influence as far as she dared; by her means some monks and other friends of images were promoted to bishopricks, although for the time they were obliged to conceal their opinions.^a

Notwithstanding the general mildness of Leo's disposition, his feeling on the subject of images was strong; and, when some of them had been found under Irene's pillow, he ordered certain great officers, who had been concerned in introducing them into the palace, to be flogged and tonsured; he put one of these officers, who had especially provoked him, to death; and he separated from the empress, although she denied all concern in the affair.^b

After a reign of four years and a half Leo died,—more probably by a natural consequence of the illness with which he had long been afflicted, than either by a miracle of judgment on his impiety, or (as some modern writers have supposed) by poison;^c and Irene

^a Theophanes, 696; Gibbon, iv. 412-3, 492; Schlosser, 250-3.

^b Theophan. 701; Schlosser, 258-9. Mr. Finlay questions this story. ii. 83.

^c Theophanes (702) says that Leo, being excessively fond of jewels, took down and wore a crown adorned with very precious gems, which hang in the cathedral; that in punishment of this sacrilege, carbuncles broke out in the

spots where the crown had touched his head, and that he died in consequence. The supposition of poison is put forward, more or less positively, by Spanheim (789), Basnage (359), Mosheim (ii. 65), and, of course, by Gfrörer, who everywhere discovers mysterious crimes (ii. 155); but is declared by Schlosser (259) to be groundless.

was left in possession of the government, as guardian of her son Constantine VI., a boy ten years old. The empress, A.D. 780.

however, felt that it was necessary to proceed with caution in carrying out her wishes. She was, indeed, sure of the monks and of the populace: but the authority of a council, which claimed the title of Ecumenical, was against her: the great body of the bishops was opposed to images; and, although the well tried pliancy of the eastern clergy gave reasons for hoping that these might be gained, there was a strong iconoclastic party among the laity, while the soldiery adhered to the principles of the late emperor, whose memory was cherished among them as that of a brave and successful general.^d At first, therefore, Irene ventured no further than to publish an edict for general liberty of conscience. The monks who were still in exile returned, images were again displayed, and many tales of past sufferings and of miracles swelled the popular enthusiasm.^e

In August 784, Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, suddenly resigned his dignity, and retired into a monastery, where he was visited by Irene and some high officers of the empire. When questioned as to the cause of his resignation, he professed deep remorse for having consented to accept the patriarchate on condition of opposing the restoration of images; he deplored the condition of his church, oppressed as it was by the tyranny of the state, and at variance with the rest of Christendom; and he declared that the only remedy for its evils would be to summon a general council for the purpose of reversing the decrees of the iconoclastic synod which had been held under Constantine.^f We need not seek for an explanation of the patriarch's motives in the supposition of collusion with the court. He may, like many others, have been sincerely attached to the cause of images, and, when seized with sickness, may have felt a real compunction for the compliances by which he had gained his elevation. And his death, which followed immediately after, is a strong confirmation of this view.^g

Irene summoned the people of the capital to elect a new patriarch. No one possessed of the requisite qualifications was to be found among the higher clergy, as the bishops were disaffected to the cause of images, while the abbots were too ignorant of the management of affairs. The person selected by the court, and,

^d Walch, x. 527; Gibbon, iv. 492.

^e Theophan. 704.

^f Ib. 708; G. Hamart. cclvi. 12; Hard.

v. 37; Schlosser, 274-6.

^g Neand. v. 311-2. Basmage and Spanheim groundlessly suppose that Paul was deposed. See Walch, x. 509.

according to one writer,^h suggested by Paul himself, was Tarasius, a secretary of state, a man of noble birth, of consular dignity, and of good personal reputation. The multitude, who had no doubt been carefully prompted, cried out for his election, and the few dissentient voices were overpowered. Tarasius, with an appearance of modesty, professed his reluctance to accept an office so foreign to his previous habits, and declared that he would only do so on condition that a general council should be forthwith summoned for the consideration of the all-engrossing subject.ⁱ With this understanding he was consecrated; and Adrian of Rome, on receiving a statement of his faith, admitted him to communion, professing to consider the exigency of the case an excuse for the irregularity of his promotion.^k

A council was now summoned, and measures were taken to render it yet more imposing than the numerous synod by which images had been condemned under the last reign. The pope was invited to send representatives, if unable to attend in person.^m He deputed Peter, chief presbyter of his church, with Peter, abbot of St. Sabas, and furnished them with a letter, in which he hailed the emperor and his mother as a new Constantine and a new Helena, and exhorted them to repair the misdeeds of their predecessors by restoring images in the church.ⁿ Some things of a less agreeable kind were added:—a demand for the restoration of all that the iconoclastic emperors had taken from St. Peter, remarks on the irregularity of raising a layman to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and objections to the title of Ecumenical, which had been given to Tarasius in the imperial letter.^o

As the empire was at peace with the Saracens, invitations were also addressed to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. But the bearers of these letters fell in with some monks, who, on learning the object of their journey, earnestly im-

^h Ignatius, in his *Life of Tarasius*. See Walch, x. 493. But the story is unsupported and improbable. *Ib.* 509.

ⁱ Hard. iv. 24-5; Theophan. 709-712.

^k Hard. iv. 97; Theophan. 713.

^m Hard. iv. 22; Walch, x. 532. See Hefele, iii. 414-6.

ⁿ Hard. iv. 79-92.

^o *Ibid.*, 93-6. Basnage (1362), Gibbon (iv. 492), and others, suppose that the two Roman presbyters had no special commission and were disowned by the pope on their return. The only authority for this is Theodore the Studite, who states (*Ep.* I. 38, p. 254), that the envoys were deposed, "as they say,"

because, having been sent on other business, they had acted in the council, although they professed to have done so under compulsion; and that Rome regarded it as only a *local synod*. But Theodore's statement is contradicted by the documents, and is supposed to have arisen out of the circumstance that, when the meeting of the council was deferred, the legates did not procure any *new commission*. (Schlosser, 288; Neand. v. 314-5.) Theodore was inclined to disparage the council because he thought it too lenient in its treatment of persons who had formerly opposed images.

explored them to proceed no further, since any such communication from the empire would be sure to exasperate the jealousy of the Mahometan tyrants, and to bring additional oppressions on the church. The monks offered to send to the council two of their own number, whom they proposed to invest with the character of secretaries to the patriarchs; these, they said, would sufficiently represent the faith of the eastern church, and the personal attendance of the patriarchs was no more requisite than that of the Roman bishop. The messengers agreed to this strange proposal, and returned to Constantinople with two monks named John and Thomas.^p

The council was to meet at Constantinople in the beginning of August 786. But during the week before the appointed day, the opponents of images held meetings for the purpose of agitation, and, although Tarasius ordered them to leave the city, many of them still remained. On the eve of the opening, there was an outbreak of some imperial guards and other soldiers belonging to the iconoclastic party; and on the following day a still more serious tumult took place. When Tarasius and other members of the council were assembled in the church of the Apostles, a multitude of soldiers and others, abetted by some iconoclastic bishops, broke in on them, and compelled them to take refuge in the sanctuary. The soldiers who were summoned to quell the uproar refused to obey orders. Tarasius ordered the doors of the sanctuary to be shut. The iconoclasts forced them, but, without being dismayed by the threatening appearance, the patriarch opened the council, and conducted its proceedings until a message arrived from Irene, desiring her friends to give way;^q on which the iconoclastic bishops raised a shout of victory. The empress allowed the matter to rest until, having lulled suspicion, she was able quietly to disband the mutinous soldiers and to send them to their native places;^r and in September of the following year, a synod of about 350 bishops, with a number of monks and other clergy, met at Nicæa, a place at once safer from disturbance than the capital, and of especially venerable name, as having been the seat of the first general council.^s

The first places of dignity were given to the Roman envoys, who had been recalled, after having proceeded as far as Sicily on their

^p Hard. iv. 136-141, 456; Spanh. 805-8; Walch, x. 551-8. Schlosser (281) not altogether unfairly reminds us of Pseudartabas in the 'Acharnians.' On the other side see Hefele, iii. 427.

^q Hard. iv. 25-8; Theophan. 714-5; Walch, x. 535-7; Schlosser, 285-6.

^r Theophan. 715-6; Theodor. Studit. *Laudatio Platonis*, 24 (Patrol. Gr. xcix.).

^s On the number of which the council consisted, see Walch, x. 550; Schlosser, 288-9.

way homeward.¹ Next to these was Tarasius, the real president of the assembly;² and after him were the two representatives (if they may be so styled) of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. A number of civil dignitaries were also present.³ The first session took place on the 24th of September, and the business proceeded with great rapidity. Six sessions were held within thirteen days, a seventh followed a week later, and the final meeting was held at Constantinople on the 23rd of October.⁷

From the beginning it was assumed that the object was not to discuss the question, but to re-establish the worship of images; bishops who were known to be opposed to it had not been invited to attend.⁴ The pope's letter was read at the second session, but with the omission of the reflections on Tarasius, and of the request that the rights of the Roman see might be restored.⁵ A number of bishops who had taken part in the iconoclasm of the last reigns, came forward to acknowledge and anathematise their errors, and humbly sued for admission to communion.⁶ In answer to questions, some of them said that they had never until now had the means of rightly considering the subject; that they had been educated in error; that they had been deceived by forged and garbled authorities; or that they had been sealed up under a judicial blindness.^c Questions arose as to admitting them to communion, as to recognising them in offices to which they had been consecrated by heretics,^d and, with respect to some, whether, as they had formerly been persecutors of the faithful, they ought not to be treated with especial severity.^e The monks were throughout on the side of rigour; but the majority of the council, under the guidance of Tarasius, was in favour of a lenient course. The canons were searched for precedents; and a discussion ensued as to the application of these—with what class of heretics were the iconoclasts to be reckoned? Tarasius was for putting them on the footing of Manichæans, Marcionites, and Monophysites, as these sects had also been opposed to images; all heresies, he said, were alike heinous, because all did away with the law of God. The monastic party declared that iconomachy was worse than the worst of heresies, because it denied the Saviour's incarnation.^f But the majority was disposed to treat the penitents with indulgence, and they were received to communion.^g There were loud outcries

¹ Hard. iv. 27; Walch, x. 538.

² Walch, x. 561-2. See Hefele, i. 27.

³ Hard. iv. 34.

⁷ See Walch, x. 560, 579-580.

⁸ Schlosser, 290.

^a Hard. iv. 93.

^c Ib. 47, 166, 300, &c.

^d Ib. 61.

^f Ib. 50-60.

^g Ib. 76, 129-136.

^b Ib. 37, seqq.

^e Ib. 125.

against the iconoclasts, as atheists, Jews, and enemies of the truth;^h and when a proposal was made to call them Saracens, it was answered that the name was too good for them.ⁱ

According to the usual practice of councils, authorities were cited in behalf of images, and the opposition to them was paralleled or connected with all sorts of heresies.^k The extracts produced from the earlier Fathers are really irrelevant; for the images of which they speak were either scenes from sacred history, or memorial portraits (like that of Meletius of Antioch, which is mentioned by St. Chrysostom^m), and they afford no sanction for the practices which were in question before the council.ⁿ A large portion of the quotations consisted of extracts from legendary biographies, and of tales of miracles wrought by images, to which some of the bishops were able to add similar marvels from their own experience.^o From time to time the reading of these testimonies was interrupted by curious commentaries from the hearers. Thus, after a passage from Gregory of Nyssa, in which he spoke of himself as having been affected to tears by a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac, a bishop observed, "The father had often read the history, but perhaps without ever weeping; yet, as soon as he saw the picture, he wept." "If," said another, "so great a doctor was edified and moved even to tears by a picture, how much more would it affect lay and unlearned people!" Many exclaimed that they had seen such pictures of Abraham as that which Gregory described, although it does not appear whether they had experienced the same emotion at the sight. "If Gregory wept at a painting of Abraham," said Theodore, bishop of Catana, "what should we do at one of the incarnate Saviour?" "Should not we too weep," asked Tarasius, "if we saw a picture of the crucifixion?" and his words were received with general applause.^p

A famous story, which had already served the uses both of controversial and of devotional writers,^q was twice read. An aged monk on the Mount of Olives, it was said, was greatly tempted by a spirit of uncleanness. One day the demon appeared to him, and, after having sworn him to secrecy, offered to discontinue his assaults if the monk would give up worshipping a picture of the Blessed Virgin and the infant Saviour which hung in his

^h Hard. iv. 189.

ⁱ Ib. 292.

^o *E. g.* Hard. iv. 185, 205-212.

^k Ib. 159, seqq.

^p Ib. 165.

^m Ib. 164; Chrys. de S. Melet. (t. ii. 519, c. ed. Montf.).

ⁿ See an analysis of the extracts in Dupin, vi. 140, seqq.

^q Moschus, *Prat. Spirit.* 45. (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvii.); Joh. Damasc. *Orat.* I. (t. i. 328).

^r Hard. iv. 208, 316.

cell. The old man asked time to consider the proposal, and, notwithstanding his oath, applied for advice to an abbot of renowned sanctity, who blamed him for having allowed himself to be so far deluded as to swear to the devil, but told him that he had yet done well in laying open the matter, and that it would be better to visit every brothel in Jerusalem than to refrain from adoring the Saviour and His mother in the picture. From this edifying tale, a twofold moral was drawn with general consent,—that reverence for images would warrant not only unchastity, but breach of oaths; and that those who had formerly sworn to the iconoclast heresy were no longer bound by their obligations.*

At the fifth session, the Roman legates proposed that an image should be brought in and should receive the adoration of the assembly. This was solemnly done next day;† and at the same session the conclusions of the iconoclastic synod of 754 were read, each paragraph being followed by the corresponding part of a long refutation, which was declared to have been evidently dictated by the Holy Ghost.‡

At the seventh session, the decree of the council was read and subscribed. It determined that, even as the figure of the cross was honoured, so images of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin, of angels and of saints, whether painted or mosaic or of any other suitable material, are to be set up for kissing and honourable reverence (*προσκύνησιν*), but not for that real service (*λατρείαν*) which belongs to the Divine nature alone.* Incense and lights are to be offered to them, as to the cross, the Gospels, and other holy memorials, “forasmuch as the honour paid to the image passes on to the original, and he who adores an image adores in it the person of him whom it represents.” An anathema was pronounced against all opponents of images, and the signing of the decree was followed by many acclamations in honour of the new Constantine and Helena, with curses against iconomachists and heretics of every kind.† These outcries were repeated at the eighth session, when the members of the council appeared at one of the palaces of Constantinople, and both the emperor and his mother subscribed the decree.‡ The council, which after a time came to be regarded

* Hard. iv. 209.

† Ib. 321.

‡ Ib. 325; Schröckh, xx. 578-9.

* Hard. iv. 456. “We have,” as Dean Milman remarks (ii. 126), “no word to distinguish between *προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία*.” One of the council’s arguments had been drawn from our

Lord’s answer to the tempter—“Thou shalt worship (*προσκυνησεις*) the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve (*λατρεύσεις*).” Service, it was said, is here restricted to God only, but not so worship! Hard. iv. 204.

† Ib. 469-472.

‡ Ib. 481-5.

both by the Greeks and by the Latins as the seventh General Council,^a also passed twenty-two canons, chiefly relating to ecclesiastical and monastic discipline.^b It is to be observed that the images sanctioned at Nicæa were not works of sculpture, but paintings and other representations on a flat surface—a limitation to which the Greek Church has ever since adhered;^c and that there is as yet no mention of representing under visible forms the Trinity, the Almighty Father, or the Holy Spirit.^d

Constantine VI. grew up in the society of women and eunuchs, and in entire subjection to his mother. With the view, perhaps, of cutting off from the iconoclasts the hope of assistance from the west, she had negotiated for him a marriage with one of Charlemagne's daughters; but, soon after the Nicene synod, as the iconoclasts were no longer formidable, while she may have feared that such a connexion might endanger her own ascendancy,^e she broke off the engagement, greatly to the indignation of the Frankish king, and compelled her son against his will to marry an Armenian princess named Marina or Mary.^f Instigated, it is said, by some persons who professed to have discovered by magic that the empire was to be her own, she paved the way for a change by encouraging her son in cruelties and debaucheries, which rendered him odious to his subjects, and especially to the powerful monastic party.^g At the age of twenty, Constantine resolved to throw off the yoke of his mother and her ministers; he succeeded in possessing himself of the government, and for some years the empire was distracted by revolutions, carried on with all the perfidy and atrocity which were characteristic of the later Greeks.^h Constantine was at length persuaded to readmit his mother to a share of power, and she pursued towards him the same policy as before. He fell in love with a lady of her court, Theodote, and resolved to divorce his wife and to marry the object of his new attachment. The patriarch Tarasius at first opposed

^a On the history of its reception see Palmer on the Church, ii. 201, seqq. ed. 1.

^b See Hard. iv. 485, seqq.

^c Basnage, 1364. The appearance of relief is, however, given to many of them by the covers of silver or other metal in which they are enshrined—the *nimbi* (or glories) and the dresses being wrought in the metal, which has openings for displaying the faces and hands of the picture. Professor Stanley informs me that in Russia these covers are peculiar to pictures of historical or miraculous fame. A specimen may be

seen in the Hôtel Cluny, at Paris.

^d Mabill. V. xiv. Raoul-Rochette refers the first personal representations of the Almighty Father to the 9th century; Didron, to the 12th. Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 75.

^e Schlosser, 305; Finlay, ii. 93.

^f Theophan. 705, 718; Einhard, A.D. 786; Paul. Warnefr. Hist. Miscella. 23 (Patrol. xc. 1118); Murat. IV. ii. 133, 162; Schlosser, 300. Einhard says that Charlemagne refused to give his daughter, A.D. 782.

^g Theophan. 719; Walch, x. 503.

^h Theophan. 720-5; Finlay, ii. 94.

the scheme, but Constantine, it is said, threatened that, if the Church refused to indulge him, he would restore idolatry;¹ and Tarasius no longer ventured to resist.^k Marina was shut up in a convent, and the second nuptials were magnificently celebrated in September 795.^m Some monks, who vehemently objected to these proceedings, and went so far as to excommunicate the emperor, were treated with great cruelty.ⁿ It has been supposed that Irene even contrived the temptation to which her son yielded; she at least beheld his errors with malicious satisfaction, and fomented the general discontent which they produced.^o By degrees she secured to her own interest all the persons who were immediately around him; and at length, when her scheme appeared to be matured, he was by her command seized at his devotions,^p was carried into the purple chamber in which he had been born, and was deprived of his eyesight with such violence that the operation almost cost him his life.^q Immediately after this, a fog of extraordinary thickness obscured the air and hid the sun for seventeen days. By the people of Constantinople it was regarded as declaring the sympathy of heaven with the horror generally felt at the unnatural deed by which Irene obtained the empire.^r

Irene reigned six years after the dethronement of her son. According to the Greek writers, (whose testimony, however, is unsupported by those of the west,) she was engaged in a project for

¹ τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν εἰδώλων ἀνοίγων. Cedren. 472, d. Walch (x. 554) supposes that Constantine threatened to remove images, and that the form in which the threat appears comes from Cedrenus. But it is hardly conceivable that party spirit could have induced the chronicler to describe churches *without* images as "temples of idols;" besides that the temples seem to be spoken of as distinct from churches, and as shut up when the threat was uttered.

^k Theophan. 727-8; Vita Theodor. Studit. 18, 19, 26; Baron. 795. 43, seqq.

^m Cedren. 472; Pagi, xiii. 301.

ⁿ Theod. Studit. Laudatio Platonis, 26-9 (Patr. Gr. xcix.); Vita Theod. Stud. 20; Baron. 795. 43-59.

^o Theophan. 729; Schlosser, 310.

^p εἰς παράκλησιν, says Theophanes. His translator renders the words "ad preces;" Goar (not in loc.) understands *παράκλησις* to mean a religious procession; Schlosser (326), a private chapel.

^q Theophan. 730-2. It has been very generally inferred from the historian's words that Constantine died under the operation. But Gibbon (iv. 414-5),

Schlosser (327-330), and Finlay (ii. 100) show that he long survived. Cf. Theoph. contin. ii. 10; G. Hamart. cclix. 5; cclxvii. 28.

^r G. Hamart. cclvii. 18. On the disgraceful manner in which writers favourable to the cause of images have attempted to palliate Irene's guilt, see Walch, x. 589; Milman, ii. 131. The words of Baronius are well known, but must be quoted here:—"Scelus plane execrandum, nisi justitiæ zelus ad id faciendum excitasset. . . . Si enim regnandi cupidine Irene in filium molita esset insidias, detestabilior Agrippina, Neronis matre, fuisset, cum illa suæ quoque vitæ dispendio filium imperare maluisset. Contra vero, quod ista religionis causa, amore justitiæ, in filium perpetrata creduntur, ab orientalibus nonnullis, qui facto aderant, viris sanctissimis eadem post hæc meruit præconio celebrari." (796. 8.) Our own contemporary, the Abbé Rohrbacher, is little short of Baronius. (xi. 220-1.) Irene was canonised by the Greeks. Finlay, ii. 102.

reuniting the empires by a marriage with Charlemagne,^a when, in October 802, she was deposed by the secretary Nicephorus, and was banished to Lesbos, where she died within a few months.^t

Nicephorus, who is described as having surpassed all his predecessors in rapacity, lust and cruelty,^u was bent on subjecting the hierarchy to the imperial power. He forbade the patriarch to correspond with the pope, whom he considered as a tool of Charlemagne; and he earned the detestation of the clergy by heavily taxing monastic and ecclesiastical property which had until then been exempt, by seizing the ornaments of churches, by stabling his horses in monasteries, and by extending a general toleration to iconoclasts and sectaries.^x In 811,^y Nicephorus was killed in a war with the Bulgarians, and his son Stauracius, after a reign of little more than two months, was thrust into a monastery, where he soon after died of wounds received before his accession.^z On the deposition of Stauracius, his brother-in-law, Michael Rhangabe, was compelled to accept the empire, and images were again restored to honour. The iconoclastic party, however, continued to exist. An attempt was made by some of its members to set a blinded son of Constantine Copronymus on the throne;^a and on the alarm of a Bulgarian invasion, soon after the elevation of Michael, a very remarkable display of its spirit took place. While the clergy, the monks, and vast numbers of the people, were deprecating the danger by processions and prayers, some iconoclastic soldiers broke open the mausoleum of the emperors, prostrated themselves on the tomb of Copronymus, and entreated him to save the state; and they asserted that, in answer to their prayers, he had appeared to them on horseback, and had gone forth against the barbarians; "whereas," says Theophanes, "he dwells in hell with devils."^b Although the motive of these men was more probably fraud than fanaticism—(for, besides the story of the apparition, they pretended that the mausoleum had been opened by miracle)—we may infer the existence of a strong attachment to the memory of Constantine among the party to which such an imposture could be addressed with any hope of finding believers.

^a Theophan. 736; Cedren. 474. Against the story, see Gibbon, iv. 509; Schlosser, 338; Luden, v. 12-3.

^t Theophan. 738-745; G. Hamart. cclix.; Gibbon, iv. 415-6.

^u Theophan. 775-8, 765.

^x Gibbon, iv. 494; Finlay, i. 110-6, 125. Mr. Finlay is rather favourable

to him—partly, perhaps, on account of the emperor's enmity to the clergy.

^y Theophan. 764; Pagi, xiii. 470; Gibbon, v. 292.

^z Schlosser, 374-5.

^a Theophan. 773.

^b See Walch, x. 546.

^b Ib. 781.

Michael, although a man of estimable character, proved unequal to the government of the empire, and, after a reign of two years, he was deposed and tonsured, while a general ^{A.D. 813.} named Leo was raised to the throne. Michael, who by a clemency unusual in such cases, was allowed to retain not only his life but his eyesight, survived his dethronement thirty-two years.^d

II. While the decree of the second council of Nicæa established a reconciliation between Rome and Constantinople, and was gladly confirmed by the Pope, it met with a less favourable reception north of the Alps. In the Frankish church a middle opinion on the subject of images had prevailed; as the eastern Christians had been led to cherish their images for the sake of contrast with their Mahometan neighbours, so the Franks were restrained from excess in this kind of devotion by the necessity of opposing the idolatry of the unconverted Germans.^e The question had been one of those discussed by a mixed assembly of clergy and laity which was held under Pipin at Gentilly, in the presence of ^{A.D. 767.} envoys from Pope Paul and of ambassadors from Constantine Copronymus; and, although their decision on this point is not recorded, there can be no reasonable doubt that it agreed with the general views of the national church.^f

Adrian sent the acts of the Nicene council to Charlemagne, with an evident expectation that they would be received by the Franks. But the late rupture of the match between the king's daughter and the son of Irene had not tended to bespeak from him any favourable consideration of the eastern decrees; and his own convictions were opposed to them. He sent them to Alcuin, who was then in England; and it is said that the English bishops joined in desiring their countryman to write against the council.^g Alcuin made some remarks on the Nicene Acts, in the form of a letter; and out of these probably grew a treatise in four books, which was put forth in the name of Charlemagne, and is known by the title of the "Caroline Books." It is supposed that Alcuin, who returned to France in 793,^h was the chief author, but that he was assisted by other ecclesiastics, and that the king himself took part

^d Theophan. 779, 783-4; G. Hamart. cclxi. 5-6; Gibbon, iv. 417; Schlosser says 35 years. 392.

^e Mabill. V. xxiv-v.; Döllinger, i. 356-7; Milman, ii. 235. Some other reasons which Döllinger gives for the Frankish view appear untenable.

^f See Einhard, A.D. 767; Spanheim, 778; Basnage, 1357; Walch, xi. 33-5;

Schröckh, xix. 566; Giesel. II. i. 93; Neand. v. 323; Hefele, iii. 400.

^g Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 792; Rog. Hoveden, ap. Savile, 232, b. Dr. Lingard attempts to explain away their statements. A. S. C. ii. 114-6, and Append. G.

^h Pagi, xiii. 257.

in the revision of the work.¹ The tone of this treatise is firm and dignified. Although great deference for the apostolic see is professed, the writer resolutely maintains the Frankish view as to images, and unsparingly criticises the grounds alleged for the doctrine which was held in common by the east and by Rome. While the iconoclasts and the Byzantine council of 754 are blamed for overlooking the distinction between images and idols, their mistake is declared to be much less than that committed by the Nicene synod in confounding the use of images with the worship of them; the one error is ascribed to ignorance, the other to wickedness.^k Much is said against the style of language officially employed by the Byzantine court, which is censured as trenching on the honour due to God.^m The synod is blamed for having allowed itself to be guided by a woman, contrary to St. Paul's order that women should not be admitted to teach.ⁿ Its pretension to be ecumenical is denied, on the ground that it neither was assembled from all churches, nor holds the faith of the universal Church; its claim to Divine sanction is also disallowed.^o It is said to be madness for one portion of the Church to anathematise other portions in a matter as to which the apostles had not laid down any rule; and much more so when the opinions so branded are agreeable to the earlier councils and Fathers.^q The passages which had been cited at Nicæa from Scripture and the Fathers are examined, and are cleared from the abuse there made of them.^r The council is censured for having admitted many stories of a fabulous or apocryphal kind.^s The account of our Lord's correspondence with

¹ See Dupin, vi. 146; Mosh. ii. 167; Walch, xi. 66-8; Schröckh, xx. 585-8; Giesel. II. i, 94; Lorenz, 119; Neand. v. 324-5; Bähr, 346; Gfrörer, iii. 624; Hardwick, 54; Milman, ii. 236. The 'Libri Carolini' were first published in 1549 by Jean du Tillet, afterwards bishop of Meaux, who styled himself "Eli. Philii." By *Eli.* was meant Elijah, in allusion to the connexion between that prophet and St. John the Baptist, whose name the editor bore; perhaps, too, as Bayle says (Art. *Du Tillet*, note B), Du Tillet may have intended to hint that he was to imitate Elijah's exertions against idolatry. "Philii." was an abbreviation of *Philyra*, the Greek name for the *tilia* or lime-tree. (Schröckh, xx. 584.) Some Romanists have pretended that the book was a forgery of the reformer Carlstadt; others, that it was written by a heretic of Charlemagne's time, and was sent by the king to Rome

in order to be refuted. (See Walch, xi. 51, 61-2; Lorenz, 117-8.) But its genuineness is now acknowledged. See Dupin, vi. 120; Döllinger, i. 358; Bähr, 345; Hefele, iii. 653-4. Hefele gives an index to the quotations made in this treatise from the Nicene Acts, 665-8. The Caroline Books are reprinted in Goldast's 'Imperialia Decreta,' and thence in Migne's 'Patrologia,' xcvi. But Hefele says (653) that the best edition is that by Hermann, Hanover, 1731.

^k Præf. ap. Goldast. 92, 94; Lib. i. 27; iv. 4, p. 473.

^m i. 1-4.

ⁿ iii. 13.

^o iv. 28. This shows that the fact of the pope's having presided by his legates, was not, in the opinion of the Franks, enough to warrant the reception of the council, without the consent of the chief churches. Fleury, xlv. 58.

^p iii. 14.

^q iii. 11-2.

^r i. 5, seqq.; ii. 1, seqq. ^s iii. 30.

Abgarus is questioned;[†] the legend of the monk and the devil of uncleanness is strongly reprobated;[‡] doubts are expressed as to the truth of many miraculous tales; and it is argued that, even if the miracles were really wrought by the images, they would not warrant the worship of these.[§] Remarks are made on expressions used by individual bishops at the council.[¶] Among these there is the important misrepresentation that Constantius, of Constantia in Cyprus, is charged with having placed the adoration of images on the same level with that of the Trinity, and as having anathematized all who thought otherwise; whereas in reality he had distinguished between the devotion paid to images and that which was to be reserved for the Trinity alone.[‡] The arguments advanced in behalf of images are discussed and refuted. The honours paid in the east to the statues of emperors had been dwelt on by way of analogy; but it is denied that this is any warrant for the worship of images,—“for what madness it is to defend one unlawful thing by another!”—and the conduct of Daniel in Babylon is cited as proving the sinfulness of the eastern practice.[¶] It is derogatory to the holy mystery of the eucharist—to the cross, the symbol of our salvation and sign of our Christian profession,—to the consecrated vessels, and to the sacred books,—that the veneration paid to these should be paralleled with the worship of images.^b The reverence due to relics, which had either been part of the bodies of saints or had been connected with them, is no ground for paying a like regard to images, which are the mere work of the artist.^c Christ and his saints desire no such worship as that in question; and, although the more learned may be able to practise it without idolatry, the unlearned, who have no skill in subtle distinctions, will be drawn to pay really divine worship to that which they see. The guilt of causing offence must rest, not on those who allow images and only refuse worship to them, but on those who force the worship on others.^d The only proper use of them is by way of ornament, or as historical memorials;^e it is absurd to say that they represent to us the merits of the saints, since these merits are not external.^f The right use of images for remembrance is strongly distinguished from the plea that it is impossible to remember God without them; those persons (it is said) must have very faulty

† iv. 10.

‡ iii. 31.

¶ iii. 3, seqq., 17, seqq.

§ Comp. iii. 17 with Hard. iv. 152.

This mistake probably arose from the badness of the translation of the Nicene

Acts. See Hefele, iii. 651, 660.

a iii. 15.

b ii. 27-30.

c iii. 24.

d iii. 16, fin.

e i. 16.

f i. 17, pp. 175-6, ed. Goldast.

memories who need to be reminded by an image—who are unable to raise their minds above the material creation except by the help of a material and created object.⁵ The king concludes by declaring to the pope that he adheres to the principles laid down by Gregory the Great in his letters to Serenus of Marseilles,⁶ and that he believes this to be the rule of the Catholic Church. Images are to be allowed; the worship of them is not to be enforced; it is forbidden to break or to destroy them.¹

These books (or perhaps the propositions which they were intended to enforce, rather than the treatise itself²) were communicated to the pope, and drew forth from him a long reply. But the arguments of this attempt are feeble, and its tone appears to show that Adrian both felt the weakness of his cause, and was afraid to offend the great sovereign whose opinions he was labouring to controvert.³

It is doubtful whether these communications took place before or after the council which was held, under the presidency of Charlemagne, at Frankfort in 794.⁴ This council was both a diet of the empire and an ecclesiastical synod. Bishops were assembled from Lombardy and Germany as well as from France; some representatives of the English church, and two legates from Rome, were also present;⁵ and, at the king's suggestion, Alcuin was admitted to a place on account of the service which he might be able to render by his learning.⁶ The question of images was dealt with in a manner which showed that the council had no idea of any right on the part of Rome to prescribe to the Frankish church. The second canon adverts to "the late synod of the Greeks, in which it was said that those should be anathematised who should not bestow service or adoration on the images of the saints, even as on the Divine Trinity." In opposition to this, the fathers of Frankfort refuse "both adoration and service of all kinds" to images; they express contempt for the eastern synod, and agree in condemning it.⁷ The passage especially censured by this canon is the speech wrongly ascribed in the Caroline Books to the Cyprian metropolitan Constantius, and the misrepresentation is probably to be charged on the imperfect state in which the Nicene

⁵ Lib. Carol. ii. 22.

⁶ See above, p. 26. ¹ iv. ult.

² See Hefele, iii. 669.

³ Neand. v. 335; Milman, ii. 237. His answer is in Hard. iv. 773, seqq.

⁴ Neand. v. 335. Walch places the council first (xi. 72); Gieseler (II. i. 95-6) places it after the exchange of

writings.

⁵ The whole number of bishops is said to have been about 300; but Walch (ix. 761) says that this number rests on no authority older than Baronius.

⁶ C. 56. Hard. iv. 909.

⁷ "Contempserunt." Ib. 904.

acts were presented to the Frankish divines. But, whatever the reason of it may have been, and however the members of the Frankfort council may have misapprehended the opinions of the orientals, there is no ground for arguing from this that they did not understand and plainly state their own judgment on the question.^r

Notwithstanding the opposition to his views on the subject of images, Adrian continued to cultivate friendly relations with Charlemagne; the political interest which bound Rome to the Franks was more powerful than his sympathy with the Greeks as to doctrine. The retention of Calabria and Illyricum, which had been taken from the Roman see by the iconoclastic emperors in the earlier stage of the controversy, alienated the popes more and more from the Byzantine rule, until in 800 the connexion with the east was utterly severed by the coronation of Charlemagne as the sovereign of a new empire of Rome.

III. Before proceeding to the question of images, the council of Frankfort had been occupied with the doctrine of a Spanish bishop, named Felix, on the relation of our Lord's humanity to the Almighty Father. The term *adoption* had been applied to the Incarnation by some earlier writers and in the Spanish Liturgy; it appears, however, not to have been used in its strict sense, but rather as equivalent to *assumption*.^s The passages which Felix and his party produced from the Fathers as favourable to their view, spoke of an adoption of *nature*, of *flesh*, or of *manhood*; whereas they themselves made an important variation from this language by speaking of an adoption of the *Son*.^t

The Adoptionists were charged by their opponents with Nestorianism,^u and in spirit the two systems are unquestionably similar. Yet the Adoptionists admitted the doctrine which had been settled

^r This evasion is attempted by Baronius (794. 36-7) and by Döllinger (i. 357). Elsewhere Baronius argues that the Council of Frankfort could not have really condemned that of Nicæa, because whatever it may have determined must have been meant with submission to the Roman see! Other Romish evasions are collected by Basnage (1368-9) and Giesel, I. ii. 96.

^s See Giesel. II. i. 111-2, and, as to the Spanish Liturgy, Lesley's Preface to it, Patol. lxxv. 41; Guéranger, i. 212. There was a dispute as to a passage in St. Hilary of Poitiers (De Trinitate, ii. 27)—"Potestatis dignitas non amittitur

dum carnis humilitas adoptatur." Alcuin (Adv. Felic. vi. 6) was for reading *adoratur*, and Hincmar charges Felix with having bribed Charlemagne's librarian to falsify the manuscript of Hilary (Præf. in Dissert. ii. de Prædestinatione, Patol. cxxv. 55); but the context seems to show that *adoptatur*, which is found in most MSS., is right, and that it is used in the sense of *assumption*. N. in loc. ed. Bened.; Walch, ix. 897-9; Giesel. II. i. 112; Hefele, iii. 670.

^t Döllinger, i. 360; Dörner, ii. 317.

^u E. g. Conc. Francof. Ep. ad Episcopos Hisp. 23 (Patol. ci. 1342).

as orthodoxy for three centuries and a half: they made no objection to the term *Deipara* (or *Theotokos*), as applied to the mother of the Saviour's humanity; they allowed the union of natures in Him.² The distinctive peculiarity of the party was, that, while they granted the communication of properties between the two natures, they insisted on distinguishing the manner in which the predicates of the one nature were given to the other; they regarded it as a confusion of the natures, and a virtual merging of the humanity, to say that Christ was proper and real Son of God, not only in his Godhead but in his whole person.⁷ He cannot, they said, be properly Son of God as to his human nature, unless it be supposed that the humanity and fleshly substance were derived from the very essence of God.² The highest thing that can befall humanity is to be adopted into sonship with God; more than this would be a change of nature.² Christ's humanity, then, is adopted to sonship; in one sense this adoption existed from the moment of his conception; in another, it began at his baptism, when He passed from the condition of a servant to that of a Son; and it was consummated in his resurrection.^b He cannot have two fathers in the same nature; in his humanity He is naturally the Son of David, and by adoption and grace the Son of God. By nature He is the "only-begotten" Son of God; by adoption and grace the "first-begotten."^c In the Son of God the Son of man becomes very Son of God; but it is only in a *nuncupative* way, as was the case with those of whom He himself said that the Scripture "called them gods to whom the word of God came;" his adoption is like that of the saints, although it is after a far more excellent fashion.^d The Adoptionists also pressed into their service texts which were in truth meant to set forth the reality of our Lord's manhood, and its inferiority to, or dependence on, his divinity.^e

Felix, who has been mentioned as a chief assertor of this doctrine, was bishop of Urgel, in Catalonia, then a part of Charlemagne's dominions. He was a man of great acuteness and learning; his reputation was such that Alcuin sought his correspondence, and, even after the promulgation of his heresy, continued to speak with much respect of his sanctity.^f His associate Elipand, bishop of

² Dorner, ii. 307-310.

⁷ Walch, ix. 862-4, 891; Dorner, ii. 312.

² Felix ap. Alc. i. 12; Dorner, ii. 313.

^a Dorner, ii. 314.

^b Fel. ap. Alc. ii. 16; Walch, ix. 867, 873-8; Neand. v. 223-5; Dorner, ii. 315-8.

^c Fel. ap. Alc. iii. 1; Ep. Episc.

Hispan. c. 9 (Patrol. ci. 1324).

^d (St. Joh. x. 35); Fel. ap. Alc. iv. 2; Walch, ix. 875, 915; Dorner, ii. 312-7.

^e Schröckh, xx. 470-1; Neand. v. 221-2; Dorner, ii. 314.

^f Alc. Ep. iv., p. 7; Cf. t. i., p. 783; Lorenz, 257.

Toledo, and primate of Spain under the Mahometan dominion, was far advanced in life when the controversy broke out. He appears to have been a person of violent and excitable temper, and very jealous of his dignity.^h His style is described as more obscure than that of Felix, and it is therefore inferred that he was more profound.ⁱ

The early history of the Adoptionist doctrine is unknown. It is probable that Felix was the originator of it, and perhaps he may have been led into it by controversy with his Mahometan neighbours, to whom this view of our Lord's humanity would have been less repulsive than that which was generally taught by the church.^k At least, it appears certain that, whether the author of the doctrine or not, Felix was the person who did most to reduce it to a system.^m A correspondence took place between him and Elipand; and the primate employed the influence of his position in ^{A.D. 783.ⁿ} favour of the new opinion, which soon gained many adherents.^o The first opponents who appeared against Adoptionism were Beatus, an abbot, and Etherius, bishop of Osma, who had formerly been his pupil. Elipand, in a letter to an abbot named Fidelis, denounced the two very coarsely; he even carried his intolerance so far as to declare that all who should presume to differ from him were heretics and slaves of Antichrist, and that, as such, they must be rooted out.^p Etherius and Beatus rejoined at great length, in a book which, as to tone, appears almost worthy of their antagonist.^q The pope, Adrian, now had his attention drawn to the controversy, and in 785 wrote a letter to the orthodox bishops of Spain, warning them against the new doctrine as an error such as no one since Nestorius had ventured on.^r

This letter, however, failed to appease the differences which had arisen. A council which is said to have been held against the Adoptionists at Narbonne, in 788, is generally regarded as fictitious.^s But in 792, Charlemagne summoned Felix to appear before a council at Ratisbon, where he abjured and anathematised his errors. The king, who presided at the council, appears to

^h Walch, ix. 724; Neand. v. 216.

ⁱ Dorner, ii. 322.

^k See Alc. Ep. 85; Neand. v. 218-220.

^m Neand. v. 218; Dorner, ii. 306.

ⁿ Pagl, xlii. 752.

^o Walch, ix. 743; Schröckh, xx. 461.

^p Elip. ap. Beat. i. 40-4 (Patrol. xcvi.); Walch, ix. 731-2. Felix charges Beatus and Etherius with confounding the Saviour's natures "sicut vinum et aquam."

Alcuin, i. 793.

^q "Ad Elipandum" (Patrol. xcvi. 893 seqq.). There is a life of Beatus in the same volume, from Mabillon, v. 735.

^r Patrol. xcvi. 374. Walch (ix. 747) questions the genuineness of the letter, but, as Schröckh (xx. 466) thinks, on insufficient grounds.

^s See Walch, ix. 749-751; Schröckh, xx. 466; Hefele, iii. 620-1.

have doubted either the sincerity of his new profession, or his steadiness in adhering to it, and therefore sent him in chains to Rome, where he was imprisoned by order of the pope. He obtained his liberty by drawing up an orthodox confession of faith, to which he swore in the most solemn manner, laying it on the consecrated elements and on St. Peter's tomb. But on returning to Urgel, he again vented his heresy, and, in fear of Charlemagne's resentment, he fled into the Mahometan part of Spain.¹ Elipand and other Spanish bishops wrote to Charlemagne and to the bishops of France, requesting that Felix might be restored to his see, and that measures might be taken for suppressing the opinions of Beatus, who was charged in the letters with profligacy of life, and was also styled a false prophet, on account of some speculations as to the fulfilment of the Apocalypse, into which he had been led by the oppressed condition of the Spanish church.² These letters were forwarded by Charlemagne to the pope, who thereupon despatched a second epistle into Spain, denouncing the doctrine of the Adoptionists and threatening to excommunicate them if they should persist in it.³

The council of Frankfort was held between the time of Charlemagne's application to Adrian and the receipt of the pope's answer.⁴ No representative of the Adoptionist party appeared; but Alcuin, who had been summoned from England to take part in the controversy,⁵ argued against their doctrine, and the council in its first canon unanimously condemned it as a heresy which "ought to be utterly rooted out of the church."⁶ The Italian bishops adopted a treatise against Adoptionism drawn up by Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia; and this was sent into Spain, together with a letter from the bishops of Gaul, Aquitaine, and Germany to the Spanish bishops, and with one from Charlemagne to Elipand and his brethren.⁷ Alcuin addressed a tract against the Adoptionists to the bishops, of the south of France,⁸ and also wrote in a respectful tone to Felix himself, urging him to give up the term *adoption*, which he professed to consider as the only point in which the bishop of Urgel varied from the Catholic faith.⁹ In consequence of this letter, Felix addressed a defence of his doctrine to Charlemagne, who there-

¹ Conc. Rom. ap. Hard. iv. 928; Alc. adv. Elip. iv. 16; Einhard, A.D. 792; Walch, ix. 752-4.

² Elip. Ep. 3 (Patrol. xcvi.); Ep. Episc. Hisp. ib. ci. 1821; Cf. Mabillon, ib. xcvi. 890.

³ Hard. iv. 865.

⁴ Neand. v. 228.

⁵ Loreuz, 76.

⁶ Hard. iv. 904.

⁷ The three documents are in Hardouin, iv. 873-903; see Walch, ix. 691, 792.

⁸ Opera, i. 759-782.

⁹ Ib. 784.

upon desired Alcuin to undertake a formal refutation of the Adoptionists. The abbot accepted the task, but stipulated that time should be allowed him to examine their citations, with the help of his pupils, and begged that the book of Felix might also be referred to the pope, to Paulinus of Aquileia, and to other eminent bishops; if, he said, all should agree in their judgment on the point in question, it might be concluded that they were all guided by the same Holy Spirit.*

Alcuin then produced a treatise in seven books—"these five loaves and two little fishes," as he styles them.^f The foundation on which he chiefly grounds his argument is the unity of the Saviour's person. Although Felix had not ventured to deny this, it is urged that in consistency he must do so, like Nestorius, since he divides Christ into two sons, the one real, the other nuncupative.^g The same person cannot be at once the proper and the adopted son of the same father; Christ alone has by nature that which we have through Him by adoption and grace.^h The Sonship is not founded on the nature, but on the person; the two natures do not form two sons, since they are themselves not separate, but inseparably united in the one Christ; the whole Christ is Son of God and son of man: there is no room for an adoptive sonship.ⁱ Christ was very God from the moment of his human conception.^k Felix, it is argued, had erred through supposing that a son cannot be *proper* unless he be of the same nature with the father; whereas the term *proper* does not necessarily imply identity of substance between that which is so styled and that to which it is ascribed: as may be seen by our speaking of "proper names" and "proper [i. e. own] possessions."^m A man is the proper son of his parents both in body and in soul, although the body only be of their seed; and in like manner Christ in his whole person, in manhood as well as in Godhead, is proper Son of God.ⁿ But, moreover, says Alcuin, the whole matter, being supernatural, cannot be fitly measured by human analogies. Christ is Son of God the Father, although his flesh be not generated of God; and to deny the possibility of this is to impugn the Divine omnipotence.^o The censure of Frankfort

* Ep. 69; Lorenz, 132. Hence it is evident that Alcuin had no idea of *papal* infallibility. Neand. v. 231.

^f Opera, i. 788.

^g Lib. i. 11; iv. 5; Dorner, ii. 325. Walch argues that the Adoptionists were orthodox, since they did not say that Christ in his twofold sonship was *alius et alius*, but that He was son *aliter et aliter*. (ix. 881-4.) But—not to go into

any deeper argument—how is the fury of Elipand against the doctrine of the church to be accounted for, if his own doctrine were the same?

^h ii. 12; iii. 2; Dorner, ii. 325.

ⁱ ii. 12; vii. 11.

^k iv. 8-10.

^m v. 3; Dorner, ii. 325.

ⁿ iii. 2; v. 3; Dorner, ii. 324.

^o i. 9; iii. 2.

was followed up by a council held at Friuli, under Paulinus of Aquileia, in 796,^p and by one which met at Rome under Leo III. in 799. At Friuli it was laid down that the Saviour is "one and the same son of man and Son of God; not putative but real Son of God; not adoptive, but proper; proper and not adoptive in each of his natures, forasmuch as after his assumption of manhood, one and the same person is inconfusibly and inseparably Son of God and of man."^q The Roman council also condemned the Adoptionists, but with so little knowledge of the matter as to accuse them of denying that the Saviour had any other than a *nuncupative* Godhead.^r

In the meantime Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, Nefrid, bishop of Narbonne, and Benedict, abbot of Aniane, were sent into the district in which Felix had spread his opinions. They laboured with much success in confutation of Adoptionism, and, having met Felix himself at Urgel, they persuaded him, by an assurance of safety, to proceed into France, in order that he might answer for himself before a council, which was to be held at Aix-la-Chapelle.^s

At Aix, the Adoptionist was confronted by Alcuin, who A.D. 799. had been drawn from his retirement at Tours for the purpose. The discussion lasted for six days, and Felix at length professed to be convinced by some passages from the Fathers which had not before been known to him. He retracted his errors, condemned Nestorius, and exhorted his clergy and people to follow the true faith.^t As, however, his former changes suggested a suspicion of his constancy, he was not allowed to return into his diocese, but was committed to the care of the archbishop of Lyons. Leidrad and his brother commissioners went again into Catalonia for the purpose of rooting out the heresy; and it is said by Alcuin that, during their two visits, they made twenty thousand converts—bishops, clergy, and laity.^u

Elipand, not being a subject of Charlemagne, was more difficult to deal with than his associate. He now entered into controversy with Alcuin, whom he treated with his usual rudeness, reproaching him as the chief persecutor of Felix, and taxing him (among other things) with having 20,000 slaves, and with being proud of his wealth.^v Alcuin replied in four books, and the death of Elipand

^p As to the date of this, which some wrongly place in 791, see Patrol. xcix. 534-6; Hefele, iii. 674.

^q Hard. iv. 756. ^r Ib. 928.

^s Alc. Ep. 92, t. i. p. 136, ad Leidrad. xc. ib. 860; Pagi, xiii. 350. Benedict's tract against Felix is in the Patrol. civ.

1399 seqq.

^t Alcuin, Ep. 92, 176; Vita Alc. 7; Hard. iv. 929-934.

^u Ep. 92, p. 136; Comp. Walch, ix. 776.

^v Elip. Ep. iv. 5 (Patrol. xcvi.). The address of the letter may be quoted as a

(whom some writers improbably represent as having at last renounced his heresy),* followed soon after. Felix remained at Lyons with Leidrad, and afterwards with his successor Agobard. He occasionally vented some of his old opinions, but, when Agobard argued with him, he professed to be convinced. After his death, however, which took place in 818, it was found that he had left a paper containing the chief points of his heresy in the form of question and answer; and Agobard found himself obliged to undertake a refutation of this, in order to counteract the mischief which it was likely to produce, as coming from a person who had been much revered for sanctity.⁷ Although the Adoptionist doctrine has been revived or justified by some writers of later times, it never afterwards gained any considerable influence.⁸

IV. Towards the end of Charlemagne's reign a controversy arose as to the Procession of the Holy Spirit. In the Latin Church it had always been held that the Third Person of the Godhead proceeds from the Second as well as from the First.^a The same doctrine which the Latins thus expressed—that the Godhead of the Holy Spirit is communicated not only from the Father but from the Son—had also been held by the Greeks in general; but, as the word *proceed* is in Scripture used only of his relation to the Father,^b they had not applied it to express his relation to the Son.^c Thus the second General Council, in the words which it added to the Nicene creed in opposition to the Macedonian heresy, defined only that the Holy Ghost “proceedeth from the Father.” Theodoret, indeed, had used language which seems irreconcilable with the western belief;^d but it is not to be understood as expressing more than the private opinion of a writer whose orthodoxy was not unimpeached on other points; and as yet no controversy either of fact or of expression had arisen as to this subject between the two great divisions of the church.

specimen of the Spanish primate's style :
 —“Reverendissimo fratri Albino diacono, non Christi ministro, sed antiphrasii Beati fetidissimi discipulo . . . novo Arrio, sanctorum venerabilium patrum Ambrosii, Augustini, Isidori, Hieronymi, doctrinis contrario—si se converterit ab errore viæ suæ, a Domino æternam salutem; et si noluerit, æternam damnationem.” The slaves are supposed to have been those attached to the estates belonging to St. Martin's Abbey and to Alcuin's other preferments. See his answer to the charge, Ep. ad Leidr. t. i. 861.

* Vita Beati ap. Mabill. v. 737; Ma-

riana, v. 67. See Antonio, in Patrol. xvi. 857.

⁷ Agob. adv. Felicem, 1-6.

⁸ Schröckh, xx. 494; Giesel. II. i. 117.

^a See quotations from Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, and Leo the Great, in Pearson on the Creed, ii. 430-1, ed. Burton, Oxf. 1833; Petav. de Trin. vii. 8; Giesel. II. i. 107.

^b St. John, xv. 26.

^c Pearson, ii. 432-3; Petav. vii. 3; Schröckh, xx. 499.

^d See Pearson, ii. 434; Petav. vii. 17; Schröckh, xx. 501.

In the west, the procession of the Spirit from the Son was in time introduced into creeds.^a It is found in the Athanasian Creed, a form which was undoubtedly of western composition, but of which the date is much disputed.^f The first appearance of the doctrine in the Nicene or Constantinopolitan creed was at the third council of Toledo, in 589;^g and it was often enforced by later Spanish councils, under the sanction of an anathema.^h It would seem to have been from Spain that the definition made its way into France, where the truth of the Double Procession was not controverted, but some questions were raised as to the expediency or lawfulness of adding to the Nicene Creed.ⁱ

The origin of the differences on this subject in the period now before us is not clear.^k There was some discussion of it at the council of Gentilly, where the ambassadors of Constantine Copronymus were present;^m but (as has been already statedⁿ) the details of that council are unknown. At the council of Friuli, in 796, Paulinus maintained the expediency of the definition, "on account of those heretics who whisper that the Holy Spirit is of the Father alone, and proceedeth from the Father alone;" he defended it against the charge of novelty, as being not an addition to the Nicene Creed, but an explanation of it;^o and the council adopted a profession of faith in which the Double Procession was laid down.^p

The matter came in a more pressing form before a synod held at Aix in 809, when a complaint was made that one John, a monk

^a See Petav. vii. 2.

^f A table of the different opinions as to its date and authorship is given by Waterland, iii. 117, ed. 1843. Gerard Vossius once thought that it was the work of a Frenchman, in the reign of Pipin or of Charlemagne, but afterwards modified his opinion so far as to say that the Creed was not older than A.D. 600 (ib. 108). Quesnel ascribed it to Vigilius of Tapsus (A.D. 484), and has been followed by many in this opinion (ib. 111). Waterland himself (ib. 213-9) supposes it the work of Hilary of Arles, composed after his elevation to the bishopric (A.D. 429), and in consequence of the retraction of Leporius (see vol. i. p. 436). Giesel, in his posthumous Lectures on the History of Doctrines (Lehrb. vi. 325), says that it is probably of the sixth century; but in another passage (which may have been composed or revised later than the Lectures, although it was published during his lifetime) he refers it to the seventh

or eighth century, and says that the testimonies alleged for it before the latter part of the eighth are very uncertain. He considers the name *Fides Athanasii* to be intended as the opposite of *Fides Arianii*, and infers that the Creed was composed in Spain, the country where Arianism kept the longest hold (II. i. 109-110). Mr. Harvey thinks that it was probably made by Victorius, bishop of Rouen, in defending himself against a charge of heresy, A.D. 401. ('The Three Creeds,' 584 seqq., Camb. 1854.) The proof of this does not appear very convincing.

^g Hard. iii. 472.

^h Schröckh, xx. 503-4; Giesel. II. i. 107. See Isid. Hispal. Ep. 6 (Patrol. lxxxiii.) and Gonzalez, Pref. to the Spanish Canons, ib. lxxxiv.

ⁱ Giesel. II. i. 108-9. ^k Ib.

^m Einhard, A.D. 767.

ⁿ P. 161.

^o Hard. iv. 850.

^p Ib. 855.

of St. Sabas, had attacked the Frankish monks and pilgrims at Jerusalem on account of this doctrine, and had attempted to drive them away by force.¹ The council approved of the addition to the creed,² and Charlemagne sent two bishops and Adelhard, abbot of Corbie, to Rome, with a request that the pope would confirm the judgment. Leo, at a conference with the envoys, of which a curious account is preserved,³ expressed his agreement in the doctrine of the Double Procession; but decidedly opposed the insertion of it into the creed. It would, he said, be wrong to insert it, since a council guided by wisdom from above had omitted it; and, moreover, the point was one of those which are not necessary to salvation for the mass of ordinary Christians. It is said that he put up in St. Peter's two silver shields engraved with the creed of Constantinople in Greek and in Latin, and that on both the words which express the procession of the Spirit from the Son were omitted. But, in order that there might be no doubt as to his opinion on the question of doctrine, he sent into the east a confession of faith in which the Double Procession was twice distinctly affirmed.⁴ We hear no more of the difference between the Eastern and Western Churches on this subject until at a later time it was revived and led to important consequences.

It may be difficult to follow, and impossible to read with interest, the history of such controversies as those on Monothelism and Adoptionism; and the Church has often been reproached with the agitation into which it was thrown by questions which never enter into the consideration of the great body of Christian believers. We ought, however, to remember that an error which is to agitate the Church internally must not begin by setting at nought the decisions of former times; the spirit of speculation must fix on some point which is apparently within the limits already prescribed for orthodoxy. Hence, in the controversies which relate to the highest Christian doctrines, the ground is continually narrowed, as we proceed from Arianism to Nestorianism and Eutychianism, and

¹ Ep. Monachorum in Monte Oliveti habitantium (Patrol. cxxix. 1257); Einhard, A.D. 809; Ado, A.D. 809 (Patrol. cxxiii.). Ado finds the double procession clearly (*aperte*) laid down in Revelat. xxii. 1. (col. 133.)

² Baronius says that the question at Aix did not relate to doctrine, but solely to the addition of *Filiusque* in the Creed

(809-53). Pagi argues against him (xiii. 455-6). Comp. Mosheim, ii. 167, and Schröckh, xx. 506.

³ Hard. iv. 969-973.

⁴ Leo, Ep. 15 (Patrol. cii.); Anastas. ib. cxxviii. 1237; Pet. Lombard, Sentent. I. xi. 2 (ib. cxcii.); Pagi, xiii. 457. See Hefele, iii. 702-3.

from these to the errors which have lately come before us ; while each question, as it arose, required to be discussed and decided by the lights of Scripture and of the judgments which had been before pronounced. It is not, therefore, the Church that deserves to be blamed, if the opinions against which its solemn condemnations were directed became successively more and more subtle ; and the reader must be content to bear with the writer, if their path should sometimes lie through intricacies which both must feel to be uninviting and wearisome.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ORIENTAL SECTS.

I. It has been mentioned, in the sketch of the Mahometan conquests, that the Arabs took advantage of the enmity between the Catholics and the Jacobites (or Monophysites) to enlist the depressed and persecuted sectaries on their side.^a For the services thus rendered, the Jacobites were repaid by a superior degree of favour from their new masters when Egypt and Syria had fallen under the rule of the caliphs. Many of those whom the measures of Heraclius had driven to profess Catholicism now returned to the open avowal of their old opinions; and the church further lost, not only by the progress of the sword and doctrines of Islam, but by the defection of many of its own members to the heretical Christianity.

The Jacobites continued to be strong in Egypt, and also in the more westerly countries of Asia, where they were now under the government of a patriarch resident at Amida. But the party had been extirpated in Persia,^b and it made no further progress towards the east.^c

II. The history of the Nestorians during this period was more remarkable. They, like the opposite sect, were at first courted and afterwards favoured by the Mussulmans on account of their hostility to the orthodox church. At their head was a bishop known by the title of Catholic or Patriarch of Babylon; his residence was originally at Seleucia or Ctesiphon,^d but on the foundation of Bagdad by Almansur, in 762, the patriarch removed his seat to that city.^e In the eighth century, the Nestorians got a footing in Egypt;^f and in the east they laboured with great activity to propagate their form of Christianity, without, apparently, any rivalry on the part of the Catholics. Following the course of trade, Nestorian missionaries made their way by sea from India to China, while others penetrated across the deserts to its northern frontier.^g A stone discovered at Si-ngan-foo, in 1625, bears a long inscription, partly Syriac and partly Chinese, recording the names of missionaries who had laboured in China,

^a P. 40.^b See vol. i. p. 538.^c Schröckh, xx. 378.^d From A.D. 498. Wiltseh, i. 216.^e Pagi, xiii. 6; Wiltseh, i. 451.^f Schröckh, xx. 377.^g Mosheim, Hist. Tartarorum Ecclesiastica, 12.

with the history of Christianity in that country from the year 636 to 781. Its fortunes had been varied by success and persecution; but in the eighth century it had usually enjoyed great favour from the emperors, and many churches had been built. With these details the inscription contains a summary of Christian doctrine and practice, in which a tinge of Nestorianism is discernible.^b It would seem that this early Christianity of China fell with the dynasty which had encouraged it; for some missionaries who about the year 980 were sent by the Catholic of Babylon into that country found the churches destroyed, and could only hear of one native who continued to profess their own religion.ⁱ

The patriarch Timothy, who held his office from 777 to 820, reduced the Nestorian metropolitan of Persia to subjection, and was especially active in organizing missions.^k By the preachers whom he sent out, a knowledge of Christianity was spread in Hyrcania, Tartary, Bactria, and other countries of central Asia, where it long retained a hold. Bishops and metropolitans, owing allegiance to the patriarch of Babylon, were established in those vast regions, and with a view to this a singular ritual provision was made by Timothy—that, if no more than two bishops could be procured for the consecration of a brother, the canonical number should be made up by allowing a book of the Gospels to supply the place of the third.^m

III. The tenets and character of the Paulicians have been the subject of controversy, which has been too often largely influenced by the party interests of those who have shared in it. Writers of

^a Mosheim (ib. Append. 4-28) gives a copy of the inscription after Kircher, and M. Pauthier has lately published it in the original languages, with a translation and a fac-simile (*L'Inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou*, Paris, 1858). The genuineness of this record has been disputed, but seems to be now commonly, although not universally, admitted. M. Pauthier, in another pamphlet, has defended it against recent objections (*De l'Authenticité de l'Inscr. Nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, Paris, 1857). As it was through Jesuit missionaries that it became known to Europe, it has been regarded as a fraud of the Society. But it appears that the Jesuits did not see the stone until three years after it had been discovered by some Chinese workmen in digging the foundation of a house, and had been placed in a Chinese temple; that it contains things which

the Jesuits *could* not have forged; that both the Chinese and the Syriac characters agree in form with the alleged date; that its statements fall in with other circumstances which could not have been known to the Jesuits; and that no suspicion of its genuineness has been entertained by native Chinese scholars. Moreover, if the Jesuits had ventured on a forgery, they would have made it more favourable to their own views. As to the fact of Christianity in China, there is sufficient testimony of other kinds. See Mosh. ii. 62, and Hist. Tartar. 9-13; Schröckh, xix. 293-6; Gieseler, I. ii. 437; Gibbon, iv. 378, and Dean Milman's notes.

ⁱ Pauthier, *Authent. de l'Inscr.* 95.

^k Schröckh, xx. 376.

^m Mosh. Hist. Tart. 15; Schröckh, xix. 297; Gibbon, iv. 377; Neander, v. 123.

the Roman Church have professed to discover in the Paulicians the ancestors of the protestant reformers, and have transferred to these the charges of Manichæism which are brought against the ancient sect.^a On the other hand, some protestants have ventured to accept the pedigree, and, with a confidence which equally disdains facts and reason, have asserted that the Paulicians were guiltless of the heresies imputed to them—that they were the maintainers of what such writers suppose to be a purely scriptural Christianity.^c It would be useless to enter here into a discussion of these rival extravagances.

Although it is agreed that the word *Paulician* is a barbarous formation from the name *Paul*, there is a question as to the person from whom the designation was taken. Some trace it to one Paul of Samosata—not the notorious bishop of Antioch, in the third century, but a Manichæan of later, although uncertain, date;^b others to an Armenian who was eminent in the sect about the time of Justinian II.^d But the most probable supposition appears to be that it is derived from the name of the great Apostle, whom the Paulicians affected especially to regard as their master.^e

^a See Rader, in the verses prefixed to his translation of Petr. Siculus; Baron. 810. 7; Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, l. xi. 13, seqq.

^b Some letters by the Rev. G. S. Faber, in vola. xiv.-xv. of the 'British Magazine,' may be mentioned as examples of this class. Neander, not being hampered by the same doctrinal scruples as the English patrons of the sect, is able to take a somewhat bolder view; he traces the Paulicians to his favourite Marcion (see vol. i. p. 59), and acknowledges their Gnosticism and Dualism, while he holds that under these forms they apprehended a spiritual Christianity, derived from St. Paul and St. John! (v. 342). The principal sources of information as to the sect are Photius in the 1st of his four books against the Manichæans, (printed in Wolf's 'Anecdota Græca,' tt. i.-ii. Hamb. 1722, and in the Patrol. Gr. vol. cii.,) and Petrus Siculus, whose tract was published, with a bad Latin version by Rader, a Jesuit, at Ingoldstadt, in 1604, and has been edited, with a new translation, by Gieseler (Göttingen, 1846). In the Patrol. Gr. vol. civ. this tract, with three discourses against the Manichæans by the same author, is reprinted from Mai's collection. The two chief works have much in common, the authors having probably

used the same materials. Some suppose that Photius wrote first, and that his treatise was known to Peter. (See Gieseler, Præf. vi.-viii.; Wolf, Præf. ad Phot.; Mosh. ii. 253, notes; Schröckh, xx. 365; Dowling's Letter to Maitland on the Paulicians, Lond. 1835, p. 32; Gfrörer, ii. 224; but Cardinal Mai and the Editor in the 'Patrologia' (civ. Præf. vi.) think that Photius borrowed from Peter. George, who styles himself "The Sinner" (Hamartolus), a Greek monk of the 9th century, gives an account of the Paulicians in the 238th chapter of his Chronicle, and incidentally mentions (sect. 12) that he had elsewhere written διὰ πλάτους against them.

^c See Phot. l. i. c. 2; Pet. Sic. 36-8, ed. Rader; Georg. Hamartolus, ccxxxviii. 1; Cedren. 432.

^d See Phot. i. 18.

^e This is the opinion of Gibbon (v. 274); Döllinger (i. 343); Hallam (M. A. ii. 439); and Neander (v. 340-1). "In an Eastern mind," says Dean Milman, "it is not difficult to suppose a fusion between the impersonated, deified, and oppugnant powers of good and evil, and St. Paul's high moral antagonism of sin and grace in the soul of man—the in-born and hereditary evil, and the infused and imparted righteousness" (iv. 103).

Gnosticism, banished from other parts of the empire, had taken refuge in the countries bordering on the Euphrates, where, in course of time, the remnants of its various parties had come to be confounded under the general name of Manichæans.^a In this region, at the village of Mananalis, near Samosata, lived about the year 653 one Constantine, who is described as descended from a Manichæan family.^b A deacon, who was returning from captivity among the Saracens, became his guest, and, in acknowledgment of his hospitality, left with him a manuscript containing the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles. Constantine read these, applying the principles of his old belief to the interpretation of them; and the result was, that he renounced some of the grosser absurdities in which he had been trained, burnt the heretical books which it was a capital crime to possess, and put forth a system which, by means of allegorical and other evasions, he professed to reconcile with the letter of the New Testament, while in reality it was mainly derived from the doctrines of his hereditary sect.^c Although he is usually styled a Manichæan, it would appear that the term is not to be strictly understood. His opinions were probably more akin to Marcionism, which is known to have been strong in the region of the Euphrates two hundred years earlier;^d and his followers freely anathematised Manes, among other heresiarchs.^e

Constantine styled himself Silvanus, and the leaders who succeeded him assumed the names of Titus, Epaphroditus, Timothy, and others of St. Paul's companions.^f In like manner they affected to transfer to the chief communities of their sect the names of churches in which the apostle and his associates had laboured.^g The Paulicians acknowledged St. Paul's epistles, with those of St. James, St. John, St. Jude, and the Acts. They also originally admitted the four Gospels, although it would seem that they

Gieseler (II. i. 15) says that, when the party had styled itself after the apostle, its enemies referred the name to one of the later Pauls as its founder. Mr. Dowling, on the contrary, thinks that it first got its name from one of the others, and then affected to explain it by a reference to St. Paul. He admits that there is no real connexion with the Samosatene, and would therefore derive the name from the Armenian Paul. Guericke (ii. 83) well remarks that, when the designation after the apostle had been adopted, the frequent recurrence of the name Paul among the sectaries is easily understood. See too

Gfrörer. ii. 201.

^a Gibbon, v. 273.

^b Pet. Sic. 40-2; Pagi, xi. 459.

^c Pet. Sic. 40-2; Phot. i. 3, 16; G.

Hamart. i. c. 2, 12.

^d See vol. i. p. 443; Mosh. ii. 251; Schröckh, xx. 370; Neand. v. 337; Gieseler, II. i. 14.

^e Phot. i. 4, 16; Pet. Sic. 62.

^f Phot. i. 4; G. Hamart. 3. It is said that Constantine pretended to be the same with St. Paul's Silvanus (Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 44); but this is unlikely.

^g Phot. i. 5.

afterwards rested exclusively on those of St. Luke and St. John, if they did not absolutely reject the others.^b They rejected the Old Testament, and they especially denounced St. Peter, as a betrayer of his Lord and of the truth; nor was their enmity without reason, says Peter of Sicily, since that apostle had prophesied against their misuse of St. Paul.^c

The Paulicians held that matter was eternal; that there were two gods—the one, generated of darkness and fire, the creator and lord of the present world, the God of the Old Testament and of the Church; the other, the Supreme, the object of their own worship, the God of the spiritual world which is to come.^d They held that the soul of man was of heavenly origin, imprisoned in a material body.^e They not only refused to the Blessed Virgin the excessive honours which the Catholics had gradually bestowed on her, but are said to have altogether disparaged her; they denied her perpetual virginity, while they maintained that our Lord did not really take of her substance, but brought his body from heaven, and that his birth was only in appearance.^f They objected to the order of presbyters, because the Jewish presbyters or elders had opposed the Christ;^g their own teachers were not distinguished by any special character, dress, manner of life, or privileges. Of these teachers several grades are mentioned, but they did not form a permanent hierarchy; thus, when the “companions in travel,”^h who had been associated with the last great master of the sect, died out, the “notaries,” whose business it was to copy the writings which were acknowledged as authoritative, became its chief instructors.ⁱ The Paulicians revered Constantine and three others of their leaders as apostles or prophets.^k They rejected the sacraments: Christ, they said, did not give his disciples bread and wine, but by the names of these elements He signified his own sustaining words;^m and the true baptism is He

^b See Pet. Sic. 18, with the marginal note by a later writer; Phot. i. 8; Neand. v. 370.

^c (2 Pet. iii. 16). Pet. Sic. 20; Phot. i. 8; G. Hamart. 9. The charge of betraying the truth had reference to Gal. ii. 11, seqq.

^d Pet. Sic. 16-8; Phot. i. 6.

^e Neand. v. 358-9; Döllinger, i. 345.

^f Phot. i. 7; Pet. Sic. 10; G. Hamart. 6.

^g Phot. i. 9.

^h *συνέκδημοι*—from Acts xix. 29; 2 Cor. viii. 19.

ⁱ Pet. Sic. 72; G. Hamart. 11; Neand. v. 365; Dowling, 19.

^k Pet. Sic. 42.

^m G. Hamart. 7; *τὴν θέλαν καὶ φρικτὴν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος μετέληψιν ἀποτρέψαι* (Pet. Sic. 18). Rader renders the last words *conversionem negent*—as if a denial of transubstantiation were regarded by the Greek Church of the ninth century as a mark of heresy. But the real meaning—that the Paulicians refused to partake of the sacramental elements (“*perceptionem recusant*”—Gieseler)—is clear from another passage (p. 56), where a member of the sect is asked *διὰ τί οὐ μεταλαμβάνεις*. The Jesuit editor's mistake

himself, who declared Himself to be the "living water."^a They spat on the cross and attacked the catholics on account of their reverence for images, while they themselves paid reverence to the book of the Gospels, as containing the words of Christ.^o They allowed themselves a great license of equivocation as to their opinions; and in the same spirit they did not scruple to attend the catholic worship or sacraments.^p They claimed for themselves exclusively the title of Christians, while they styled the Catholics *Romans*, as having merely a political religion.^q Their own places of worship were not styled temples or churches, but *proseuchæ*—houses of prayer.^r By the modern patrons of the Paulicians, their opposition in some of these points to the current errors or superstitions of the time has been traced to an unbiassed study of Holy Scripture; but it may be more truly explained by their connexion with older sects, which had become separate before the corruptions in question were introduced into the Church itself.

Constantine fixed himself at Cibossa, in Armenia, where he presided over his sect for twenty-seven years, and made many converts, both from the church and from the Zoroastrian religion.^s At length the matter was reported to the emperor Constantine Pogonatus, who sent an officer named Symeon to Cibossa, with orders to put the heresiarch to death, and to distribute his followers among the clergy and in monasteries, with a view to their being reclaimed.^t Symeon carried off Constantine and a large body of the sectaries, whom he drew up in a line, and commanded to stone their chief. Instead of obeying, all but one let fall the stones

with which they were armed; but Constantine was

A.D. 684.

killed, like another Goliath (as we are told), by a stone from the hand of a youth—his own adopted son Justus.^u As the sectaries proved obstinate in their errors, Symeon entered into conference with some of them; the effect was, that, being ignorant as to the grounds of his old religion, he became their convert, and, after spending three years at Constantinople in great uneasiness of

is corrected by Mai, *Patrol. Gr. civ.* 1255.

^a G. Hamart. 9. Photius (i. 9) says that they allowed themselves to be baptised by clergy who were captive among them, although they supposed the effects to be profitable only to the body. (Cf. G. Hamart. 14.) Neander (v. 363) gives an improbable explanation of the statement. We may, perhaps, rather understand that in this, as in other things, they showed a pretended conformity to the usages of the church, and mocked at baptism as a

mere cleansing of the flesh. See Cedrenus, 435.

^o Phot. i. 7; G. Hamart. 13. See John of Oznun, patriarch of Armenia, A.D. 718-729, in Neand. v. 345; Giesel. II. i. 13.

^p Phot. i. 6-9; G. Hamart. 10, 14; Cedren. 435.

^q Phot. i. 6; G. Hamart. 6.

^r Phot. i. 9.

^s Pet. Sic. 44.

^t Ib. 49.

^u Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 44.

mind, he fled, leaving all his property behind him, and took up his abode at Cibossa, where, under the name of Titus, he became the successor of Constantine.^a After a time, Justus was struck by the seeming inconsistency of the Paulician doctrines with a text which refers the spiritual as well as the material world to the same one Creator. He proposed the difficulty to Symeon, expressing a fear that they might both have been in error, and might have misled their followers; and, on finding that Symeon would not satisfy him, he went to the bishop of a neighbouring town, Colonia (now Calahissar), and exposed the tenets of the About sect. The bishop reported the case to the emperor, A.D. 690. Justinian II., and, in consequence, Symeon, Justus, and many of their followers, were burnt to death on one large pile.^a

Among those who escaped this fate was an Armenian named Paul,^a who took up his abode near Phanarœa, at a place which is said to have derived its name, Episparis, from the sowing of spiritual tares there by the elder Paul, the Samosatenian.^b The sect revived under the Armenian Paul, but at his death the headship of it was contested by his two sons. Gegnæsius, the elder, to whom his father had given the name of Timothy, A.D. 715. rested his claims on hereditary succession, while the younger, Theodore, relied on an immediate commission from heaven;^c and their dispute reached the ears of Leo the Isaurian, who ordered Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, to examine Gegnæsius. The Paulician was skilful enough to meet A.D. 722. all questions with answers which appeared satisfactory. He anathematised all who denied the orthodox faith, for by that name he secretly intended his own heresy. He anathematised all who refused to worship the cross, for by the cross he meant our Lord himself stretching out his arms in prayer or benediction. He anathematised all who refused worship to the Theotokos, into whom the Saviour entered—understanding under this description the heavenly Jerusalem, into which Christ has entered as the forerunner of his elect. By the Catholic church, he meant his own sect; by baptism, Christ the “living water;” by the body and blood of Christ, the Saviour’s words of instruction: he therefore anathematised all who rejected any of these, and, having thus satisfied Germanus, he was sent home with favourable letters from the emperor.^d

^a Phot. i. 16; Pet. Sic. 46.

^b Coloss. i. 16.

^c Phot. i. 17; Pet. Sic. 46-50.

^d Pet. Sic. 48, says that some derived the name of the sect from this Paul. Mr. Dowling, as has been mentioned

above, agrees with them.

^b G. Hamart. 1 (*ἐπεσπειρεν σιδικαία*, Matt. xiii. 25).

^c Phot. i. 18; Pet. Sic. 48.

^d Phot. i. 18; Pet. Sic. 50.

The abhorrence which the Paulicians professed for images might have been supposed likely to recommend the party to the iconoclastic emperors. But it would seem that these princes rather feared to connect themselves with the disrepute which its other opinions had brought on it ;^a and thus we find that Leo and his son, instead of favouring the Paulicians, transported many of them from Armenia into Thrace.^f After various fortunes, the headship of the sectaries had fallen to one Baanes,^g who is styled “the filthy,”^h and may therefore be probably supposed to have sanctioned some of the immoralities which are too often lightly imputed to all heresiarchs.ⁱ But when the Paulicians had sunk thus low, a reformer appeared in the person of a young man named Sergius.

Sergius was converted to Paulicianism by a female theologian. The historians of the sect relate that this woman, having fixed on him as one whom it was desirable to gain, entered into conversation with him, and, after some compliments on his learning and character, asked him why he did not read the Scriptures. He answered that such studies were not lawful for Christians in general, but only for the clergy—an idea which Chrysostom had strongly opposed,^k but which since his time had become fixed in the popular belief, although without any formal authority from the Church. “It is not as you think,” she rejoined ; “for there is no acceptance of persons with God, since He will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth.” And she went on to tell him that the clergy mutilated and corrupted the word of God, and that such of them as did miracles would be found among those to whom Christ will say in the judgment-day, “I never knew you.” Sergius began to read the Scriptures, and, under the tuition of his instructress, he learnt to apply to the Catholics all that is there said against the fleshly Israel, and to regard the Paulicians as the true spiritual Church of Christ.^m He assumed the name of Tychicus,ⁿ and became a new founder of the sect, which is said to have held his writings in equal veneration with the Scriptures themselves.^o His own morals would seem to have been unimpeachable, since Photius and Peter of Sicily can only charge him with hypocrisy ;^p and he reformed the morality of the Paulicians, in opposition to the principles of Baanes. For thirty-four years—from the reign of Irene to that of Theophilus—Sergius laboured inde-

A.D. 801.

A.D. 801-835.

^a Giesel, II. i. 16.

^f Theophan. 662.

^g Pet. Sic. 54 ; Phot. i. 20.

^h *ὁ βυρρὸς*.

ⁱ The Paulicians are charged by

Photius with promiscuous incest, &c. i. 10.

^k See Giesel, II. i. 15.

^m Phot. i. 20 ; Pet. Sic. 56-8.

ⁿ Pet. Sic. 54.

^o Ib. 18.

^p Ib. 60 ; Phot. i. 21.

fatigably in the cause of Paulicianism. He is said to have indulged in unseemly boasting of his success; to have preferred himself to the earlier teachers of the party; to have styled himself the *resplendent lamp*, the *shining light*, the *life-giving star*, and even the *Paraclete*.¹

The emperor Nicephorus was friendly to the sect, and granted it toleration in Phrygia and Lycaonia. Theophanes tells ^{A.D. 802-} us that he engaged in magical practices with "the ^{811.} Manichæans who are called Paulicians," in order to obtain victory for his arms.² Under Michael Rhangabe severe laws were enacted against these heretics; such of them as should be obstinate in their errors were to be put to death. A party in the church, headed by Theodore the Studite, opposed the infliction ^{A.D. 811-3.} of death as the punishment of heresy;³ but Theophanes argues that this view is absurd, since St. Peter inflicted death on Ananias and Sapphira, and St. Paul says that persons who are guilty of certain sins are worthy of death.⁴ To these scriptural authorities for persecution Peter of Sicily adds another—the command, "Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me."⁵

Leo the Armenian, iconoclast as he was, continued the persecution of the Paulicians. The sectaries, as usually ^{A.D. 813-} happens, were exasperated by such treatment. The ^{820.} deaths of some of their chiefs were avenged by the slaughter of a prefect and a bishop who had been active against them.⁶ They lived in constant hostility to their neighbours, and, as opportunity favoured, they broke out from their bounds, devastated, plundered, and slaughtered; their female captives, it is said, were given up to promiscuous lust; the children were either killed or sold to the Saracens; and Sergius found himself unable to restrain the excesses of his followers.⁷ Sergius himself was slain with his own axe by a man who had found him cutting wood, in the year 835.⁸ His reforms had led to the separation of the sect into two hostile branches; and, after his death, his followers, wishing to clear themselves from the obloquy attached to the Baanites, fell on these, and carried on a bloody contest with them, until a "companion in

¹ Phot. i. 21; Pet. Sic. 62. We have already had instances of assuming this last title, in Montanus, Manes, and Mahomet (i. 74, 134; ii. 36). That Sergius cannot have meant to identify himself with the Holy Spirit appears from the fact that he placed himself lower than St. Paul. Neand. v. 350.

² Theophan. 759; Schröckh, xxiii. 319.

³ Theod. Stud. Ep. ii. 155; Schröckh, xxiii. 319.

⁴ Rom. i. 32; Theophan. 771.

⁵ St. Luke xix. 27; Pet. Sic. 38.

⁶ Pet. Sic. 71; Phot. i. 24.

⁷ Pet. Sic. 62.

⁸ Ib. 71; Phot. i. 24.

travel" of Sergius, named Theodotus, succeeded in recalling both parties to a remembrance of their common faith.^a

After the re-establishment of images, under the regency of Theodora,^b the empress was urged by the victorious party to undertake the suppression of Paulicianism, whether by conversion or by force; and, as the sectaries resisted all attempts which were made to gain them, the fury of persecution was let loose among them. It is said that not less than 100,000 were slain by the sword, beheaded, drowned, or impaled.^c Among the victims was

A.D. 844. the father of Carbeas, captain of the guard to the prefect of the east. Carbeas, on hearing of his parent's fate,

renounced his allegiance to the empire, and, with 5000 companions, sought a refuge among the Saracens. The caliph gladly welcomed the fugitives, and granted them leave to settle within his territory, where, on the same principle by which they had justified their occasional conformity to the church, they adopted externally the rites of Islam.^d Carbeas built or enlarged and fortified several towns, of which Tephrica was the chief and became the headquarters of the sect.^e Paulicians from other quarters flocked to the new home which was opened for them; and the numbers of the party were swelled by refugees who sought an asylum from the imperial laws, and, according to its enemies, by others who found an attraction in the license of morals which it granted to its members.^f The Paulicians harassed their neighbours of the empire by continual aggressions.^g Under the command of Carbeas, their forces, in conjunction with the Saracens, gained a great victory over Michael, the son of Theodora, under the walls of Samosata;^h and in the reign of the emperor Basil, Chrysocheir, the son-in-law of Carbeas,ⁱ advanced through Asia Minor with an

A.D. 867. army made up of Paulicians and Saracens, pillaged An-cyra, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and other cities, gave up images and relics to his followers for profanation, and stabled his horses in the cathedral of Ephesus. Basil was reduced to sue for peace; but Chrysocheir refused it except on the intolerable condition that he should give up the east to "the servants of the Lord."^k The emperor had no choice but to carry on the war; he advanced into the Paulician country, and took some of the towns, but was obliged to relinquish the siege of Tephrica.^m Chrysocheir again invaded

^a Phot. i. 22; Pet. Sic. 71.

^b A.D. 842. Theophan. Contin. iv.

16.

^c Cedren. 541; Schlosser, 557-560.

^d Phot. i. 26.

^e Cedren. 541.

^f Pet. Sic. 73.

^g Cedren. 542.

^h Theophan. Contin. iv. 23; Phot. i.

26; Cedren. 545; Gibbon, v. 279.

ⁱ Phot. i. 28.

^k Gibbon, v. 280.

^m Ibid.

the imperial territory; but his troops were defeated by one of Basil's generals, and he himself, as he fled, was closely followed by one Pylades, who had formerly been his captive. It was in vain that he reminded his pursuer of the kindness with which he had treated him; a wound from the lance of Pylades compelled him to drop from his horse, and, as he lay stunned by the fall, some other Greeks despatched him. His head was carried to the emperor, who fulfilled a vow and gratified his enmity by piercing it with three arrows.^a After the death of Chrysocheir, the Paulicians ceased to be formidable. Tephrica was destroyed, yet a remnant of the sect continued to assert its independence for a century later.^o

In another quarter, the heresy had been kept up by the descendants of those who were transported into Thrace by Constantine Copronymus.^p It was in order to guard the newly-founded church of Bulgaria from the infection of its Thracian neighbours, that Peter of Sicily, about the year 870, addressed to the Archbishop of the Bulgarians the tract which is a chief source of information as to the sect, drawing his materials in part from the observations and inquiries which he had made during a residence of nine months at Tephrica, on a mission for negotiating an exchange of prisoners.^q

^a Const. Porphyrog. Vita Basil. 42-3; Cedren. 570-3.

^o Gibbon, v. 281.

^p Ibid.

^q Pet. Sic. 2, 74. On the date, see Pagi, xv. 230; Gieseler, Præf. in Pet. Sic. iii.-iv.

CHAPTER IX.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *Influence of the Papacy.*

THE preceding chapters have set before us the changes which took place in the position of the patriarchs during the seventh and eighth centuries—the sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem reduced to subjection under the Mahometan rule; the bishops of Constantinople becoming more and more tools and slaves of the imperial court; while in the west the power of the Roman bishop is greatly and rapidly increased. This advance of the papacy was much aided by the circumstance that Rome, although often taken by barbarians, never remained long in their possession.^a It alone retained its ancient character, while in all other quarters the old national distinctions were obliterated by successive invasions. The popes alone kept their ground amid the revolutions of secular powers; and their authority was vastly extended as nation after nation of the barbarian conquerors was brought within the sphere of Christian influence. As in former times the bishop of Rome had been regarded by the orientals as the representative of the whole western church, so he now appeared to the new nations of the north and of the west as the representative and source of Christianity on earth. St. Peter was regarded as holding the keys of heaven, and as personally connected with his successors.^b The popes strengthened their position at once by detaching themselves from the Byzantine empire, and by entering into an alliance with the princes of the west on terms such as the empire had never admitted. They were connected by mutual interest with the Frankish kings, especially with those of the second dynasty, and Charlemagne's conquests gave them a supremacy over the church of northern Italy, which they had in vain desired in the time of the Lombard princes.^c By the donations of Pipin and of Charlemagne they acquired a new secular power; and it would seem to have been in the early part of the ninth century that the forged Donation of Constantine appeared, to assert for them a more venerable claim to a wider jurisdiction, and to incite the Frankish sovereigns to imitate the

^a Guizot, ii. 329.^b Gieseler, II. i. 34.^c Guizot, ii. 332.

bounty of the first Christian emperor.⁴ Constantine, it was said, was baptised by Pope Sylvester, and, at his baptism, received the miraculous cure of a leprosy with which he had been afflicted; whereupon, in consideration of the superiority of ecclesiastical to secular dignity, he relinquished Rome to the pope, conferred on him the right of wearing a golden crown with other insignia of sovereignty, and endowed the apostolic see with Italy and other provinces of the west.⁵ This forgery seemed to justify the Romans in withdrawing themselves from the empire; it seemed to legitimatise the possession of all that the popes had gained, since this was but a part of what was said to have been bestowed on their see by the first Christian emperor; and the fable retained its credit, although not altogether unquestioned,⁶ throughout the middle ages.⁷

The mission of Augustine introduced the papal influence into England, where a new church arose, strongly attached to Rome, and fruitful in missionaries who established the Roman ascendancy

⁴ Thus Adrian styles Charlemagne a "new Constantine," in magnifying the bounty of the elder emperor. *Patrol.* xcvi. 306.

⁵ *Ib.* lxxiv. 523; cf. clxxxvii. 460. The forger of the ninth century here confounded the extent of the empire in the west under Constantine with that to which it had shrunk in his own time. *Giesel.* II. i. 190.

⁶ See the letter of Wetzel (seemingly a follower of Arnold of Brescia) to Frederick Barbarossa, A.D. 1152, in *Patrol.* clxxxix. 1423, D.

⁷ Gregory of Tours, in describing the baptism of Clovis, says, "Procedit novus Constantinus ad lavacrum, deleturus lepræ veteris morbum," &c. (ii. 31), where the leprosy of sin is evidently meant. The story of a bodily disease and cure, however, is found in the 'Acta Sylvestri,' which, although apocryphal, are reckoned by Gelasius I. among approved writings (*Patrol.* cxxvii. 1511; xcvi. 271; lix. 173; cf. *Laur. Vall.* in *Fascic. Rerum*, i. 141; *Nic. Cusan.* *ib.* 158), and are cited by Rattmann, in the ninth century, as the work of the historian Eusebius (*Contra Græcorum Opposita*, iv. 3, *Patrol.* cxxi.). G. Hamartolus has the story of the baptism and cure (c. clxxvi. 1, 2), but the Greek writers know nothing of the Donation. The first distinct mention of it is by Æneas, bishop of Paris, about 868 (*Adv. Græcos*, c. 209; *Patrol.* cxxi.). Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximus at Treves, in the twelfth century, recouils the statements that Constantine

was baptised by Sylvester and that he was baptised by Eusebius (see vol. i. p. 213) by saying that the name *Eusebius* means a *good writer*, and therefore was given to Sylvester as being a "scribe instructed into the kingdom of righteousness"! (*De Laude et Inventione S. Crucis*, iii. 7; *Patrol.* clx.). Another mediæval opinion was that the emperor, after having been baptised into the Church by Sylvester, was re-baptised into heresy by Eusebius (*Anselm. Havelb. Dialog.* iii. 21; *ib.* clxxxviii.). On the revival of a spirit of inquiry, the story of the Donation was attacked by Lorenzo Valla and others (see the *Fasciculus*, i. 128, seqq.), and was soon found to be indefensible. Baronius gives up the document, but attempts to maintain the fact of the Donation. He indulges in ingenious conjectures, such as that Constantine may have made the gift, and Sylvester may have magnanimously refused it; or that the forgery was contrived in the Greek interest, with a view of ascribing the power of the popes to a human origin (324. 118-20). Tillemont (*Emp.* iv. 142) exposes the disingenuousness of Baronius, and now even the Abbé Rohrbacher is ashamed to uphold the fable of the baptism (vi. 284-5). Comp. Crakanthorp's 'Vindication of Constantine,' Lond. 1621; De Marca, iii. 12; Nat. Alex. viii.; *Dissert.* 25; Mosh. ii. 141; Gibbon, iv. 490-1; Schröckh, xix. 595-7; Fabric. *Bibl. Græc.* vi. 697; *Giesel.* II. i. 41, 189-191; Neand. v. 168; Gfrörer, 'Die Karolinger,' i. 76.

in Germany and in Gaul. The English church owned subjection to the pope, not so much on account of his supposed succession to St. Peter, as because, having derived its origin from Rome, it was included in the Roman patriarchate by the same principle which subjected the Abyssinians to the see of Alexandria.^h But as the papal power increased elsewhere, the subjection of England to it became also greater. The Council of Cloveshoo,ⁱ assembled by Ethelbald, king of Mercia, opened with the reading of two letters from Zacharias, "the pontiff and apostolic lord, to be venerated throughout the world;" and it is acknowledged that the recital of these documents, in which he exhorts the English of every degree to reformation, under the threat of an anathema, was in obedience to his "apostolical authority."^k In 785, two Roman legates—the first (as they said) who had been sent into England since the time of Augustine^m—visited this country, and, with a view to the reformation of the church, councils were held in their presence in Mercia and in Northumbria. Offa, king of Mercia, then the most powerful of the English kingdoms, attended the Mercian assembly at Chalchythe.ⁿ In consequence of some offence which he had taken, on political or other grounds, at Janbert, archbishop of Canterbury, he wished that Lichfield should be erected into an

^h Planck, ii. 704, 715. See as to the Abyssinian Church, vol. i. p. 289.

ⁱ This place has been identified with Cliff-at-Hoo, near Rochester (Fuller, i. 152); Shovesham, now Abingdon (Rapin, n. in Fuller; Somner and Gibson, quoted by Wilkins, i. 161; Johnson, i. 292-4); Tewkesbury (Kemble, ii. 191), &c. Mr. Thorpe says that the true date is 742, instead of 747, as usually given (note on Lappenb. tr. i. 225).

^k Wilkins, i. 94; Johnson, i. 243. A letter in which Boniface sent some canons lately passed by a council at Mentz to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, and urged the assembling of a council for reformation of abuses in England (Ep. 63, Patrol. lxxxix.), is supposed to have been a chief cause of the meeting at Cloveshoo (Inett, i. 174; Johnson, i. 241). Much has been made by some protestant controversialists of the fact that, although the German canons were in general adopted at Cloveshoo, one relating to the pope was omitted. But I must agree with Dr. Lingard (Angl.-Sax. Ch., i. Append. G) and Hefele (iii. 531-2), that the estimation in which the pope was held by the English council is sufficiently proved by the preface to its canons, as noted in the text; and also that the

second canon, in which the bishops bind themselves to cultivate peace and charity, "without flattery of any person," is not meant to refer to the pope, but is to be explained by the fact that the assembled prelates were subjects of different sovereigns (i. 390-1). I must, indeed, avow my inability to sympathise with the contentiousness which some respectable Anglican writers think it necessary to display on such points. To mix up the question of our present position as to Rome with inquiries into the history of the Anglo-Saxon church, tends to obscure historical truth, while it is altogether needless and useless for the purposes of controversy. If we believe ourselves able to show that the Roman claims and peculiarities of doctrine are unwarranted by the primitive church, we can surely afford to discuss their growth in a spirit of dispassionate impartiality.

^m Wilkins, i. 146.

ⁿ Bishop Gibson supposes this place to be Kelceth, in Lancashire (Johnson, i. 265). Dr. Lingard suggests Chelsea (Hist. Eng. i. 140-1); Mr. Soames, Chalk, or Challock, which are both in Kent. Ang. Sax. Ch. 107.

archiepiscopal see. Janbert strongly opposed a scheme by which his metropolitan authority was to be limited to the kingdoms of Kent and Sussex; but it is supposed that the legates at Chalchythe favoured the change,^o and it received the sanction of pope Adrian.^p Some years later, however, Kenulph, the second successor of Offa, having annexed Kent to Mercia, and being desirous to conciliate the clergy of his new territory,^q joined with Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury, in a request that Leo III. would again reduce the see of Lichfield to its original condition. Athelard went to Rome in order to press the suit; the pope consented, and with his license the new archbishoprick was abolished by a council held at Cloveshoo in 803.^r

Ina, king of Wessex, in 725^s resigned his crown, and went on pilgrimage to Rome, where he ended his days as a monk; and his example was followed by other Anglo-Saxon sovereigns. It has been said that the tribute of a penny from every hearth in England, afterwards known as *Romescot* or *Peterpence*,^t was first granted by Ina, and was confirmed by Offa in 794.^u But it would seem that the donation of Ina is imaginary, and that in the case of Offa a payment of 365 marks^x towards the lighting of St. Peter's and the relief of pilgrims—an eleemosynary grant from the crown—has been confounded with the *Romescot* of a later time, which was a tax levied on the subject, and was interpreted by the advocates of the papacy as an acknowledgment that this island was held in fee from the successors of St. Peter.^y

II. Relations of Church and State.

(1.) The right of confirming elections to the papacy had been exercised by the Byzantine emperors, either personally or through their representatives, the exarchs, from the reconquest of Italy under Justinian until the iconoclastic disputes led to the omission of the form in the case of Zacharias. The Carolingian emperors assumed the same privilege^z as a part of their sovereignty.^a The story

^o Johnson questions this. i. 283-4.

^p See Johnson, i. 283-7, and the editor's notes; Collier, i. 319; Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 140.

^q Lappenb. i. 233.

^r W. Malmesb. i. 87-9; Wilkins, i. 160-6.

^s Lappenb. i. 261.

^t This name was derived from the circumstance that it was payable at the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* (commonly called Lammas, from the charge "Feed my lambs"). In like manner

money due at the Annunciation was styled "our Lady's rent." Collier, i. 335-6.

^u Baron. 775. 10; Ducange, s. v. "*Denarius S. Petri*;" Fuller, i. 148, 161.

^x "*Mancusæ*." See Ducange, s. v.

^y See W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 109; Inett, i. 220-2; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 282-3; Hist. Eng. i. 142-6, 161; Lappenb. i. 195, 231.

^z See Book IV. c. i.

^a Guizot, ii. 337.

that, during Charlemagne's visit to Rome in 774, Adrian, with a synod of a hundred and fifty-three bishops, bestowed on him and his successors the right of nominating the popes,^b is now rejected,^c and, with other such inventions, is supposed to have originated in later times from the wish of the Roman party to represent the superintendence which the Frank princes exercised over ecclesiastical affairs as derived from the gift of the popes.^d

(2.) In the east, where no political power was attached to the episcopal office, the emperors had not usually interfered in the appointment of bishops, except at Constantinople and other cities in which they themselves resided.^e The second council of Nicæa enacted^f that bishops should be chosen by their episcopal brethren, and that any nomination by princes should be invalid. But in the new states of the west, the position of the bishops as great land-owners, and the political importance which they acquired, occasioned a remarkable mixture of secular and spiritual things. Although it was again and again laid down by Frankish councils that the elections of bishops should be free, without any other condition than the approbation of the sovereign, the usual practice throughout the period appears to have been that bishops were appointed by the crown, whether the nomination were or were not followed by a formal election on the part of the clergy and people.^g In 614 a synod at Paris enacted that a bishop should be appointed without any payment, by the concurrence of the metropolitan and bishops of the province with the clergy and people of the city.^h But Clotaire II., in ratifying the canons, introduced considerable alterations in favour of the royal prerogative; among them, he required that a bishop should be consecrated under a mandate from the crown, and reserved to himself the power of naming a clerk from his household to a vacant see, although he promised in so doing to have regard to the learning and merit of the nominee.ⁱ It has been supposed that Charlemagne, by a capitulary of 803,^k

^b Gratian. Decret. I. lxiii. 22 (Patrol. clxxxvi.).

^c Thomassin. II. ii. 20-5; Pagi, xii. 410-1; n. in Mosheim, ii. 144-5; Schröckh, xix. 599.

^d Giesel. II. i. 40-1.

^e Fleury, Disc. ii. sect. 10; Schröckh, xix. 408.

^f C. 3.

^g Fleury, Disc. ii. sect. 10; Schröckh, xix. 409-410; Planck, ii. 112-8; Rettb. ii. 605-7. Perhaps, as Dom Pitra says (Vie de S. Léger, 154-5), the bishops, while they maintained the theory of election, may have found it practically

a less evil to leave the appointment to the crown than to the rude laity in general.

^h Hard. iii. 551.

ⁱ "Vel certe si de palatio eligitur, per meritum personæ et doctrinæ ordinetur." (Pertz, Leges, i. 14.) Planck (ii. 119) and Rettberg (i. 293) give the interpretation which I have followed; but Thomassin (II. ii. 10. 13; 13. 6) thinks that the words were meant to allow the bishops a power of examining the nominee's qualifications.

^k Hard. iv. 453, c. 2.

professed to restore the ancient usage of election by the clergy and people; but no such enactment was really issued until the reign of Louis the Pious,^m while it is certain that in the appointment of bishops the great emperor practically followed the example of his predecessors, and that he was imitated by his descendants.ⁿ

In Spain, the fourth council of Toledo, in 633, enacted that a bishop should be chosen by the clergy and people of his city, and that the election should be approved by the metropolitan and synod of the province.^o But at the twelfth council of the same place, in 681, the appointment of bishops by the royal authority alone is mentioned as a matter of settled custom. The process by which this change was effected is unknown.^p

In England, although Wihtred, king of Kent, in 696, disclaimed the right of appointing bishops,^q the royal authority influenced their appointment, as they were chosen by the wittenagemote of each state in the presence of the king.^r And here, as in other countries, the influence of the crown gradually became more absolute. From letters written by Alcuin, a century after Wihtred's time, on a vacancy in the archbishoprick of York, it appears that the ancient freedom of election was A.D. 796.

then giving way; that kings assumed an increased control over the choice of bishops, or even disposed of sees by gift.^s In the ninth century, the nomination of bishops had passed into the hands of the sovereign, while a shadow of the earlier system was kept up in a formal election of the person so appointed, and in the publication of his name from the pulpit of the cathedral, to which announcement the people replied by acclamations and wishes of long life to their new pastor.^t

(3.) The Frankish sovereigns, in their continual movements, required a staff of clergy to attend on them for the performance of Divine service. At the head of this body was placed the Archchaplain, whose office became one of great importance. Sometimes

^m Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 817, c. 2. See Retfb. ii. 607.

ⁿ See the Formularies of Marculf, i. 5-7 (Patrol. lxxvii.); Planck, ii. 119; Guizot, ii. 320; Ellendorf, i. 239. There was some difference between Adrian and Charlemagne on the subject of a commissioner being sent to attend the election of an archbishop for Ravenna in 789. But the pope's objection to this went no farther than pointing out that it had not been done on a former occasion; and the tone of his letter, which is very respectful, is greatly mis-

represented by the Centuriators and Baronius, who say "ipsum mendacii arguit et objurgat." See Bouquet, v. 570; Patrol. xcviii. 416-8.

^o C. 19.

^p Conc. Tolet. XII. c. 6. See Thomassin, II. ii. 15; Schröckh, xix. 414.

^q Wilkins, i. 57.

^r Kemble, ii. 221.

^s Epp. 48-9. See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 92-3; Blackstone, i. 380.

^t Planck, ii. 122; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 24; Lappenb. i. 183; Kemble, ii. 377.

it was filled by a presbyter; sometimes by a bishop, who, in such a case, required a special dispensation for absence from his diocese; but, whether bishop or presbyter, the archchaplain stood next in dignity to the family of the sovereign, and at synods he took precedence even of archbishops. Combining the functions of chancellor with those of chaplain, he acted as a minister of the crown for spiritual affairs; he received reports from the bishops as to the state of their churches, prepared the king's ecclesiastical capitularies and other documents, and conducted his correspondence on matters which concerned the church.¹ Such being his position, it depended on individual character whether the archchaplain should sway the prince in the interest of the hierarchy, or the prince should by means of him obtain a control over the administration of the church.²

(4.) The mixture of clergy and laity in the Frankish councils has been already mentioned.³ The capitularies bear a marked impress of clerical influence;⁴ but it was often possible for sovereigns, by the help of their lay vassals, to overrule the proposals of the bishops as to ecclesiastical affairs, or to carry measures notwithstanding their opposition.⁵ Sometimes, however, the clergy were assembled by themselves, as at Verne or Verneuil, in 755, where abbots for the first time appear as members of a Frankish council.⁶

In Spain, from the time when king Recared and his nobles appeared at Toledo, for the purpose of arranging the change from Arianism to the catholic faith (A.D. 589), mixed councils of clergy and laity, summoned by the sovereign, were frequently held.⁷ At the earlier sessions of these, from the seventeenth council of Toledo, in 694, the affairs of the church were first discussed by the bishops and abbots, without the presence of the laity; but on the fourth day, the nobles, the judges, and others, were called in to take a part in their deliberations.⁸

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the kings and other laymen attended ecclesiastical synods, while the bishops sat in the wittenagemotes, or national assemblies. The part which the laity took, however,

¹ Adalhard. de Ordine Palatii, ap. Hinemar. t. ii. 206-8; Thomass. I. ii. 110; Pagi, xiii. 169; Planck, ii. 150; Luden, v. 152-3; Ducange, s. voc. *Capellanus*, where a list of the archchaplains is given.

² Planck, ii. 149-152; Guizot, ii. 32.

³ See vol. i. 556; vol. ii.

⁴ Sismondi, ii. 176-8; Guizot, ii. 226-7.

⁵ Planck, ii. 148.

⁶ Retzb. ii. 626.

⁷ Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 589, c. 4; Lembke, i. 85.

⁸ Conc. Tolet. XVII. c. 1; Schröckh. xix. 462; Planck, ii. 144; Gibbon, iii. 420-2. On the clerical influence traceable in the ancient Spanish laws, see Guizot, i. 488.

in councils, did not extend to matters purely spiritual, although it was for the wittenagemote to confirm, by the authority of law, the decisions of the clergy in such matters.^e Bishops took precedence of the lay nobility; and sometimes the archbishops signed the acts of synods before the king himself, as was the case at Chalchythe in 785.^f

(5.) The claims of the ecclesiastical and secular judicatures in France were variously settled by successive enactments. It may be said in general, that, while the clergy were not amenable to secular judgment in questions between members of their own order, or in the case of ecclesiastical offences, the trial of questions between clerks and laymen belonged to a mixed tribunal of lay and spiritual judges.^g Priests and deacons were in no case to be tried except with the bishop's knowledge or co-operation; and in important criminal charges, this privilege was extended to the lower clergy.^h The principle of mixed tribunals was approved by Charlemagne;ⁱ and although he seems to have in some of his laws exempted the clergy from all secular judgment in questions which concerned their own persons,^k this exemption was far short of that for which the high hierarchical party contended at a later time. For in cases which related to the possessions of clergymen, the secular judges still had a share;^m the right of judicature was not regarded as inherent in the episcopal office, but as granted, and therefore revocable, by the sovereign, so that in the ninth century bishops are threatened with the loss of it if they neglect to exercise it rightly;ⁿ and from metropolitans, as from secular judges, the appeal lay to the emperor; beyond whom there was no appeal.^o Among the Franks, as formerly under the Roman empire, there were many canons to prohibit clerks from carrying their grievances to the sovereign, without abiding the judgment of their immediate superiors, or obtaining the leave of these.^p

^e Joyce, *England's Sacred Synods*, 127.

^f Johnson, i. 284; Planck, ii. 146; Soames, 267.

^g Conc. Paris. A.D. 614, c. 4; Edict. Clotar. ap. Hard. iii. 654; Capit. Aquigr. A.D. 789, c. 28; Planck, ii. 162-8; Retib. ii. 640.

^h Pertz, *Leges*, i. 34; Retib. ii. 640-1.

ⁱ Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 30. It is agreed that Charlemagne was not the author of a law ascribed to him, and dated in 810 (Hard. iii. 940-1), renewing the pretended law of Constantine, by which one party in a suit might compel the other to submit to the bishop's

judgment. (See vol. i., p. 297.) By some it is considered a forgery; Gieseler thinks that it may be a genuine *Visigothic* law. See Gies. II. i. 79-80; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i. 508, and *Suppl. Notes*, 183.

^k Capit. A.D. 789, c. 38; Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 12; Giesel. II. i. 77; Michélet, ii. 38.

^m Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 12.

ⁿ Carol. Calv. Capit. A.D. 869, c. 7, *Patrol.* cxxxviii. 733; Planck, ii. 171.

^o Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 6; *De Marca*, IV. vii. 1; Planck, ii. 171, 179, 180, 189; Giesel. II. i. 57, 78.

^p *E. g.* Conc. Paris. A.D. 614, c. 3;

Clotaire II., in his edict of 614, ordered that no such recourse to the king should be allowed, except in order to sue for pardon; but the royal letter of pardon was a protection against all punishment, and the bishops were bound to obey it.^a

In Spain, canons are found which forbid ecclesiastics to judge in cases of blood, or to inflict mutilation of the members.^r

In England, the judgment of clerks was as yet on the same footing with that of the laity.^a But this was before a mixed tribunal—the bishop sitting in the county-court, with the ealdorman or earl, as the priests of the old Saxon heathenism had done.^t The papal legates at the council of Chalchythe objected to this custom, as tending to implicate the bishops too much in worldly affairs.^u Notwithstanding their remonstrance, however, the practical usefulness of the system secured its continuance, until the spiritual jurisdiction was separated from the secular by William the Conqueror, at the instance of his Norman ecclesiastical advisers.^x

III. *The Hierarchy.—Administration of the Church.*

(1.) The metropolitan organisation had originally grown out of an analogy with the civil divisions of the Roman empire. In the Frankish kingdom, where no such division existed, the system fell into decay,^y and, although Boniface, under the authority of Pope Zacharias, and with the countenance of Pipin and Carloman, attempted to restore it, his success was very imperfect.^z Charlemagne, when at Rome in 774, was urged by Adrian to undertake the revival of the metropolitan jurisdiction,^a and established it not only in his original dominions, but in those which he acquired.^b But the new metropolitans had not the same influence as those of earlier times. In the national assemblies the metropolitan met the suffragan bishops as his peers, and a suffragan might by character or ability become more important than his ecclesiastical superior; while the growing connexion between France and Rome, and the increase of the papal power, drew the Frankish clergy to

Conc. Rem. A.D. 625 (or 630), c. 18;
Conc. Cabilon. A.D. 650, c. 15; Conc.
Vern. A.D. 755, c. 18.

^a Hard. iii. 554. Against the construction which would limit the effect of the pardon to civil offences, see Planck, ii. 190-2.

^r Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 31; Conc. Tolet. XI. A.D. 675, c. 6.

^t Planck, ii. 175; Kemble, ii. 437.

^u Lingard, A. S. C. i. 101; Lappenb. 177; Kemble, ii. 385.

^x Conc. Chalch. A.D. 785, c. 10.

^y Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 102; Kemble, ii. 384. See below, Book V. c. v.

^z See vol. i. p. 556.

^a See Zachar. Ep. 8, c. 1 (Patrol. lxxxix.); Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 2; Pagi, xii. 495; Thomass. I. i. 33; Planck, ii. 639-641.

^b Adr. Ep. 55 (Patrol. xevi.)

^c Capit. A.D. 779 (Pertz, Leges, i. 36); Capit. A.D. 789, c. 8; Pagi, xiii. 98.

look beyond their metropolitans to the yet higher authority of the popes.^c

(2.) In the eighth and ninth centuries we find frequent mention of *Chorepiscopi*—a title which in this period has some variety of application. Of those who were subject to the diocesan bishops, some had episcopal consecration, while the greater number were merely presbyters, enjoying a delegated authority in rural places.^d But besides these, there are frequent denunciations of chorepiscopi who were in the habit of wandering about, without any local authority, and of interfering with the rights of the established bishops by conferring orders and performing other episcopal acts.^e The chorepiscopi of this class who disturbed the Frankish church were for the most part from Ireland,^f where the peculiar system of the Church encouraged the multiplication of bishops without local jurisdiction;^g while others may have been consecrated by chorepiscopi who had themselves received consecration as assistants to the diocesan bishops. But even when the original appointment and consecration were regular, chorepiscopi were often disposed to presume beyond their proper function. Charlemagne, in a letter,^h states that the proceedings of these persons had caused great trouble and scandal; that priests, deacons, and subdeacons, who had been ordained by bishops, denied the validity of orders conferred by chorepiscopi; and that Pope Leo had disallowed the acts of these intruders. They are (he continues) not really bishops, since they neither have been consecrated by three bishops, nor possess episcopal titles to sees. Ordination, confirmation, veiling of nuns, consecration of churches and of altars, belong only to diocesan bishops, and not to chorepiscopi or presbyters, who correspond to the seventy disciples, and not to the Apostles. The emperor says that chorepiscopi had been made by bishops in ignorance of ecclesiastical decrees, and from a wish to devolve their own labour on others; and he forbids that any should be made in future.ⁱ But in the following century we again meet with notices of this class—

^c Planck, ii. 649-650.

^d Zachar. Ep. 8, c. 1; Pagi, xiii. 552-3. Comp. vol. i. p. 161.

^e Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 13; Giesel. II. l. 68.

^f Mabill. III. xx.

^g See p. 66. The third council of Chalons, A.D. 813, speaks of "Scots" as ordaining irregularly, and declares such ordination to be void. (c. 43.) A council at Chalchythe, in 816, forbade "Scots" to officiate in English dioceses,

"because we are not certain how or by whom they were ordained." (c. 5.) The real intention of this canon was to check the proceedings of the roving Irish bishops and clergy—not (as has been supposed) to deny the validity of Irish orders. (Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 23.) Johnson wrongly applies it to the Scots of the North. i. 302-3.

^h Hard. iii. 946-950.

ⁱ Ib.; Rettb. ii. 609.

most commonly in the way of censure, or of prohibition from exceeding the limits of their commission.^k

(3.) Towards the end of the eighth century, the office of archdeacon acquired a new character and importance. In earlier times, there had been only one archdeacon in each diocese; but, with a view to a better superintendence of the clergy, the dioceses of the Frankish empire were now divided into archdeaconries,^m in which the archdeacons, although themselves only deacons, had jurisdiction over presbyters, and exercised all the ordinary administration, except such acts as especially belonged to the episcopal order.ⁿ The office became so lucrative that laymen attempted to intrude into it—an abuse which was forbidden by a capitulary of 805,^o and by many canons of later date.^p As the archdeacons were not removable except for some grave offence,^q it was soon found that many of them endeavoured to render themselves independent of their bishops;^r and from canons of the ninth century it would appear that their exactions, and the insolence of their followers, were severely felt by the clergy subject to their jurisdiction.^s

(4.) The archdeaconries of the new organisation were divided into deaneries (*decanie*), each under an archpriest or rural-dean (*archi-presbyter*).^t The clergy of each deanery met on the first of every month,^u for conference on spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs. The conference was followed by a dinner; but complaints soon arose that these entertainments led to excesses, which more than counterbalanced the benefits of the meeting. Hincmar, archbishop

^k *E. g.* Conc. Worm. A.D. 829, c. 6 (Pertz, *Leges*, i.); Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, c. 44. See De Marca, II. 14, who traces their continuance to the circumstance that their ordinations, although prohibited, were not annulled; also Gfrörer, 'Die Karolinger,' i. 258.

^m Planck, ii. 585-7. The arrangement is usually ascribed to Heddo, bishop of Strasburg, who is said to have formed his diocese into seven archdeaconries, with the consent of Pope Adrian, in 774. (Patrol. xcvi. 1243; Planck, ii. 589-590; Giesel, II. i. 67-8.) But Rettberg says that the documents on which this statement rests are spurious. ii. 69.

ⁿ Thomass. II. i. 19, 9; Augusti, xi. 209.

^o C. 15 (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 132.)

^p See Planck, iii. 771-2. Similar canons against the invasion even of parishes by laymen are found under ferovingians. Conc. Rem. A.D.

625, c. 19; Conc. Cabilon. A.D. 650, c. 5.

^q Planck, ii. 591.

^r Ib. 594-5; iii. 769.

^s See Capit. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 7; Conc. Aquisgr. II. A.D. 836, c. 4; Hincmari Capitula, c. 1, A.D. 877 (Opera, i. 738); Planck, iii. 774.

^t Thomass. I. ii. 1, 5; II. i. 35, 3; Planck, ii. 586-7. The council of Pavia, under the emperor Louis II., A.D. 850, orders that archpriests should be everywhere established. Bishops must not object, on the ground that they are themselves equal to the whole care of their dioceses; but the archpriests must be strictly subject to them, and must make reports to them. (c. 13.) This order was renewed in a capitulary of the emperor Lambert, A.D. 898, c. 12; Pertz, *Leges*, i. 565.

^u Hence the meetings were styled *Kalenda*. Ducange, s. v., p. 962.

of Rheims, in his injunctions of 852, found it necessary to denounce the abuse, and to lay down rules for moderation, restricting the allowance of the clergy on such occasions to three cups for each.*

(5.) The bishops were required to visit throughout their dioceses every year.⁷ The expense of entertaining them on their circuits was often complained of by the clergy; with a view to limiting it, the seventh council of Toledo ordered that the bishop should not on such occasions take more than five (or, according to another reading, fifty) horses in his train, and that his stay in each parish should not exceed one day.* But even after this limitation, the expense continued to be heavy, as appears from the list of provisions required by a Lombard capitulary of 855, which includes a hundred loaves, four large swine, a lamb, a pig, fifty pints of wine, and a sufficiency of honey, oil, and wax.* Louis the Pious, in 829, charges his commissioners to inquire whether the bishops in their visitations are burdensome to the clergy.^b A capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 844, denounces the misbehaviour which was common among the attendants of bishops when on visitation, and provides that the clergy of five neighbouring parishes shall combine to supply provisions for the usual hospitality to their diocesan. The priest at whose house the entertainment is held is to contribute in the same proportion as the others, with "perhaps" the addition of firewood and utensils.^c The third council of Valence,

* C. 15 (Opera, i. 714). Compare the statutes of Riculf, bishop of Soissons, forty years later, c. 20 (Patrol. cxxx.).

⁷ Capit. A.D. 769, c. 7; Conc. Arelat. A.D. 813, c. 17; Thomass. III. iii. 6. These visitations were called *Sende*—a word which is usually supposed to be a corruption of *Synodi*. (Giesel. II. i. 73.) But Augusti (ix. 124) and Rettberg (ii. 742) prefer to deduce it from an analogy between the episcopal visitation and that of the *missus* or *Sendgraf*. The articles of inquiry drawn up for bishops by Regino are curious. See Patrol. cxxxi. 187-191.

* Conc. Tolet. VII., A.D. 646, c. 4. The authority of MSS. is in favour of *quingugenarium*, although editors and other writers generally prefer *quinarium*. But if the higher number be too large, the lower seems hardly large enough to be fixed as an extreme. Five hundred years later we find Pope Alexander III. ordering that the archbishop of Sens shall not burden the abbey of St. Germain des Prés by taking more than 40 horses and 44 men on his visitation of it (Ep. 1286, 1439; Patrol. cc.), and re-

proving the archbishop because after this order he had taken 70 men in addition to 40 horses (ib. Ep. 1498). The same pope wrote to the clergy of Berkshire that they were not bound to supply their archdeacon with dogs or hawks, to receive him more than once a year, or on such occasions to furnish him with more than was necessary for a day and a night for himself and a train of 7 horses, 7 "persons," and 7 foot-servants (Ep. 1371.) One of Becket's correspondents says of the bishop of Nevers, "Qui in terra sua *quindecim* esset contentus, apud nos [scil. in Normannia] *triginta sex* equitaturas adducit." (Patrol. cxc. 727.) May not *quindenarium* be possibly the true reading of the Toledo canon?

^a Capit. Ticin. c. 16 (Pertz, Leges, i. 432).

^b Hard. iv. 1282.

^c C. 4. Planck says that by this capitulary the laity might be asked to join in bearing the cost. (ii. 617.) But the real meaning is, that the clergy should take some of the laity with them to the visitation.

in 855, censures an abuse which some bishops had introduced by exacting visitation-dues of their clergy at times when they omitted to visit.^d

(6.) The parochial system was not yet completely organised in the Frankish church; the people in country places were often dependent for divine offices on the clergy of the cathedral city, or on the chaplain of some neighbouring castle.* The division of England into parishes has (as we have already seen) been ascribed to the Greek archbishop, Theodore; but, whatever his share in promoting it may have been, the general establishment of the system appears to have been slowly and gradually effected.^f

(7.) With a view of enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, it was attempted by frequent enactments to bind the clergy by strict local ties. No stranger was to be admitted to officiate without producing letters of license and recommendation from his bishop.^g Fugitive clerks were to be examined and sent home;^h wandering clergy or monks, who disturbed the church by teaching error, or by raising unnecessary questions, were to be apprehended, carried before the metropolitan, and put to suitable penance;ⁱ all the clergy of a diocese were to be subject to the bishop's jurisdiction.^k Presbyters were obliged to remain in the diocese where they were ordained; some councils required a promise that they would do so,^m and Charlemagne even imposed an oath to that effect.ⁿ No bishop was to receive a clerk from another diocese, or to promote him to a higher degree; but, while this was absolutely forbidden in a capitulary for France, the corresponding enactment for Lombardy allows it with the consent of the bishop to whose diocese the clerk had belonged.^o And it is evident, from facts which continually meet us in history and biography, that with such consent it was not unusual for clergymen to pass from one diocese, or even from one kingdom, to another.

(8.) During the earlier ages, ordination had not been conferred without a *title* (i. e. without assigning a particular sphere of labour), except in rare and extraordinary instances, such as that of St.

^d C. 22.

^e Milman, ii. 232.

^f See p. 73; Collier, i. 540-6; Bing-ham, IX. viii. 4; Blackstone, i. 99-100; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 156-7.

^g Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 789, c. 3; Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 28; Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 13.

^h Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 31.

ⁱ Conc. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 21.

^k Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, cc. 8, 11; Capit. A.D. 779, c. 4; Capit. A.D. 802, c. 12.

^m Conc. Valent. A.D. 524, c. 6; Conc. Hispal. II. A.D. 619, c. 3, and other Spanish councils cited by Planck, ii. 575-6; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 13.

ⁿ Cap. Aquisgr. A.D. 789, c. 24, &c.

^o See Pertz, Leges, i. 36, c. 6, A.D. 779.

Jerome.^p The same rule was now often re-enacted;^q but an exception was necessarily made in the case of missionaries, and was by degrees extended to other cases. Although the ancient canons as to the requisites for ordination were still in force, an important novelty was introduced, after the sixth century, by means of the tonsure. This was regarded as conferring the character of a clerk, without ordination to any particular grade of the ministry; and thus clerks were made in great numbers, without any regard to the canonical conditions or impediments of ordination.^r It may easily be conceived that much disorder was introduced by these "acephalous" (or headless) clerks, who enjoyed the immunities of the clerical state without being bound by its obligations.^s

(9.) The example of the royal household in France induced persons of rank to establish domestic chaplains.^t These were often disposed to set the bishops at defiance; and it appears from the testimony of many councils that the institution had an unfavourable effect on the religion of the people in general. It is represented that the absence of the lord from the parish-church encourages his dependents to absent themselves; that the clergy have no opportunity of enforcing the duties of the rich and powerful;^u and there are frequent complaints of attempts to withdraw the ecclesiastical dues from the bishops and parochial clergy, in order to provide for the chaplains by means of them.^v But in addition to these evils, the chaplains were usually persons of low and disreputable character; they were miserably paid, disrespectfully treated by their employers, and required to perform degrading services.^w The position and habits of chaplains were found to bring discredit on the whole body of the clergy, and hence Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, in the reign of Louis the Pious, felt himself called on to write a treatise in vindication of "the privilege and rights of the priesthood." After showing from Scripture the estimation in which the clergy ought to be held, he proceeds by way of contrast to describe the abuses of his own time. Every person of any pretension to station, he says, then kept a priest of his own—"not to obey him, but continually to exact obedience from him, and that

^p See vol. i. p. 322; Conc. Chalced. A.D. 451, c. 6; Thomass. I. 2, 34.

^q *E. g.* Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 27; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 22.

^r Planck, ii. 76-8; Guizot, ii. 37.

^s The Monk of St. Gall, in his life of Charlemagne (i. 8), styles them *Circumcellions*.

^t Planck, ii. 89; Guizot, ii. 41-2; Neand. v. 150.

^u Capit. Attinac. A.D. 822; Convent. Ticin. 855, c. 3 (Pertz, *Leges*, i.); Conc. Paris. VI. A.D. 829, c. 47.

^v *E. g.* Conv. Ticin. A.D. 855, c. 11.

^w Conc. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 18.

in unlawful as well as in lawful things." The chaplains were employed to do the work of bailiffs, butlers, grooms, or dog-keepers, to wait at table, to lead ladies' horses. As no respectable clergyman would accept such a position, the patrons, whose chief object was to obtain an excuse for deserting the public offices of religion, and emancipating themselves from the control of the clergy, cared nothing how gross the ignorance of their chaplains might be, or how infamous their lives. They usually took one of the serfs on their estates, or procured a person of servile birth for the purpose, and were offended if the bishop hesitated to ordain him as a matter of course.^a Even if we might implicitly believe all that has lately been written against the English domestic chaplains of the seventeenth century,^a it would appear that the class had lost nothing in dignity between the age of Agobard and that of Eachard.

(10.) A new species of ecclesiastical officers arose in Gaul during the sixth and seventh centuries, under the title of *Advocates*, *Defensors*, or *Vicedomini*—a word from which are formed the French *Vidame* and the German *Vitzthum*.^b Except in name, these bore no resemblance to the defensors of the earlier ages;^c the new office grew out of the peculiar circumstances of the Frankish church. The bishops and clergy required the assistance of force to protect them against the outrages of their rough and lawless neighbours. Their landed possessions imposed on them duties which were inconsistent with their spiritual office, or which, at least, might be more conveniently performed by laymen—such as secular judicature, (when it was committed to them), and the leading of the contingents which their estates were required to furnish to the national army.^d Moreover, as, by the Germanic laws, none but freemen, capable of bearing arms, were entitled to appear in law-suits, the clergy (like women, old or infirm persons, and children) required substitutes who might appear for them, and, if necessary, might go through

^a Agob. de Privilegio et Jure Sacerdotii, c. 11. The Council of Worms, in 829, in consequence of the complaints which had been made against bishops for refusing ordination to chaplains, enacts that laymen shall choose fit persons, and that bishops shall not reject candidates without assigning some evident reason. c. 16 (Pertz, Leges, i.)

^b Macaulay, Hist. of England, i. 326-7, ed. 4; Thackeray's 'Esmond.'

^c Schröckh, xxvii. 107.

^d Planck, ii. 453. This writer finds a

sort of parallel in some African canons of the fifth century; but an examination of them will show that he is mistaken. See Conc. Carth. V. A.D. 401, c. 9 (the same with Can. 75 of the African code); Conc. Milcv. II. A.D. 416, c. 16. In the first of these, Planck alters the application by reading *ipsis* (the bishops) for *eis* (the poor). For the early Defensors, see vol. i. p. 553.

^e Ducange, s. vv. *Advocatus*, *Vicedominus*; Planck, ii. 454-9; Hallam, Midd. Ages, i. 143; Giesel. II. i. 76-7.

the ordeal of battle in their behalf.* For such purposes it was necessary to call in the aid of some neighbouring layman, distinguished by influence or by personal prowess; and his services were usually recompensed by the use of lands belonging to the church, and adjacent to his own, in addition to a share of the fines inflicted in his court, and to other pecuniary dues.^f The appointment of an advocate was at first a voluntary act; but Charlemagne ordered that every church should be provided with such a champion. The qualifications for the office were very particularly defined, with a view of guarding against misconduct or encroachment; and the advocates were subject to the inspection of the imperial commissioners.^g The sovereign assigned advocates to churches which were themselves unable to find any. As such grants had the nature of a favour, the advocates thus appointed required higher terms than those whom churches chose for themselves; and from them the others gradually learnt to assume a superiority over the ecclesiastical bodies with which they were connected, to claim dues which absorbed a large portion of the revenues, and to become tyrants instead of protectors,^h both to the clergy and to their tenants. It was not, however, until after the period which we are now surveying that their relation to the church assumed this character.

(11.) Another encroachment on the church arose out of the system of lay patronage, which had become general throughout the west.ⁱ In some cases, the right of presentation to a church expired with the founder, while in others it was continued to his representatives.^k But patrons were not always content with the power of nominating clerks. Sometimes the builder of a church reserved to himself a certain portion of its revenues; sometimes the church was built on speculation—the founder expecting to get more than a reimbursement from the oblations, while he made a composition to pay the incumbent a certain allowance.^l Against this practice canons were directed, which forbade bishops to consecrate churches erected on such conditions;^m but the patron was considered to have a legal interest in the preservation and right disposal of the property belonging to his church.ⁿ Charlemagne

* Planck, ii. 455-7; Rettb. ii. 611-2.

^f Ducange, s. v. *Advocatus*, p. 107; Planck, ii. 459, 463.

^g Capit., A.D. 733, c. 3; A.D. 802, c. 13.

^h Ducange, s. v. *Advoc.* p. 108; Planck, ii. 464-6; Rettb. ii. 616; Floto, 'Hein-

rich IV.,' i. 83.

ⁱ See vol. i. p. 554.

^k Planck, ii. 623-5.

^l Planck, ii. 634; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 192; Rettb. ii. 617.

^m Conc. Bracar. A.D. 572, c. 6.

ⁿ Planck, ii. 627; Rettb. ii. 617.

allows the sale of churches;^p and Louis the Pious enacted that, if the incumbent of a church should have a surplus of income, he should pay "due service" to his landlord.^q The division of inheritance was sometimes carried into the disposal of church-patronage, so that an "altar" might be divided into several portions, belonging to a like number of priests:^r such divisions were forbidden by a capitulary of Louis the German, in 851.^s

A canon of the fourth Council of Toledo provides that, if the founder or benefactor of a church, or his descendants, fall into poverty, an allowance shall be made to them out of its revenues.^t

The question of patronage was a fruitful source of disagreements between bishops and secular lords.^u Canons were passed for the purpose of guarding against abuses on both sides—enacting that no layman should present or eject a clerk without the consent of the bishop; while, on the other hand, the bishop was forbidden to reject a presentee except on good and valid grounds.^x

(12.) In the beginning of the period, we find many denunciations of simony in the writings of Gregory the Great. He complains of this "first of heresies," this "buying and selling of doves in the temple," as prevailing in all quarters—in Gaul, in Germany, in Africa, in Greece and Epirus, in the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem;^y and he continually urges both princes and high ecclesiastics to join with him in labouring to suppress it. But in defiance of all denunciations and penalties, the evil continued, and from age to age there are frequent complaints both against patrons who, for the sake of gifts, nominated worthless persons to ecclesiastical office, and against bishops who corruptly conferred ordination.^z

(13.) The Frankish church continued to increase in wealth. Estates, sometimes of very great extent, were bestowed on it with the declared object of securing for the giver the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul.^a And the inducements to make

^p Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 54 (Patrol. xcvi.).

^q Capit. A.D. 817, c. 10.

^r Thomass. II. i. 31-4.

^s C. 5. Cf. Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 32.

^t Conc. Tolet. IV., A.D. 633, c. 38.

^u Rettb. ii. 618.

^x Capit. A.D. 809 (Pertz, Leges, i. 161); Conc. Arelat. c. 4; Conc. Mogunt. c. 29; Conc. Turon. c. 15 (all in

813); Capit. A.D. 817, c. 9; Thomass. II. i. 31.

^y E. g. Epp. v. 53, 55, 57; vi. 8; ix. 49, 106; xi. 46; xii. 28; xiii. 41; Hom. in Evang. I. iv. 4.

^z E. g. Capit. A.D. 789, c. 21; Conc. Mog. A.D. 813, c. 30; Conc. Rem. A.D. 813, c. 21; and some of the canons cited in note above.

^a See Marculf's Formularies, ii. 2, seqq. (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

such donations were increased by the system of *precarious* contracts—so called because the giver, in endowing the church with his lands, *prayed* that the use of them might be allowed him for his lifetime, or perhaps that it might be continued to one or more persons in succession after him.^b Thus many who would have scrupled to deprive themselves of the income arising from an estate, were enabled to perform an act of bounty without expense to themselves, or even to make a profit by it; for the church, in consideration of the reversion assured to itself, in many cases allowed a donor to enjoy not only his own land, but other lands of perhaps much greater value than that which was eventually to pass from his heirs.^c With a view to the limitation of this abuse, it was enacted by the council of Epernay, in 846, that a donor of land should not be allowed to receive more than twice the value of his gift by way of addition; that kings should not sanction precarious contracts except at the request of the church; and that, agreeably to ancient custom, the contract should require renewal every fifth year.^d

(14.) The lands of the church were either cultivated by its serfs for the benefit of the owners, or they were let to tenants, whether free or servile, who paid a fixed proportion of the produce by way of rent.^e In addition to these lands and to the oblations, the ecclesiastical revenues were now swelled by the general imposition of tithes. Under the old Roman system, a tenth of the produce of land was paid by the *coloni* to the state as rent; and when lands were granted on this condition to a corporation, a second tenth—a ninth of the remaining produce—was paid by the tenant to whom it was underlet. These two payments were known by the name of “tenths and ninths” (*decimæ et nonæ*).^f The church, as a large holder of lands under the state, exacted the ninths from its tenants; while sometimes, by special grant, it was excused from the payment of the fiscal tenth, and consequently was entitled to receive tenths as well as ninths for its own benefit.^g

The ecclesiastical or Levitical tithe was a third charge, distinct from these rent-payments.^h The earliest canon which required

^b They were also styled *præstaria*, because the church *lent* the lands on the terms proposed. Rettb. ii. 704. See Marculf, ii. 40, and many forms in the appendix; Thomass. III. i. 8; Guizot, iii. 26. Ducange, s. vv. *Præstaria*, *Precaria*.

^c Planck, ii. 390-4; Rettb. ii. 704-5. See Marculf, ii. 39. The additional grant

was sometimes continued to one or more successors. Ducange, s. v. *Precaria*.

^d C. 22. See Pertz, *Leges*, i. 388, 390.

^e Rettb. ii. 718-720.

^f Rettb. ii. 708-710; Giesel. II. i. 74.

^g Rettb. ii. 627-633, 710, 713.

^h See Giesel. II. i. 74; Döllinger, ii. 32; and Rettb. ii. 711-5, with his cita-

it was passed, by the council of Mâcon, in 585.¹ But it would seem that this canon had little effect, and no attempt to reinforce it was made by the Frankish councils during the remainder of the Merovingian period.^k Pipin for the first time added the authority of the secular power to that of the church for the exaction of tithes;^m but little was done until the reign of Charlemagne, who, by a capitulary of 779, enacted that they should be paid.ⁿ The payment was enforced, not only by excommunication, but by heavy civil penalties, graduated according to the obstinacy of the delinquent;^o and the obligation was extended to the newly-acquired territories beyond the Rhine, where (as we have already seen) it had the effect of exciting a strong prejudice against the Christian faith.^p The council of Frankfort (A.D. 794) represents the opposition to tithes as one of the offences by which a late scarcity had been provoked; devils, it is said, had been seen devouring the hoarded corn of those who refused the church its due, and voices had been heard in the air, uttering reproof of the general sin.^q

The tithe had at first been exacted only for corn. It was then extended to other productions of the soil, such as flax and wine, and in some places to the increase of animals. The enactments of Charlemagne's time usually speak of it as payable on the "whole property;"^r but it was long before the clergy succeeded in establishing a general compliance with their claims in this respect.

The capitulary of 829 forbids the receiver of tithe to give the payers food, or any other consideration which might lead them to suppose that the payment depended on their own will.^s

In England, tithes appear not to have been enforced until about the end of Bede's lifetime.^t But soon after this, they are mentioned in the Excerptions of Egbert, archbishop of York;^u and Boniface, whose exertions contributed to the establishment of the impost among the Franks and their dependents, is a witness for the payment of tithes in his native country.^x

tions from the capitularies of 779, the councils of Frankfort and Mentz, &c.

¹ C. 5. See vol. i. p. 555.

^k As to a council at Rouen, which passed a canon for tithes, and is wrongly referred to this period, see Hefele, iii. 89.

^m Encycl. de Letaniis faciendis, A.D. 765 (Patrol. xvi. 1519); Rettb. ii. 714.

ⁿ C. 7 (Pertz, Leges, i.)

^o Capit. Langob. A.D. 803, c. 19; (ib.); Giesel. II. i. 74.

^p See p. 141.

^q C. 25.

^r E. g. Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 6; Planck, ii. 419-23; Rettb. ii. 716.

^s Cc. 5, 7 (Pertz, Leges, i.)

^t A.D. 730. See Lingard, A. S. C. i. 183.

^u No. 43. Johnson, i. 229 (A.D. 740).

^x Ep. ad Cudbert. (Patrol. lxxxix. 767); Kemble, ii. 480. There has been

(15.) The abuse by which the Frankish princes granted the beneficial use of church-lands to laymen had defied the efforts of Boniface, and continued throughout the reign of Charlemagne. The holders of such benefices^a were now required by canons to pay tenths and ninths to the church, and also to repair, or contribute to repair, the churches which were situated on their lands.² But it would appear that great difficulty was found in enforcing the canons against this powerful class; the council of Tours, in the last year of the reign, states that complaints had often been made to the *missi* of their neglect to pay tenths and ninths, but that such complaints met with no attention.³

(16.) The disposal of the church's income was still in the hands of the bishops; but in the new kingdoms of the West the deacons did not, as such, take the same part in the administration of it by which their order had become so important in the earlier ages.^b The steward (*œconomus*), by whom the bishop was assisted in this part of his administration, might be either a deacon or a priest; his dignity was next to that of the bishop, and he had the guardianship of the see when vacant.^c In some places the division of the funds was *quadripartite*—one portion being assigned to the bishop and his household, one to the rest of the clergy, one to the poor and strangers, and one to the fabric and expenses of the church; in other places, it was *tripartite*—a third to the bishop, one to the clergy, and one to the necessities of the church.^d The tripartite division was known as the Spanish custom; the quadripartite, as the Roman:^e and bishops are found announcing that, although entitled to the third part which was prescribed by the canon of Toledo, they will be content with a quarter, agreeably to the usage of Rome.^f The bishops were sometimes charged by the

much discussion as to a grant by which Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred, in 854-5, bestowed some kind of tenth on the church. (Asser, in Mon. Hist. Brit. 470; Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 855.) This has been described as the first English law for the general payment of tithes (Inett, i. 271-280); but the best authorities consider that it related, not to tithes payable by the king's subjects, but to a tenth part of the crown land in Wessex. See Spelman's Life of Alfred, with Hearne's note, Oxf. 1709, p. 22; Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 175; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 181; Williams, n. in Florent. Wigorn. i. 74.

^a This was the only sense of the word *benefice* then known. Ducange, s. v. *Beneficium*; Fleury, Disc. ii. c. 8. See Guizot, iii. 22.

² Conc. Francf. A.D. 794, cc. 25-6; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 42; Conc. Arel. A.D. 813, c. 25.

³ C. 33.

^b Planck, ii. 445-7. See vol. i. pp. 157, 300.

^c Thomass. III. ii. 8-9.

^d See Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 33; Capit. A.D. 799, c. 13; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 7, etc.; Planck, ii. 240; Rettb. ii. 722. Thomassin mentions other divisions, III. ii. 15-8.

^e See Pope Simplicius, Ep. 3, A.D. 475 (Patrol. lviii.). Archdeacon Hale, in two pamphlets published in 1832-3, has shown reason for believing that these divisions never existed in England.

^f E. g. Heito, of Basel, about A.D. 820, Capit. 15 (Hard. iv. 1243). So the Lombard bishops at Pavia, A.D. 856, c.

inferior clergy with taking more than their due proportion, and from the sixth century downwards canons were passed in order to restrain them from doing so.^s Even where the full amount of the clergy's share was fairly paid to them as a body, the allowance of each individual still depended on the will of the bishop, who thus had every clerk at his mercy.^h Where the tithe was paid in kind, it is probable that some composition was agreed on between the local clergy and the bishops, in order to avoid the inconveniences of removing it.^l The council of Worms, in 829, ordered that bishops who had a sufficiency from other property should relinquish their canonical share of the tithes for the uses of the church and of the poor.^k

Capitularies were often passed to prevent the payers of tithes from taking the disposal of them into their own hands, instead of leaving it to the bishops; and from transferring the payment from the church to which it rightfully belonged, to some other, which private reasons might lead them to prefer. In such cases, the *missi* were to take care that proper restitution should be made.^m

There is some inconsistency in the enactments of Spanish councils as to the dues which should be paid to the bishops. The second council of Braga, in 572, forbids them to take the third part of the oblations, and instead of it allows them only a yearly payment of two *solidi* from each parish.ⁿ The fourth council of Toledo, held in 633, under a different government, in enacting that the bishop should not take more than a third, makes no reference to the canon of Braga. But another council at Toledo, in 646, re-enacts that canon; and one yet later, in 655, reverts to the system of allowing the bishop a third.^o The exaction of two *solidi* afterwards found its way into France; but there, in course of time, the bishops, instead of acknowledging it as a substitute for the third part, required it as an additional due, under the name of *Cathedraticum*.^p

The burdens imposed on the clergy by the expenses of the

15 (Pertz, Leges, i.). Such passages seem to refute the opinion quoted from Fra Paolo by Archd. Hale (i. 21), that the tripartite and quadripartite divisions did no more than prescribe the appropriation of portions to certain uses, without requiring that the portions should be equal.

^s Conc. Carpentorat. A.D. 527 (Patrol. lxxxiv. 289), and the Spanish councils cited below. See Planck, ii. 601-2.

^h Planck, ii. 598-600.

^l lb. 610. Theodulf, bishop of Or-

leans, A.D. 797, forbids the storing of hay or other crops in churches, c. 8 (Hard. iv. 914).

^k C. 5 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

^m E. g. Capit. A.D. 828, c. 6; Capit. Ticin. A.D. 850, c. 17.

ⁿ C. 2.

^o Planck, ii. 607-613.

^p Capit. Tolos. A.D. 844, c. 2. It is here prescribed as a substitute for certain payments in kind. Cf. Ducange, s. v. *Cathedraticum*; Planck, ii. 617.

bishop's visitation have already been mentioned.⁴ The new institution of archdeacons, who claimed dues in right of their office, also contributed to impoverish the parochial clergy.⁵

(17.) The estates of the church in France, with the exception of the parish-priest's *mansus* or glebe,⁶ were subject to the payment of all the ordinary taxes, unless exempted by special privilege. The case was very different in England, where church-land was exempt from all but what was styled the "threefold necessity" (*trinoda necessitas*)—the obligation to contribute towards the national forces, the building of fortresses, and the expense of bridges and highways.⁷

(18.) As in earlier ages, canons continued to be passed forbidding the clergy to engage in secular employments.⁸ In England, the mass-priests were required to learn some handicraft, to practise it, and to teach it to their clerks; not, however, with a view to their own gain, but in order that they might avoid the temptations of idleness, and might have the means of relieving the poor.⁹ And similar orders are found in France and elsewhere.⁷

(19.) The high social position of ecclesiastics in the Germanic kingdoms appears from the rates at which their lives were valued. The payment known by the name of *wehr*, an institution common to the whole German race,¹⁰ was originally intended as a composition which should satisfy the relations of a slain person for his life, and should re-establish peace between them and the slayer, so that the nation might not, on account of private enmities, be deprived of the service of its members.¹¹ The principle by which the female relations of the slain man were excluded from any share of this payment—namely that they were not capable of carrying on a feud—might naturally have been considered as extending to the clergy;¹² but when these became a powerful order, the church claimed a *wehr* for their death. In France, the *wehr* of a presbyter was equal to that of a count; the *wehr* of a bishop, to that of a duke.¹³ In England an archbishop was rated in this respect

⁴ P. 197.

⁵ Planck, ii. 617.

⁶ Ib. iii. 445-6. See below, p. 253.

⁷ See Conc. Berghamst. A.D. 696, in Wilkins, i. 50; Ethelbald, A.D. 742, ib. 86; Kemble, ii. 436.

⁸ E. g. Conc. Forojul. c. 5 (Hard. iv. 858); Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 14; Conc. Cabil. A.D. 813, c. 12; Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, c. 49.

⁹ Canons of K. Edgar (Thorpe, 396); Lingard, A. S. C. i. 169. The Anglo-Saxons gave the title of *priest* to all the clergy; the presbyters were dis-

tinguished as *mass-priests*. Ib. 147.

¹⁰ Thomass. III. 3, 12.

¹¹ Tacit. Germ. 21. Compare Grote, Hist. of Greece, ii. 131, as to the *πονη* of the Homeric Greeks.

¹² Turner, ii. 507-510; Rettb. i. 643-5; Perry, c. x. Marculf gives the form of an acquittance from the relations of a slain man for the *wehr*, ii. 18 (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

¹³ Rettb. ii. 645.

¹⁴ The *wehr*, as fixed in the additions to the Salic law, A.D. 803, was, for a

as equal to an *atheling*, or prince of the blood; a bishop, to an *ealdorman*, or earl; a mass-priest, to a *thane* or lesser noble.^d

In days when the lay nobles were unable to read or write, the possession of learning marked out ecclesiastics as the only persons qualified for many important offices. The bishops, as men of counsel, got precedence of the counts, the men of the sword.^e It was the policy of Charlemagne to elevate the hierarchy by way of a counterpoise to the power of his rude vassals.^f He orders that all shall pay obedience to the bishops, and declares that those who refuse it shall have no home within the empire, "even if they were his own sons."^g

As the secular advantages of the clerical profession became greater, it was sought by members of the dominant race, who had before left it in the hands of the conquered. The occurrence of barbaric names among the clergy from the seventh century indicates the time when Franks began to enter into ecclesiastical orders;^h and very soon after, the effect of the change is seen in the necessity of laws to restrain the clergy from secular habits and occupations. Bishops led to the field the troops which their lands were required to furnish towards the national army, and not only gave their personal attendance (which was a matter of obligation, and might in some respects have been beneficial), but engaged in bodily service. They were unwilling to admit that their spiritual calling could deprive them of the birthright which belonged to every free Frank, to share in the wars of his people; they wished, too, by proving themselves men of action, to show that their property was not to be invaded with impunity by their lay neighbours.ⁱ Boniface endeavoured to suppress such practices; it was enacted that the clergy should not carry arms; that only so many of them should accompany the army as might be requisite for the duties of chaplains, and that these should confine themselves to their proper office.^k But the reform seems not to have lasted long; Charlemagne renews the orders of his father's time, and exhorts the clergy, instead of bearing arms, to trust in God for protection.^m

sub-deacon, 300 solidi; for a deacon, 400; for a monk, 400; for a priest, 600; for a bishop, 900. Pertz, *Leges*, i. 113; Rettb. i. 645-8.

^d Thorpe, 79; Turner, iii. 233; Kemble, ii. 399, 434.

^e Planck, ii. 87-9.

^f Hallam, *Midd. Ages*, i. 112.

^g Hard. iv. 940.

^h See above, p. 64. Fleury, *Disc.* ii.

ⁱ 8. Such names were soon in a ma-

jority, but in many cases they were adopted by the Romanized Gauls. Rückert, ii. 400.

^j Ducange, s. v. *Hostis*, p. 717; Planck, ii. 222-4.

^k Karlom. Capit. A.D. 742, c. 2; Capit. Vermer. A.D. 753, c. 16.

^m Capit. A.D. 769, c. 1; Capit. A.D. 789, c. 69. From the order of 769,

"ut sacerdotes neque Christianorum neque paganorum sanguinem fundant"

A suspected document represents him as explaining that the object of such enactments was not, as the bishops had supposed, to deprive them of their honours.ⁿ But even during the remaining years of his reign fresh prohibitions were necessary; and when the strong hand of the great emperor was removed, the warlike inclinations of the Frank bishops were displayed in a greater degree than ever.^o In England, also, the clergy were disposed to bear arms, as a right belonging to their free condition, and canons were passed to check the practice.^p

With the carrying of arms other secular habits and amusements are forbidden to the clergy—as the keeping of hounds and hawks,^q games of chance,^r noisy entertainments, worldly songs and instrumental music,^s and the company of minstrels and buffoons.^t

(20.) The most remarkable regulations as to the marriage of the clergy during this period belong to the east—being those of the Trullan Council (A.D. 691?). This council is strongly opposed to second marriages. Presbyters who persist in such marriages are to be deposed; if the second wife be dead, or if they separate from her, they are allowed to hold their rank, but are excluded from priestly functions. If a priest, a deacon, or a subdeacon marry a widow, he shall separate from his wife, shall be suspended, and shall be incapable of higher promotion.^u The council forbids, on pain of deposition, the practice of African and Libyan bishops, who were reported to cohabit with their wives; the wife of a bishop is ordered to separate from him, and to go into a convent.^x It censures the practice of the Armenians, who required that the clergy should be of priestly family, and allowed those who were so born to officiate as singers and readers without receiving the tonsure;^y and it forbids the clergy to marry after their ordination as subdeacons.^z But in its 13th canon, after stating that the Roman

(c. 2) it appears that the clergy had already made a distinction in favour of slaughtering pagans, which was afterwards fully sanctioned in the crusades.

ⁿ The word *honores* is supposed by some to mean *dignities*, the prohibition of arms being regarded as degrading to free-born Franks; others refer it to the *fiats* held by bishops; as if, by being disarmed, they would become unable to defend these (see Schröckh, xix. 449; Neand. v. 140). But both the petition by which Charlemagne is said to have been requested at Worms, in 803, to prevent bishops from taking the field, and the answer here quoted (Hard. iv. 941-3), are omitted by Pertz, and are now regarded as spurious. Rettb. ii. 637.

^o Schröckh, xix. 450; Planck, ii. 225.

^p E. g. Egbert, Excerpt. 155 (Wilkins, i. 112); Lingard, A. S. C. i. 103-5, 170.

^q Capit. A.D. 869, c. 3.

^r Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 14; Canons of K. Edgar, 64 (Thorpe, 401).

^s Conc. Forojul. c. 5 (Hard. iv. 858).

^t Conc. Turon. III. A.D. 813, c. 5; Canons of Edgar, 58 (Thorpe, 401).

^u C. 3.

^x Cc. 12, 48. This is regarded by some as the first ecclesiastical law to such effect, although it had been preceded by the civil law of Justinian (vol. i. p. 552). See Schröckh, xix. 477; Giesel. I. ii. 480.

^y C. 33.

^z C. 6.

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church exacted of persons ordained as presbyters or deacons a promise to abstain from their wives, it expressly sanctions the contrary practice, and grounds its sanction on the "Apostolical Canons." No promise is to be required, no separation is to be enforced; deposition is threatened against any one who shall deprive priests, deacons, or subdeacons of their wives, and against all members of these orders who under pretence of religion shall separate from their partners. And, while the 29th canon allows the clergy of "barbaric" churches to separate, if they think it their duty to do so, and if their wives consent, the permission is declared to be granted only in condescension to the weak scrupulousness^a which may be expected in such churches.

A council which in this and other points directly and avowedly contradicted the principles and usages of Rome was not likely to find favour with the popes, and, as we have seen, it was rejected by Sergius I.^b But the sanction which it gave to the marriage of the clergy has ever since continued to regulate the discipline of the Greek church.

In the west, the period presents us with many enactments against the marriage of the clergy. The Merovingian kings added their authority to confirm the ecclesiastical canons which forbade it.^c But it would seem that, notwithstanding the frequency of the prohibitions, many of the clergy continued to marry—more especially where the authority of the popes was not fully established, as in Lombardy, Spain, and some parts of Gaul and of Germany.^d The see of Chur, in the Grisons, was hereditary in a family of bishops who combined the powers of spiritual and civil government. The wife of one of these, about the middle of the seventh century, in signing documents, styled herself *episcopa* or *antistita Curiensis*; and the marriage of the bishops implies that the clergy were also at liberty to marry.^e

A question put by Augustine to Gregory the Great seems to show that marriage had been usual among the British clergy.^f The law of the Anglo-Saxon church on this subject was the same with that of Rome; but here too there is frequent proof that the clergy continued to enter into the married state; nor was their

^a μικροψυχία.

^b Page 55.

^c Theiner, i. 375.

^d Ib. 434; Rettb. ii. 656-7.

^e Theiner, i. 433-4; Rettb. ii. 134-8. Ducange, with reference to the "bishoppers," erroneously interprets *antistita* by *abbatissa*.

^f "An clerici non continere valentes possint contrahere; et si contraxerint, an debeant ad sæculum redire." (Interrog. 2. ap. Greg. Ep. xi. 64.) Instead of fully answering this question, Gregory gives the direction as to clerks in the lower orders, quoted at p. 18. See Theiner, i. 379.

marriage annulled or the issue of it declared illegitimate until the latter part of the twelfth century.⁵

As in the earlier periods, the canons for the enforcement of celibacy are accompanied by many which indicate the disastrous effects of such measures. There are very frequent enactments as to the entertainment of women in the houses of the clergy. The fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) renews the orders of earlier Spanish councils that the concubines of clerks shall be sold;⁶ the ninth council of the same place (A.D. 655) adds that their children shall be serfs of the church.¹ Some canons forbid the clergy to have as inmates of their houses even those nearest female relatives who had been allowed by the council of Nicæa,⁸—alleging by way of reason that other persons had often been introduced under the pretence of relationship, and that even the laws of nature had been violated. The councils of Charlemagne's reign in general, however, are content with renewing the Nicene rule.^m

(21.) An important attempt at reform was made about the year 760 by the institution of the *canonical* life. The title of canons (*canonici*), which had formerly been given to all the clergy, on account of their being enrolled in the *canon* or register of the church, and entitled to maintenance from its funds,ⁿ was now applied in a new meaning, to designate clergy who lived under a *canon* or rule, resembling that of the monastic communities.^o The idea of such an institution was not new; for in earlier times Eusebius of Vercelli, Hilary of Arles, and the great Augustine had shown the example of living together with their clergy;^p and more recently, a like practice had been usual in missionary bodies, where the bishop lived with his staff of clergy and monks.^q But it was now reduced to a regular system by Chrodegang, a nephew of Pipin, and archbishop of Metz.^r

Chrodegang's scheme was in great measure an adaptation of the

⁵ Lingard, A. S. C. i. 176; Kemble, ii. 443-7; Retzb. ii. 655.

⁶ C. 43. See vol. i. p. 552.

¹ C. 10.

⁸ Conc. Forojul. A.D. 796 (?) c. 4 (Hard. iv. 858); Egbert, Excerpt. 15, A.D. 740 (Wilkins, i.); Theodulphi Capit. 12 (Hard. iv. 905); Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 801, c. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i.). The third council of Braga, A.D. 675, allows none but the mother, unless with a special license, c. 5.

^m E. g. Capit. A.D. 789, c. 3; Capit. A.D. 806, c. 1; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 49. So Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 816, c. 39. But the second council of Aix, A.D. 836,

excludes all women, c. 11.

ⁿ Thomass. I. iii. 9, 1; Ducange; s. v.

^o Schröckh, xx. 80; Retzb. i. 495.

^p Vita Hilar. Arel. 15 (Patrol. I.); Thomass. I. iii. 2.

^q Retzb. ii. 662-4.

^r The see of Metz was only a bishoprick; but Chrodegang, who held it from 742 to 766, and some of his successors, received the title of archbishop, with the pall, from the pope as a personal distinction. (Anastas. in Patrol. lxxxix. 1056; Sigeb. Gemblac. Vita Deodoric Mettens. 10, ap. Pertz, iv.; Retzb. i. 494-5.) There is an imperfect Life of him in Pertz, x.

Benedictine rule to the different circumstances of the clergy. The bishop held a place corresponding to that of the Benedictine abbot, the archdeacon answered to the provost or prior, the seniors had the same oversight in both systems.* Like Benedict, the father of the canonical institute prescribed a common dwelling, an uniform dress, a common table, a common dormitory, unless where the bishop should be pleased to allow an exception.¹ The clergy were required to attend certain services daily.² Every day they were to practise manual labour,³ and were to devote certain portions of their time to study.⁴ The younger members of the society were to show respect to the elders—as by rising and bowing when they passed, by asking their benediction, by standing in their presence, unless permitted to sit down.⁵ All were to confess to the bishop in Lent, and again in autumn; stripes or imprisonment were the penalties for going to any other confessor. All who were not prevented by sin were to communicate every Sunday and on other chief festivals.⁶ Articles of clothing were to be supplied at stated times; the elders were then to give up the clothes which they had worn, and these were to be transferred to the juniors.⁷ All were to take their turns in the services of the house; each was in his order to cook for a week, the archdeacon and the cellarer being the only exceptions.⁸ Laymen were not to be admitted, except for some special purpose, such as that of assisting in the kitchen; and they were to leave the house as soon as their work was done.⁹

The dietary of the canons was more liberal than that prescribed by the Benedictine rule.¹⁰ They were permitted to eat flesh, except during penitential seasons.¹¹ They had an allowance of wine (or of beer, if they preferred it), graduated according to their rank—for priests and deacons, three cups at dinner and two at supper; for subdeacons, two at each meal; for the lower orders, two at dinner and one at supper.¹² There were to be seven tables in the hall,¹³ appropriated respectively to the bishop, to the various orders of canons, to strangers, and to the clergy of the city, who on Sundays and other festivals dined in the college, and partook of the instruction which was given in the chapterhouse.¹⁴ Edifying books were to be read at meals, and, in order that they might be

* Chrodeg. Regula (ap. Hard. iv. 1181 115. seqq.), c. 35.

¹ Cc. 3-4.

² C. 9.

³ C. 2.

⁴ C. 29.

⁵ See Conc. Aquagr. A.D. 816. l. i. c.

⁶ Cc. 5-7.

⁷ C. 8.

⁸ C. 14.

⁹ C. 3.

¹⁰ C. 22.

¹¹ C. 20.

¹² C. 8. The *capitulum*, or chapterhouse, was so called because among the Benedictines a chapter of their founder's rule was there read every day. Ducange, s. v.; Walter, 308.

heard, silence was to be kept, "because it is necessary that, when one taketh his bodily food, then also the soul should be refreshed with spiritual food."^k

The most important difference from the Benedictine rule was, that the canons were allowed to enjoy individual property—whether that which they had before entering into the society, or such fees and presents as they might receive for the performance of religious offices. They were, however, obliged at their death to leave all to the brethren.^m

From Metz the rule of Chrodegang soon made its way to other cities.ⁿ The number of its chapters was increased by additions from 34 to 86.^o Charlemagne even wished to reduce the whole of the clergy to this system;^p and, although the attempt failed, and the great majority of the clergy continued to live as seculars,^q many colleges of canons were formed, under the government of abbots, in addition to the cathedral bodies for which the scheme had originally been intended.^r The rule was sanctioned for general use by a great council at Aix-la-Chapelle under Louis the Pious, in 816;^s and by the middle of the ninth century it was established in almost all the cathedrals of France, Germany, and Italy, and had also been adopted in England.^t The clergy found their account in the apparent strictness of the new system, as a means of recovering much of that popular admiration which the monks had long enjoyed to the prejudice of the hierarchical orders.^u In consequence of this strictness, donations were largely bestowed on the canonical societies. The cathedral chapters became wealthy and powerful, and soon began to assert a claim to act as the bishop's advisers, and to share in the administration of the diocese.^x

IV. *Monasticism.*

During these centuries the monks played an important part in Western Christendom. The missions to the Germanic nations

^k C. 21.

^m Cc. 31-2.

ⁿ Planck, ii. 558-60.

^o Both forms are given by Hardouin, iv. 1181, seqq.; and in the *Patrologia*, lxxxix.

^p Capit. Langob. A.D. 782, c. 2; Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 789, c. 72; Capit. A.D. 805, c. 8.

^q Milman, ii. 229.

^r Thomass. I. iii. 9, 7; Rettb. ii. 667.

^s The council also made other regulations for canons. Lib. i. cc. 115, seqq. On the relations of Chrodegang's

rule to that of the Aix council, see He-fele, iv. 16. Gerhoh of Reichersperg, a severe hierarchist of the twelfth century, reflects severely on the Aix rule as a mongrel production, enacted by secular authority alone, without papal sanction. In Psalm. lxiv. cc. 123, seqq.; De Aedif. Dei, 3, &c. (*Patrol.* cxciv.)

^t Planck, ii. 560; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 163.

^u Planck, ii. 562-4; Guizot, ii. 313-5.

^x Planck, ii. 632.

were chiefly their work; they planted colonies in lonely places, where towns soon grew up, as at Fulda, St. Gall, Eichstedt, and Fritzlar; and with the knowledge of religion, they spread that of agriculture and civilisation among the people.⁷ Through the employment of monks in missionary labour, ordination was more largely introduced into their ranks, as a necessary qualification for missionary duties.⁸ In some cases, sees were usually filled with monks from certain abbeys—an arrangement the more natural because learning was chiefly cultivated in the monastic societies. Thus Strasburg received its bishops from Münster, Spire from Weissenburg, Constance from Reichenau or St. Gall.⁹

The reputation of sanctity continued to wait on the monks. The term *religion*, which had been specially applied to the monastic profession by a council at Orleans as early as 549,^b became more and more restricted to it.^c Entrance on the monastic state was regarded as a second baptism. Theodore of Canterbury curiously carries out the idea by ordering that the novice shall for seven days have his head covered with the cowl, as the head of the newly-baptised was covered with the chrism or veil;^d and a like order, although with an abridgment of the time to three days, was made under Louis the Pious in 817.^e Persons of high rank flocked into the cloisters; it was no unusual thing even for kings and queens to resign their royalty and assume the monastic habit.^f

During the earlier part of the period there was a considerable variety of rules. That of St. Columban for a time appeared to rival the Benedictine code in popularity. It became not uncommon to combine the two;^g but by degrees the rule of St. Benedict triumphed, as being the more practically sensible, the less rigorous, and the more elastic.^h With slight modifications in particular cases, it was commonly adopted in France, where a great excitement in its favour was produced by the translation of the founder's

⁷ Schröckh, xx. 16; Planck, ii. 482. The civilising agency of the monks is eloquently described in M. de Montalembert's work.

⁸ Schröckh, xx. 5-7; Planck, ii. 472.

⁹ Planck, ii. 470, 520.

^b C. 19. In Salvian, the term *religiosi* includes clergy as well as monks (Baluz. in Salv. Patol. liii. 31, 86, 209). The council of Epaone, A.D. 517, uses the word *religio* to signify the profession of celibacy (c. 19: see Hefele, ii. 666). It seems, however, to have the monastic sense in Eucherius, who says, "unus in religionis, alius in sacerdotii nomen ascendit" (ad Valerianum, Patol. i.

719: cf. Montalembert, i. 142), although Eucherius is supposed to have died not later than 450.

^c Schröckh, xx. 6.

^d Thorpe, 307.

^e Capit. Aquisgr. c. 35.

^f See a list in Schröckh, xx. 10-1. Spanish councils order that the widows of kings shall not remarry, and shall retire into a nunnery. Conc. Tolet. XIII. A.D. 685, c. 5; Conc. Cesarang. III. A.D. 691, c. 5.

^g Nat. Alex. x. 177; Mabill. V. xli., lxxxiv., seqq.; Montalembert, ii. 499.

^h Thomass. I. iii. 24-5; D'Achery, n. in Lanfranc. Ep. 32 (Patol. cl.); Rettb. ii. 679-682.

relics to Fleury in 750.¹ In England, too, where it was introduced by Wilfrid, it soon became general, although not without some mixture of the old national usages.^k But the Spanish monasteries continued until the ninth century to be governed by rules which had been compiled, partly from eastern sources, by Isidore of Seville, Fructuosus of Braga, and other native bishops.^m

The monasteries in general continued to be subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesan bishops;ⁿ but exemptions, of which we have already seen traces in the sixth century,^o now became more common, and the authority of Gregory the Great had an important share in advancing the practice.^p It would appear, however, that the reason of such exemptions in this period is not to be sought in any ambition or assumption on the part of the monks, but in the oppressive conduct of bishops.^q These from the seventh century began to claim a share in the gifts bestowed on monasteries. They exacted unreasonable payments from the monks for the dedication of their churches, for the consecration of chrism, for ordaining their clergy, and installing their abbots. A large part of the revenues was absorbed by the expense of visitations; and, in addition to this, the bishops extorted heavy fees under the names of *cathedraticum* and the like.^r Where the choice of an abbot belonged to the monks, the bishops often endeavoured to wrest it from them, and exercised it without any regard to the welfare of the house, or to the pretensions of its more eminent members, who might have reasonably expected to succeed to the dignity.^s The grossness of the tyranny practised by some prelates may be inferred from the fact that the monastic bodies often appealed against it to synods, and that these, although composed

¹ Adrevald. de Transl. et Miraculis S. Bened. (Patrol. cxxiv.); Schröckh, xx. 15; Planck, ii. 488. Charlemagne, in his capitulary of 811, asks, "Utrum aliqui monachi esse possint præter eos qui regulam S. Benedicti observant. Inquirendum etiam, si in Gallia monachi fuissent priusquam traditio regulæ S. Benedicti in has parochias pervenisset" (Pertz, Leges, i. 166, c. 11); and in another paper, "Qua regula monachi vixissent in Gallia, priusquam regula S. Benedicti in ea tradita fuisset, cum legamus S. Martinum et monachum fuisse et sub se monachos habuisse, qui multo ante S. Benedicto [sic] fuit" (ib. 168, c. 12). These questions prove that in France the systems of the earlier monachism had been superseded by the Benedictine, but the object of them is matter of conjecture.

^k Lingard, A. S. C. i. 205-6.

^m Schröckh, xx. 19-35. Isidore is in the Patrol. vol. lxxxiii., Fructuosus in vol. lxxxvii. Valerius, an abbot in the latter part of the seventh century, gives a very unfavourable account of Spanish monachism. ib. 437.

ⁿ Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 802, c. 15; Thomass. I. iii. 27.

^o Vol. i., p. 559.

^p See Giesel. I. ii. 426.

^q See *e. g.* the behaviour of the bishop Sidonius towards the monks of St. Gall: (Ratpert. de Casibus S. Galli, 2, Pertz, ii.; Baron. 759. 9-10); and the privilege granted by Pope Adeodatus to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours. Patrol. lxxxvii. 1143.

^r Planck, ii. 502-3; Guizot, ii. 92-3.

^s Planck, ii. 503; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 209.

of bishops, felt themselves obliged to condemn it in strong terms, and to forbid its continuance.⁶ In some cases during the eighth century, it was provided that, if the diocesan bishop would not perform his functions with respect to a monastery on reasonable terms, the abbot might apply to another.^a On the whole, it may be said, that the exemptions of this period were not sought for the sake of emancipation from the rightful authority of the bishops, but from their rapacity. The bishop still retained his general supervision of religion and morals in the exempt monasteries; he was even entitled to inquire into the administration of the temporalities, while he was restrained from acts of plunder and oppression.⁷

When some monasteries had obtained such privileges, it became usual with founders to insist that those which they established should stand on a level with others in this respect.⁷ There were, too, certain monasteries which were styled royal—either from having been founded by princes, or from having obtained their special protection; and these were exempt from all jurisdiction except that of the sovereign, which was exercised through the *missi* and the bishops.⁸ Some, of more than ordinary dignity, had bishops of their own, resident within their walls, as was the case at St. Denys.^a And in addition to these, it appears that the popes had already commenced a practice of granting exemption from all authority but their own.^b The first instance is commonly said to have been a grant from Zacharias to the abbey of Fulda; but the genuineness of the document is much questioned.^c If genuine, it was granted at the request of Boniface himself, and therefore not with an intention to injure the rights of the diocesan.^d But when the archbishoprick and the abbacy which had been united in the Apostle of Germany were divided, the privileges conferred on Fulda, and the renown which it acquired as the resting-place of his remains, excited the jealousy of Lull, his successor in the see of Mentz. The archbishop complained that the exemption wrongfully interfered with his jurisdiction. He is said to have persecuted the abbot, Sturm, by unscrupulous means

⁶ *E. g.* Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 51 (which says that bishops treat their monks like slaves); Conc. Tol. IX. A.D. 655, c. 2.

^a Planck, ii. 675-6.

⁷ Thomass. I. ii. 28. 5; De Marca, III. xv. 6; Planck, ii. 505-8, 524-9, 539, 540; Rettb. ii. 672-3.

⁷ Planck, ii. 510.

^a Ducange, s. vv. *Monasteria Regalia*;

Thomass. I. iii. 35; Planck, ii. 511-2; Rettb. ii. 669.

^b Mabill. III. xx. See Patrol. lxxxix. 1015; Adrian. I. Ep. 53 (ib. xvi.); Ducange, s. v. *Episcopus*, p. 62.

^c Planck, ii. 529-35.

^d Rettb. ii. 677; see p. 111. Such exemptions of earlier date are undoubtedly forgeries.

^d Planck, ii. 536-9.

—even inducing Pipin, by a charge of treason, to banish him for two years; and the enmity between the two continued to the end of the abbot's life, so that, on his deathbed, in declaring his forgiveness of all men, he thought it necessary to mention Lull by name, as being the person who most especially needed it.^o

Exemptions existed also in the patriarchate of Constantinople, where some monasteries were discharged from the bishop's authority and subject to the metropolitan, while others were subject to the patriarch only. In token of these privileges, the metropolitan or patriarchal crosier was erected over the altar in the chapel of the monastery.^f

The second council of Nicæa allowed abbots, if they were presbyters, to ordain the lower clergy of their monastery.^g The rule was adopted in the west, and from this and other circumstances, it came to pass that the inmates of a monastery, with very few exceptions, belonged to some grade of the hierarchy.^h

The age of admission to the monastic communities was variously fixed. The Trullan council lays down that it ought not to be under ten.ⁱ Theodore of Canterbury names fifteen as the age for monks, and sixteen or seventeen for nuns.^k The capitularies of 789 re-enact the old African canons which forbade the reception of women before the age of twenty-five, unless for some special reason.^m But, besides those who took the vows on themselves, children might be devoted by their parents to the monastic state; and in this case, as in the other, there was no release from its obligations.ⁿ Charlemagne, however, endeavoured to put some limit to the practice, by ordering that, "saving the authority of the canons," girls should not be veiled until they were old enough to understand their engagements.^o

Many orders are found against the admission of serfs into monasteries without the consent of their masters, and of freemen without license from the sovereign. It was not unusual to make a false profession of withdrawing from the world, for the sake of escaping from military service. In order to check this abuse, Charlemagne orders, in 805, that those who forsake the world shall be obliged to live strictly according to rule, either as canons or as monks.^p

* Vita S. Sturmii, ap. Pertz, ii. 373-7; Mabill. iv. 279-84, 400. Rettberg (i. 610-6) thinks that Lull meant to claim the abbacy as attached to his see, and regarded Sturmi only as a vice-abbot.

^f Schröckh, xx. 66-7.

^g Conc. Nic. II. A.D. 787, c. 14.

^h Planck, ii. 472-3. ⁱ C. 40.

^k Capitul. 118 (Hard. iii. 1778).

^m C. 46.

ⁿ "Monachos aut paterna devotio aut propria professio facit." Conc. Tolet. IV. A.D. 633, c. 49; Rettb. ii. 691, 696. See vol. i. p. 561.

^o Capit. A.D. 805, c. 14.

^p Ib. 10.

Although the observance of the same rule was a bond of union between monastic societies, no more intimate connexion was as yet organised in the west. Some of the greater monasteries had *cells* or *priories* dependent on them;¹ but, except on this very limited scale, there was no affiliation of one religious house to another, nor was there any subjection of many to a common head, as had been the case in the system of St. Pachomius.² It was usual for an abbot, in sending forth one of his monks to found a new community, to release him from the vow of obedience so soon as he should be able to establish a footing.³ During the earlier part of the period, it was forbidden to an abbot to have more than one monastery;⁴ although Gregory the Great allowed it in some cases;⁵ but this rule was afterwards disregarded. Pluralities, both ecclesiastical and monastic, became frequent, and sometimes both kinds were held by the same person. Thus, about the year 720, Hugh, a member of the Carolingian family, was at once bishop of Paris, Rouen, and Bayeux, and abbot of Fontenelle and Jumièges.⁶ In the instances where a see was usually filled from a particular monastery, the bishops often united the abbacy with their higher office; and where bishops were able to usurp the nomination to an abbacy, they sometimes took it for themselves. Thus Sidonius, bishop of Constance, who had already got possession of the abbey of Reichenau, resolved in 759 to make himself master also of that of St. Gall; and, although we are told by the monastic historians that his rapacity was punished by a death like that of Arius, the next bishop, John, not only engrossed the same rich preferment, but towards the end of his life formed a scheme of providing for his three nephews by transferring the bishoprick to one of them, and an abbacy to each of the others.⁷

Many of the monastic societies were specially exempted by sovereigns from all public imposts and tolls.⁸ But such exemptions were as often tokens of poverty on the part of the house as of extraordinary royal favour. Thus, in a list of the Frankish monasteries, drawn up at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, where they are ranged in three classes, as owing to the prince both gifts and military service, as owing gifts only, or as free from all duty except

¹ Mabill. VII. xxii. xxvii.

² See vol. i. p. 316. The order of St. Columba, in which the abbot of Iona was the general superior (see vol. i. p. 543), was an exception to the usual system of the west.

³ Planck, ii. 494-5.

⁴ Conc. Epæon. A.D. 517, c. 9.

⁵ Epp. x. 61; xi. 72.

⁶ Schröckh, xx. 71.

⁷ Ratpert, de Casibus S. Galli, 2-3 (Pertz, ii. 63); Planck, ii. 521.

⁸ See e.g. the charter granted to Corbie by Clotaire III. in 669 (Hard. iii. 1010), and many in Bouquet, t.v.

prayer, the most distinguished foundations are for the most part included in the most heavily burdened class.^a

As monasteries grew rich, some evil consequences followed. The vow of poverty was considered to be satisfied by the renunciation of individual property. Where its obligation was felt as matter of conscience, the monks retained their original simplicity of dress and food, while their superfluous wealth was spent on other objects, such as the erection of costly buildings.^b But very commonly the possession of the means of luxury introduced the enjoyment of it. In the east, the confessor Maximus, in the middle of the seventh century, denounces the disorderly lives of monks, and says that their profession of piety was no better than hypocrisy.^c Charlemagne in 811 censures the abbots as caring only to swell the numbers of their monks and to obtain good chanters and readers, without any solicitude as to their morals. He sarcastically asks how the monks and clergy understand the text against entangling themselves with the affairs of this life; whether they suppose the only difference between themselves and secular men to consist in their being unmarried and carrying no arms; whether those can be said to have forsaken the world who are incessantly striving to increase their possessions by all sorts of means—who use the hopes of heaven and the terrors of hell, the names of God and the saints, to extort gifts not only from the rich but from the poor and ignorant, and, by diverting property from the lawful heirs, drive many to theft and robbery. How, he continues, can they be said to have forsaken the world who suborn perjury in order to acquire what they covet? or those who retain their secular property, and are surrounded by bands of armed men?^d

Abbots, as well as bishops, were addicted to war, to hunting and hawking, to games of chance, to the company of minstrels and jesters. There are many ordinances against irregularities of this kind—some of them extending to abbesses also;^e and there are frequent complaints of gross immorality among recluses of both sexes, with attempts to restrain such practices.^f

^a Pertz, *Leges*, i. 223; Planck, ii. 516.

^b Lingard, *A. S. C.* i. 225.

^c Dupin, vi. 28.

^d Pertz, *Leges*, i. 167-8.

^e *E. g.* *Capit.* A.D. 789, c. 15; *Capit.* A.D. 802, c. 19; *Conc. Mogunt.* A.D. 813, c. 17. Some monasteries had a special permission to kill the beasts of the chase, that the flesh might be used for the refection of sick members, and the skins

for gloves, girdles, or the binding of books; but in such cases it would seem that the work was to be performed by the lay dependants of the house. See the charters granted by Charlemagne to St. Denys, in 774 (*Bouquet*, v. 727); and to Sithiu (St. Bertin's, at St. Omer), in 788 (*ib.* 752).

^f *E. g.* *Conc. Nic.* II. A.D. 787, c. 20; *Conc. Trullan.* A.D. 691, c. 47; *Conc.*

Towards the end of the period, a remarkable reformer of the monastic life appeared in France. Witiza, afterwards known as Benedict of Aniane, was of Gothic descent, and son of the count of Maguelone in Septimania. When a boy, he was placed in the court of Pipin, to whom he became cupbearer, and he continued in the service of Charlemagne. In returning from Rome after his master's visit to Adrian in 774, he narrowly escaped drowning in a vain attempt to save his brother,^e who had rashly plunged into a swollen ford; and, in gratitude for his preservation, he carried out a thought which he had already for some time entertained, of embracing the monastic life, by entering the monastery of St. Seine, in Burgundy.^h Although he had assumed the name of Benedict, the rule of the Nursian monk appeared to him fit only for weak beginners,ⁱ and he rushed into the austerities of eastern monachism. He macerated his body by excessive fasting; his dress was of rags, swarming with vermin, and patched with a variety of colours; he took very little sleep, and that on the bare ground; he never bathed; he courted derision and insult as a madman, and often expressed his fear of hell in piteous outcries. His abbot repeatedly urged him to relent from these rigours, but Benedict was inflexible.^k

On the death of the abbot, Benedict was chosen as his successor; but he fled from St. Seine, and built himself a little hermitage on his father's estate, by the bank of the river Aniane.^m Some monks attempted to live with him, but found themselves unable to support the excessive severity of his system.ⁿ In course of time, however, a considerable society was gathered around him, and a monastery was erected near his cell. Benedict himself took part in the building of it; he and his monks were obliged to carry the materials, as they were unable to provide oxen for the work.^o The walls were of wood; the roof was thatched with straw; the vestments for divine service were coarse, whereas silk was usually employed for such purposes; the eucharistic vessels were of wood, afterwards of glass, and finally of pewter. The monks lived chiefly on bread and water, varied sometimes by milk, and on Sundays and holydays by a scanty allowance of wine.^p If the rigid simplicity of Benedict's first arrangements was partly dictated by fear lest richness of architecture and of ornament should prove injurious to monastic discipline,^q he must afterwards have changed his opinion

Arelat. A.D. 813, c. 7; Capit. Aquigr.

A.D. 802, c. 17.

^e Vita ap. Mabill. v. 192 seqq. c. 1.

^h C. 2.

ⁱ C. 8.

^k C. 7.

^l C. 11.

^m C. 12.

ⁿ This was sometimes matter of complaint. See Mabill. V. ciii. and the ca-

^o C. 10.

^p C. 14.

^q C. 14.

on the subject ; for in 782 the humble wooden buildings made way for a splendid monastery. The church was adorned with marble pillars ; there were several costly chapels ; and all that belonged to the furniture and to the services was of unusual magnificence.* Charlemagne, who had contributed to the expense, exempted the monastery from all taxes, and from the jurisdiction both of bishops and of counts."

Benedict became a man of great note and influence. His name has already come before us, as one of the commissioners employed by Charlemagne to reclaim the adherents of Felix of Urgel ;[†] Louis the Pious, while king of Aquitaine, employed him to reform the monasteries of that country ; and the effect of his institutions was widely felt.[‡] He collected in two books the monastic rules of the east and of the west ; in a third book he added the rules for nunneries ; and from the whole he composed a "Harmony of the Rules," in which the precepts of St. Benedict on every subject are illustrated by those of other monastic legislators.[§] In his reforms he was content to enforce the Benedictine system, which experience had shown him to be better suited for general use than the rigours of oriental monachism.[¶] In his own practice, he was obliged to abate somewhat of the violence with which he had begun ; but his life continued to be strictly ascetic, and he shared with his monks in the labours of ploughing, digging, and reaping.[‡] Soon after the accession of Louis to the empire, he resigned the abbacy of Aniane, and removed to a new royal foundation on the bank of the Inda, near Aix-la-Chapelle ;[§] and, after having played an important part during the earlier years of his patron's reign, he died at the age of seventy, in 821.^b

In England, monachism fell into decay from the earlier part of the eighth century.^c The monasteries were often invaded and occupied by secular persons, and, although a canon of Cloveshoo was directed against this evil, the terms which are used significantly prove that the council had little hope of being able to suppress it.^d Boniface in his letters to Archbishop Cuthbert, and to Ethelbald,

pitulary of 811, c. 11. Funck's idea (Ludwig d. Fromme, 239) that Charlemagne, in his sarcastic questions of that year (quoted above, p. 219), intended to glance at Benedict, seems extremely improbable.

* C. 26.

† A.D. 787. Bouquet, v. 751 ; Mabill. v. 202 ; Patrol. civ. 1419, seqq.

‡ See p. 170.

§ Vita, 36, 40 ; Mabill. v. 218.

* 'Concordia Regularum,' printed with his other writings in vol. ciii. of the 'Patrologia.'

† Neand. vi. 98.

‡ Vita, 32.

§ Ib. 48. Charter of Louis, A.D. 821, Patrol. civ. 1105. It was afterwards called Corneliusmünster. See Rettb. i. 548.

^b Schröckh, xx. 36.

^c See p. 78.

^d Conc. Clovesh. A.D. 847, c. 45.

king of Mercia, complains that the English monasteries are oppressed beyond any others in Christendom; that their privileges are violated, that they are heavily and unjustly taxed, that they are ruined by the expense of entertaining the king and his hunting train;^e that the monks are forced to labour at the royal buildings and other works.^f

But much blame is also laid on the communities themselves. The monks are often charged with riotous living and with drunkenness, which Boniface describes as a peculiarly national vice;^g and the fondness for gay clothing, which was another characteristic of the English, defied all monastic rules. Boniface complains of it to Cuthbert;^h the council of Cloveshoo censures it in clergy, in monks, and in nuns, denouncing especially in men the affectation of a laical head-dress, and the fashion of adorning the legs with fillets of various colours;ⁱ the council of Chalchythe^k desires monks and canons to use the same habit with those of the continent,^m “and not dyed with Indian dye, or very costly.” But some years later Alcuin is found continuing the complaint against such vanities; and the love of them was not to be overcome.ⁿ

In addition to the causes which have been mentioned—the secular oppression to which the monks were subjected, and their own unwillingness, when the first period of fervour had passed away, to bear the restraints of the monastic rule—the introduction of the canonical life contributed to the decline of English monachism. The occupants of religious houses became canons instead of monks; and about the middle of the ninth century the Benedictine order was almost extinct in England.^o

The regulations of this period as to female recluses correspond in general character with those for monks. Abbesses are required to be subject to their bishops;^p they are censured for interfering with the sacerdotal function by presuming to veil virgins, and to give benedictions and imposition of hands to men—apparently by

^e The cost of entertaining sovereigns was also complained of elsewhere. See Ducange, s. v. *Gista*.

^f Ep. 62 (Patrol. lxxxix. 761); Ep. ad Cudbert. c. 11, ap. Bed. ed. Hussey, 353. This passage does not appear in Dr. Giles' edition of Boniface, or in the Patrologia (Ep. 63), but was edited by Spelman from a MS. Dr. Giles gives it in his 'Anecdota Bedæ, &c.' Lond. 1851, p. 16.

^g Ep. ad Cudb. 10; Conc. Clovesh. c. 21; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 232-3.

^h C. 9.

ⁱ Cc. 19, 28.

^k A.D. 785, c. 4.

^m That this is the meaning of *Orientalis* appears from Can. 19 (see above, p. 120, note 1). In a doubtful epistle, Charlemagne is represented as styling himself the most powerful of eastern and Offa the most powerful of western kings (Patrol. xcvi. 937).

ⁿ Epp. 9 (Patrol. c. 151); 14 (ib. 165); 224 (ib. 499); Lingard, A. S. C. i. 232.

^o Lingard, A. S. C. i. 233-6.

^p E. g. Conc. Forojul. A.D. 796 (?), c. 47; Conc. Cabilon. A.D. 813, c. 65.

way of ordination to the lower grades of the ministry.⁴ There are frequent complaints of dissolute life in nunneries, and the abbesses themselves are sometimes charged with a share of the guilt.⁵ Other canons are directed against the practice of allowing widows to take the veil during the first agitation of their bereavement, as it had been found that such nuns often relapsed into worldly business or gaieties, and endeavoured to secure at once the privileges of the monastic and of the secular life.⁶

The Benedictine rule was adapted to the use of female societies; and towards the end of the period the example of Chrodegang's rule led to the institution of canonesses, who lived together under a less rigid code than nuns, and without being obliged to give up their private property.⁷

V. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) Throughout the West, Latin had from the first been used as the language of Divine service. As it was spoken in all the western provinces of the empire, there was no necessity for translating the liturgy into other tongues; and, after the barbarian conquests, Latin remained as the language of superior civilisation, and especially as that of the clergy, whose ranks were for a long time generally filled from among the Romanized inhabitants.⁸ It was the medium by which nations carried on their official intercourse;⁹ it alone remained stable, while the dialects of the invaders were in a course of fluctuation and change; and, where new languages were formed on its basis—a process in which the ecclesiastical use of the Latin contributed greatly to secure its predominance—the formation was gradual, so that it would have been impossible to fix on any time at which the ancient Roman tongue should have been disused as obsolete.¹⁰ The closer connexion established with Rome by Pipin and Charlemagne confirmed the use of Latin in the Frankish church. And thus an usage which

⁴ Capit. A.D. 789, c. 75.

⁵ *E. g.* a capitulary of 789 (Pertz, i. 68, c. 3) forbids nuns to write or to send amatory verses (*winileudos*). See Rettb. i. 452; ii. 695). There are prohibitions of intercourse between monks or clergy and nuns (Rettb. ii. 695). The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, states that many nunneries have become *hupanaria*, and this, in some cases, because the abbesses starved their nuns into temptation (cc. 12-3). Abbesses are ordered to take care that there be not many dark corners in their houses, as

advantage is taken of them for mischief, c. 14.

⁶ Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 817, c. 21; Conc. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 17 (Pertz, Leges, i. 343); Conc. Paris. A.D. 829, cc. 39, 44.

⁷ Rettb. ii. 697-8.

⁸ Hist. Litt. iii. 15; Neand. v. 174-5.

⁹ Milman, vi. 258.

¹⁰ Schmidt, i. 183; Milman, i. 377; ii. 351. On the gradual corruption of Latin, see Ducange's Preface to his Glossary; Hist. Litt. i. 27, seqq.; Hallam, M. A. ii. 340-351.

originally arose out of circumstances, came at length to be regarded as necessary, and at a later time to be justified by theoretical argument,* although confessedly as contrary to the practice of the early church^a as it appears to be to reason. Charlemagne, however, notwithstanding his attachment to the Roman ritual, combated the growing opinion on this point. "Let no one," it is said in his capitulary at the council of Frankfort, "suppose that God may not be prayed to except in three languages; forasmuch as in every tongue God is worshipped, and man is heard if he ask the things which are right."^b

The chanting was now left to the choir, and the people joined only in the *Kyrie eleison*.^c But Charlemagne and others were careful that preaching—which by means of missions regained an importance which it had once appeared likely to lose—should be frequent, and in the vulgar tongue.^d His measures for the instruction of the people in the Creed and the Lord's Prayer have been noticed in a former chapter.^e

In England, Latin was employed as the ritual language, not only by Augustine and his followers, but by the Scotch and Irish teachers, who had been accustomed to it in their native churches.^f The Epistle and Gospel, however, were read in the vernacular tongue, and in it sermons were delivered.^g The Scotch or Irish

* Neand. v. 175. Fleury (Disc. ii. 23) and Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. i. 308) allege, in favour of Latin service, that, but for the necessity of learning the language for this purpose, the clergy of the dark ages would have altogether neglected it, and consequently would have allowed the remains both of pagan and of Christian antiquity to perish. But this argument from a supposed result, whatever it may be worth in itself, has obviously nothing to do with the justification of using an unknown tongue in service—much less of retaining it, when the dark ages were at an end.

^a Martene, i. 101.

^b Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 52. M. Guizot supposes (ii. 226) that the languages meant are Greek, Latin, and German. But the very thing which is condemned is the prejudice against the use of German: the three languages were evidently those written over the cross, as appears further from the words of John VIII. in sanctioning the Slavonic liturgy. "Qui fecit tres linguas principales, Hebræam, scilicet, Græcam, et Latinam, ipse creavit et

alias omnes ad laudem et gloriam suam" (Ep. 107, ap. Hard. vi. 86). The legend of St. Ludmilla, in relating the same matter, tells us, "Erant qui blasphemabant Slovenicas litteras, loquentes—'Dedecet ullum populum habere libros hos, nisi Hebraicos, Græcos, Latinosque, secundum titulum Pilati'—quos papa Pilaticos assecclas et trilingues nominans damnavit." c. 6, ap. Ginzel, Anh. 25.

^c Giesel. ii. 279; Rettb. ii. 779. There is a curious passage in the 27th canon of Cloveshoo, as to those who sing without understanding the words—exhorting them to suit their own thoughts and desires to them. See Johnson's note, i. 259.

^d Conc. Arel. A.D. 813, c. 10, &c.; Rettberg, ii. 772-4. See above, p. 146. Such sermons of the time as remain are Latin, but they were either the originals or translations of the German or "rustic Roman," which was preached to the people. Rettb. i. 775-7.

^e See p. 145.

^f Johnson, I. xiii.-xiv.; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 302.

^g Lingard, i. 307-8.

liturgy was suppressed by the council of Cloveshoo in those parts of southern England where it had before been used;^h but, notwithstanding the influence of Wilfrid, it kept possession of the church of York until the time of Alcuin, who is found recommending that it should be abandoned.ⁱ It would, however, seem that, in the adaptation of the Roman ritual for England, some use was made of that license of selection from other quarters which had been granted by Gregory to Augustine.^k

In the East, Greek had been the usual language of the Church, and continued to be so under the Mahometan rule, where Arabic was used for the ordinary business of life. The Monophysites of Egypt, however, employed the Coptic in their service, and the Nestorians the Syriac.^m

(2.) The use of organs was now brought into the service of the Latin church. The earliest mention of such instruments (as distinguished from the ancient hydraulic organ, of which the invention is ascribed to Archimedesⁿ) is perhaps in a passage of St. Augustine.^o Venantius Fortunatus, bishop of Poitiers about the year 600, compares the voices of boys and men in a choir to the smaller and the larger pipes of an organ respectively,^p but does not speak of the instrument itself as used in churches; so that his words are not inconsistent with the opinion which ascribes the introduction of organs into churches to Pope Vitalian (A.D. 657-672.)^q It appears from the testimony of Aldhelm that they were known in England at the beginning of the eighth century;^r but it would seem that, after the age of Venantius, the organ had again become a novelty to the Franks when one was sent by Constantine Copronymus as a present to Pipin in 757.^s The St. Gall biographer of Charlemagne tells us that a similar instrument, "emulating at once the roar of thunder and the sweetness of the

^h Cc. 13, 15 (A.D. 747).

ⁱ Ep. 171, ad Symeonem.

^k Lingard, A. S. C. i. 294-5. (See above, p. 18.)

^m Fleury, Disc. ii. 7.

ⁿ Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 38; Tertull. de Anima, 14; Claudian. de Consul. Mall. Theod. 315. See Ducange, s. v. *Organum*.

^o Enarr. in Psalm. lvi. 16; cf. Isid. Hispal. Etymol. ii. 21.

^p "Hic puer exiguis attemperat organa cannis
Inde senex largam ructat ab ore tubam."
Miscellanæ, li. 13 (Patrol. lxxxviii.).

This seems to be the passage to which M. de Montalembert refers (ii. 291) as proving that the church of St. Germain-

des-Prés, at Paris, had an organ in the time of Venantius; but it will be seen that this is a mistake.

^q "Ut quidam volant." Platina, 96.

^r Aldh. de Laudibus Virginum (Patrol. lxxxix. 240); Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 457-8; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 375-6.

^s Einhard, A.D. 757. The author of the article *Organ* in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (xvi. 709) supposes that the word *organa* here may mean "various musical instruments." But there is no ground for seeking so to explain it, more especially as the best MSS., according to Pertz, read "*organum*."

lyre," which was brought by some Greek ambassadors to the great emperor, excited the imitative talent of the Franks;¹ and so skilful did they become in the manufacture, that about a century after the date of Constantine's gift to Pipin, Pope John VIII. is found requesting a bishop of Freisingen to send him an organ, because those of the north were superior to any that could be made in Italy.²

(3.) The history of the eucharistic doctrine during this period has been disputed with as much zeal and partiality as if the question between modern Rome and its opponents depended on the opinions of the seventh and eighth centuries. The word *figure*, when it occurs, is hailed by one party, and such words as *body*, *blood*, or *changed*, by the other, as if they were sufficient to determine the matter. But the truth seems to lie between the extremes. Both in language and in opinion there was a progress towards the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the feeling of individuals may have closely bordered on it; but there was no recognition, nor apparently even any assertion, of more than an effective grace, by which the consecrated elements, while retaining their original substance, convey to the faithful receiver the benefits of the Saviour's death. Some passages of Bede and of Alcuin, for example, which are produced by Romanists as favourable to their views,³ appear really to maintain nothing beyond the doctrine of the English Reformation; when Alcuin speaks of a bishop as consecrating bread and wine into the *substance* of our Lord's body and blood,⁴ it would seem that by "substance" he does not mean any thing material, but only a virtual efficacy; and after this, the Caroline Books, in which Alcuin himself is supposed to have been largely concerned, express themselves in a manner entirely accordant with our own eucharistic doctrine.⁵

John of Damascus appears to have gone further than any of the western teachers. He rejects the term "figure," as unauthorised by Scripture, and declares the consecrated elements to be "the very deified body of the Lord."⁶ Yet the sense of this startling expression may be reduced by a comparison with the language

¹ Mon. Sangall. ii. 10.

² A.D. 873. Joh. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxxvi.). Baldric, archbishop of Dol, in the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions with admiration an organ at Fécamp, as the first which he had seen, although he had travelled widely in France, and had visited England. Itinerarium, 7 (Patrol. clxvi.).

³ See Schröckh, xx. 164-5.

⁴ Ep. 36, p. 49. Dr. Lingard, however, quotes the words as conclusive in favour of transubstantiation. A. S. C. ii. 465.

⁵ E. g. ii. 27 (pp. 274-8, ed. Goldast.); iv. 14 (pp. 419-420). The words which Dr. Lingard quotes from the latter passage (A. S. C. ii. 464) do not warrant his inference from them.

⁶ De Fid. Orthod. iv. 12 (t. i. 271).

then current as to the union of our Lord's natures or wills—where it was said that the flesh or the human will was “deified” by its connexion with the Godhead.^b If the meaning were more than this parallel would warrant—if John intended to maintain that the material elements were changed, instead of being united with something higher—it is certain that the eastern church did not adopt his view.^c The Eucharist was mentioned in the controversy as to images by the hostile synods of Constantinople and Nicæa. The iconoclastic assembly declares that the only true image of the Saviour is the Eucharist—meaning that the union of the Divine grace with the earthly elements represents that union of Godhead and manhood in his person which images failed to convey, inasmuch as they could only set forth the humanity. The Nicene council, in answering this, finds fault with the term *image*, as being one which no father had applied to that which is His body and blood.^d Yet no objection is made to the substance of the comparison; nor do we find anywhere in this controversy the distinction which must have occurred if the modern Roman doctrine as to the sacrament had been then received—that the consecrated elements are unlike images, forasmuch as they are not a representation, but are really Christ Himself.^e

Instead of the common bread in which the Eucharist had originally been administered, wafers were now substituted in the west. They were of very fine flour, unleavened, round in shape, and stamped with an instrument.^f The communion of infants appears to have been still in use,^g and many superstitions were practised with the

^b *E. g.* in the sixth general council it is said that the human flesh and will are “deified, not destroyed.” (See p. 53.) See too l. iii. c. 17, of Damascene's own work, where he explains how Christ's flesh can be said to be “deified”—that it is not by any change or confusion, but merely by union, the two natures remaining entire and distinct. I have, however, some doubt as to the possibility of clearing the passage in the text by this parallel. There would be no difficulty if he had said that the bread and wine are deified; but instead of this he says that they *are* the deified body.

^c Schröckh, xx. 174.

^d Hard. iv. 368-372. That this assertion was incorrect, see Schröckh, xx. 161-3.

^e Schröckh, xx. 592 (from Rössler's Bibliothek d. Kirchenväter). During this period there are many tales of miracles in which the consecrated host

is said to have shed blood (*e. g.* Greg. Turon. vi. 21, and frequent instances in Gregory the Great). These might be supposed evidence of a belief in transubstantiation; but we find also in Gregory the Great (Ep. iv. 30) a story of a cloth which, having been applied to the body of a saint, shed blood on being cut. This cannot mean that the cloth had been changed into the saint's body, but only that the virtue of the body had been communicated to it; and the explanation will serve for the other cases.

^f Mabill. Acta SS. III. xxxv.-xl. xlv. seqq.; Analecta, 538, seqq.; Rettb. ii. 786-7.

^g Schröckh, xx. 175. For its continuance into the twelfth century, see D'Achery, n. in Guib. Novigent. (Patrol. clvi. 1023). Compare Lanfranc, Ep. 33 (ib. cl.). See, however, Waterland, vi. 67, ed. Oxf. 1843; and vol. i. p. 165.

consecrated bread—such as giving it to the dead and burying it with them.^h The cup continued until the twelfth century to be administered to all communicants.ⁱ

The height to which the idea of a sacrifice in the Eucharist was carried (an idea which appears in the earliest ages of the church, although with some indefiniteness of meaning),^k now led to some important consequences. The sacrifice was supposed to avail not only for those who were present but for the absent; for the dead as well as for the living. One result of this was, that the obligation of receiving the sacrament was less felt, so that there is much complaint as to the rarity of communion, and that canons are passed for restoring the three receptions yearly which had been prescribed by the council of Agde.^m At length masses came to be celebrated privately, and by the priest alone.ⁿ This practice was forbidden by Theodulf of Orleans;^o it is censured, although not in absolute terms, by the council of Mentz in 813,^p is more decidedly condemned by the sixth council of Paris, in 829,^q and in the following century it is again forbidden by Atto, bishop of Vercelli.^r

From the time of Gregory the Great, the doctrine of Purgatory spread and was developed. In the English church, the offspring of Gregory's own exertions, it appears to have especially taken root. Bede relates stories of persons who had been transported in vision to the regions of the dead; they returned to consciousness with a sad and awestruck air, told their tale, and soon after died. Thus Fursey^s and Drithelm^t were permitted to see the punishments of hell and purgatory, and the bliss of the righteous who were awaiting their consummation in paradise. The vision of Drithelm was versified by Alcuin; other narratives of the same kind appeared; the idea of such visions became familiar to men's minds; and, six centuries later, the dreams of the obscure Irish or Northumbrian monks issued in the great poem of the middle ages.^u

^h This is forbidden by Conc. Trull. A.D. 691, c. 83.

ⁱ Mabill. III. liii. lv.

^k See Blunt on the 'Use of the Early Fathers,' ser. ii. lect. 12.

^m A.D. 506. See vol. i. p. 570. Comp. Bed. Ep. ad Egbert. 9; Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 50, &c.

ⁿ Schröckh, xx. 176-180; Rettb. ii. 785; Giesel. II. i. 156.

^o Capit. 7, ap. Hard. iv. 914.

^p "Ut nobis videtur." c. 43.

^q C. 48. The capitulary of 789 forbids another irregularity—consecration

without the priest's communicating. c. 6.

^r Capit. 7 (Patrol. cxxxiv. 30).

^s Bed. iii. 19. See Southey, 'Vindiciæ,' letter iv.

^t Bed. v. 12. Other stories are in the chapters 13-4; and some of a similar kind are told by the Spanish abbot Valerius, in the end of the seventh century (Patrol. lxxxvii. 431-6). See, too, the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, iv. 66 (Pertz, vii., or Patrol. clxxiii.).

^u Palgrave, Norm. and England, i. 72; Ampère, ii. 365; iii. 121-2. The vision

With the belief in purgatory, that in the utility of masses for the departed grew. Fraternities were formed, especially among monks, to say a certain number of masses for the soul of every brother at his death, and on the anniversary of it, or to provide for the purchase of them by a payment, which in England was called *souls-cot*.² The performance of these masses became an important source of income to the clergy, and is recognised as such by Chrodegang's rule.⁷ Additional altars were on this account erected in churches, which before had only one.³ Masses were also used in order to obtain temporal benefits, such as fair weather or reasonable rain.⁴

(4.) A greater strictness in the observance of the Lord's-day had gradually been introduced into the church,^b and occupations which councils of the sixth century had vindicated against a judaizing tendency,^c were now forbidden as contrary to the sanctity of the day, which it became usual to ground on the fourth commandment.^d Many canons throughout this period, and shortly after, enact that it should be kept by a cessation from all trade, husbandry, or other manual labour. No lawcourts or markets may be held, men are to refrain from hunting, women must not sew, embroider, weave, card wool, beat flax, shear sheep, or *publicly* wash clothes.^e No journeys were to be taken except such as were unavoidable; and these were to be so managed as not to interfere with the duty of attending the church-service.^f Theodore of Canterbury states that the Greeks and the Latins agree in doing no work on Sunday; that they do not sail, ride, drive, except to church, hawk, or bathe; that the Greeks do not write in public, although at home they write according to their convenience.^g Penalties were enacted against such as should violate the sanctity of the day. Thus the council of Narbonne, in 589, condemns a freeman to

of Wettin (see p. 136), in the ninth century, marks, as M. Ampère observes, an important step in the progress towards Dante—the introduction of political matter into such narratives, and the employment of them as vehicles of personal reproof.

² Mabill. III. lxxxvi. seqq.; Ducange, s. v. *Fraternitas* (3); Soames, A. S. C. 282; Rettb. ii. 788-9.

⁷ C. 32; see Mabill. III. xliii.

³ Mabill. III. lv.-lvi.

⁴ Schröckh, xx. 182; Rettb. ii. 788.

^b See vol. i. p. 349.

^c E. g. Conc. Aurel. III. A.D. 538, c. 28.

^d See Hessey's Bampton Lectures, ed.

1, 116, seqq.

^e Conc. Matic. A.D. 585, c. 1; Conc. Narbonn. A.D. 589, c. 4; Greg. Ep. ix. 1; Conc. Cabil. I. A.D. 650, c. 18; Conc. Clovesh. A.D. 747, c. 14; Capit. A.D. 789, c. 80; Conc. Foroj. A.D. 796 (?), c. 13; Theodulph. Cap. 24 (Hard. iv. 917); Conc. Arel. A.D. 813, c. 16; Conc. Cabil. A.D. 813, c. 50; Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 37; Laws of Northumbrian Priests, in Thorpe, 421, No. 55, &c.

^f The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, suggests that marriages should not be celebrated on Sunday, iii. 18.

^g Pœnitentiale, c. 8 (Patrol. xcix.).

pay six *solidi*, and a serf to receive a hundred lashes.^b Ina, king of Wessex (A.D. 688-725), directs that, if a serf work on the Lord's-day by his master's order, he shall be free; if at his own will, he shall pay a fine or shall "suffer in his hide."^c The council of Berghamstead (A.D. 696) enacts that a freeman breaking the rest of the day shall undergo the *healsfang*,^k and imposes a heavy fine on a master who shall make his servant work between the sunset of Saturday and that of Sunday.^m The authority of pretended revelations was called in to enforce the observance of the Lord's-day. It appears that this was the object of a letter which was said to have fallen from heaven in 788, and of which Charlemagne, in his capitulary of the following year, orders the suppression;ⁿ and the same pious fraud, or something of the same kind, was employed in England.^o Under Louis the Pious, councils are found speaking of judgments by which persons had been punished for working on the Lord's-day—some had been struck by lightning, some lamed in their members, some reduced to ashes by visible fire. The clergy, the nobles, and the emperor himself, are desired to show a good example by a right observance of the day.^p

But the idea of identifying the Lord's-day with the Jewish sabbath was condemned. Gregory the Great speaks of it as a doctrine of Antichrist, who, he says, will require the observance of both days—of the Sabbath, for the sake of Judaism; of the Lord's-day, because he will pretend to rival the Saviour's resurrection. Gregory goes on to notice the scruples of some who held that it was wrong to wash the body on the Lord's-day. It is allowed, he says, for necessity, although not for luxury, and he adds a curious attempt at Scriptural proof.^q The councils of Lestines and Verne censure an extreme rigour in the observance of the day, as "belonging rather to Jewish superstition than to Christian duty."^r

The Lord's-day was commonly considered to begin on Saturday evening, and to reach to the corresponding hour on Sunday.^s

^b C. 4.

^c C. 3, in Thorpe, 45; Comp. Laws of Edward and Guthrun, c. 7, lb. 73.

^k '*Healsfang*'—i. e. a neck-catch—properly a sort of pillory; but, as this was very early disused, the word came to mean a fine or pecuniary commutation for the ignominy, graduated according to the offender's rank. See Thorpe, Glossary to Ancient Laws and Institutes.

^m C. 10-12 (Thorpe, 17). The place

of this council is supposed to have been Berstead, near Maidstone.

ⁿ Capit. 77. See above, p. 112, note ^d.

^o Soames, A. S. C. 257.

^p Conc. Paris, VI. A.D. 829, i. 50; iii. 19; Conc. Wormat. A.D. 829, c. 11 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

^q Ep. xiii. 1. ^r Conc. Liptin. A.D. 743 (Hard. iii. 1924-6); Conc. Vern. A.D. 755, c. 14 (Pertz, Leges, i.).

^s Capit. A.D. 789, c. 15 (Pertz, Leges, i. 57); Conc. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 21.

Such, as we have seen, was the length of the labourer's rest in England at the time of the council of Berghamstead (A.D. 696); but by the middle of the tenth century it was extended, and reached from none (3 P.M.) on Saturday to the dawn of Monday.¹

(5.) The festival of All Saints (which was intended to make up for the defects in the celebration of saints individually²) has been generally connected with the beginning of this period, when Boniface IV. obtained a grant of the Pantheon at Rome from Phocas, and consecrated it as the church of St. Mary *ad Martyres* in 607.³ It would, however, appear that a festival of martyrs, on May 13, which arose out of the consecration of the Pantheon, has been confounded with All Saints' Day (Nov. 1), and that the latter was not observed at Rome until the eighth century.⁴ It was raised to the first class of festivals, and was recommended for general celebration, by Gregory IV. in 835.⁵ In the east, the Sunday after Whitsunday had been connected with the memory of All Saints as early as the time of St. Chrysostom.⁶

The growing reverence for the Blessed Virgin led to an increase of festivals dedicated to her. The "Presentation in the Temple" became the "Purification of St. Mary." Her Nativity (Sept. 8) was already celebrated both in the east and in the west,⁷ and her own "Presentation" (i. e. her supposed dedication to the service of the Temple) was established as a festival in the Greek church (Nov. 21), although it was not adopted in the west until the fourteenth century.⁸ In Spain, the appearance vouchsafed to Ildefonsus of Toledo occasioned the establishment of the "Expectation of St. Mary" (Dec. 18).⁹ The Assumption (Aug. 15) was also now introduced. In the silence of Scripture as to the Blessed Virgin's death, legends on the subject had arisen. At the time of the council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), she was supposed to have spent her last years with St. John in that city, and to have been interred in the church where the council met. But afterwards it came to be believed that she had been buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and thence had been caught up to heaven. From this tale, which

¹ Lingard, A. S. C. i. 310-1.

² Pseudo-Alcuin de Div. Officiis, 31 (Patrol. ci.).

³ Anastas. 135; Baron. 607. 1.

⁴ Giesel. II. i. 160-1. See Martene, i. 215. Augusti seems to be wrong in supposing that the festivals are the same, and that the celebration was transferred from May to November by Gregory III. (iii. 272-3).

⁵ Gavanti, Thes. Sac. Rituum, ii. 243,

ed. Aug. Vindel. 1763; Martene, iii. 215.

⁶ Augusti, iii. 271; Giesel. i. cit.

⁷ Martene, iii. 111; Augusti, iii. 105.

⁸ Martene, iii. 217; Augusti, iii. 107.

⁹ See above, p. 63; Pseudo-Liutprand. Chron. A.D. 657 (Patrol. cxxxvi. 1019); Baron. 657. 56, and Pagl, xi. 509; Martene, i. 199.

originated in a conjecture of Epiphanius that she never died,^e and was afterwards supported by sermons falsely ascribed to Jerome and Augustine, the festival of the Assumption took its rise.^f In one of the Capitularies it is mentioned as a subject for inquiry;^g but the observance of it is sanctioned by the Council of Mentz, in 813.^h The other festivals named in the same canon are—Easter with the week following, Ascension-day, Whitsunday and the week after it, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Michael, St. Remigius, St. Martin, St. Andrew, four days at Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification, the dedication of each church, and the feasts of the martyrs and confessors whose relics are preserved in the diocese or parish.ⁱ This last provision contained the germ of a great multiplication of festivals, which naturally ensued as saints of local fame became more generally celebrated, and as their relics were more widely dispersed.^k

The Council of Mentz also sanctions the celebration of the Ember-weeks,^m which was now generally established.

(6.) The superstitions connected with an excess of reverence for saints were continually on the increase. Stories of visions in which saints appeared, and of miracles performed by them, are found in immense profusion—so great, indeed, that even some contemporaries began to murmur. Thus we are told by the biographer of Hildulf, abbot of Moyon-Moutier, in the Vosges,ⁿ who died in 707, that the death of one of his monks named Spinulus was followed by a number of miracles. Three mineral springs burst

^e Hær. lxxviii. 11.

^f Giesel. II. i. 157-160. Gregory of Tours is supposed to be the oldest authority for the Assumption (*De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 4; *Augusti*, iii. 113). Arculf, a pilgrim to Jerusalem in the end of the seventh century, says that the Virgin was buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat, but that how or by whom her body was removed, and in what place she awaits the resurrection, no man knoweth (*Adamnan de Locis sanctis*, 13; *Patrol.* lxxxviii.). In the eighth century Willibald, an English pilgrim (or his biographer), says that she died in Jerusalem, and that angels carried her away out of the hands of the apostles to Paradise (*Willib. Peregrinatio*, c. 8, ap. *Canis.* ii. 112; cf. *Andr. Creten.* in *Dormitionem S. Mar.* *Patrol.* Gr. xcvii. 1057; *Bernardi Monachi Itinerarium*, A.D. 870, *Patrol.* Lat. cxxi. 572). The term *assumptio* is used

of the death of saints, without implying anything miraculous. See Ducange, s. v.

^g "Interrogandum relinquimus." *Ansegis. Capitul.* i. 158, ed. Baluze, i. 732. The date is probably 809 (Piper, 'Karls des Grossen Kalendarium,' 70, Berlin, 1858). The Assumption is in Charlemagne's Calendar of 781, ib. 27.

^h C. 36.

ⁱ "Parochia." See an English list in *Alfred's Laws*, c. 43 (Thorpe, 40-1). There is much information on these matters in Piper's pamphlet, cited above.

^k Schröckh, xx. 140.

^m C. 34.

ⁿ In a life composed in the eleventh century (c. 3, *Patrol.* cli.), and in a chronicle in D'Achery's *Spicilegium* (ii. 607), he is said, but untruly, to have held the archbishoprick of Trèves before retiring to this monastery (c. 3, *Patrol.* cli.; *Retth.* ii. 467-9, 523).

forth in the abbey garden, and crowds of people were attracted to the place. Hildulf understood the advantages which his house was likely to derive from the offerings of pilgrims; but he feared that the monks might be drawn away from their proper work to attend to earthly business: he therefore knelt down at the tomb of Spinulus, and, after having thanked God for the assurance of his brother's beatification, charged the deceased monk, by the obedience which he had owed him while alive, to save the society from the threatened danger. Spinulus complied; the springs dried up, and the miracles ceased.^o Other stories might be produced, which show that some persons felt the general craving after miracles to be unwholesome in its effects, even where they did not venture to question the reality of the wonders which were reported.^p

The passion for relics was more and more developed. The second Council of Nicæa orders that no church should be consecrated without some relics, and imputes a disregard of them to the opponents of images;^q but these, as we have seen,^r were anxious to relieve themselves of the odium. Relics of our Lord and of his Virgin mother, the most precious class of all, were multiplied. The seamless coat and the napkin which had bound the Saviour's head in the sepulchre were each supposed to be preserved in more than one place.^s Among the treasures of the abbey of Centulles,^t under Angilbert, who died in 801, were fragments of the manger in which our Lord was laid, of the candle lighted at his birth, of his vesture and sandals, of the rock on which He sat when He fed the five thousand, of the wood of the three tabernacles, of the bread which He gave to his disciples, of the cross, and of the sponge; with portions of the Blessed Virgin's milk, of her hair, her dress, and her cloak.^u In honour of the Cross were instituted the festivals of its Invention and Exaltation.^x

Other relics also were diligently sought for, and were highly prized. Not only are saints said to have appeared, as in former ages, for the purpose of pointing out the resting-places of their

^o Vita Hildulphi, ap. Mabill. iv. 478-9.

^p See Mabill. III. lxxxviii.; Schröckh, xx. 116-7. Amulo, bishop of Lyons, about the middle of the ninth century, speaks of pretended miracles, and of impostures practised by pretended demoniacs. (Inter Opera Agobardi, ii. 142-3.)

^q C. 7.

^r P. 163.

^s Schröckh, xx. 121-4. Augusti (x.

149) quotes from Heidegger de Peregrinat. Relig., a curious list of multiplied relics connected with our Lord.

^t This abbey, near Abbeville, afterwards took the name of its founder, St. Riquier.

^u Vita S. Angilberti, c. 9, ap. Mabill. v. 113-4; Chron. Centall. ii. 5 (Patrol. clxxiv.). See D'Achery, n. in Guib. Novig. Patrol. clvi. 1044.

^x Schröckh, xx. 120.

remains,^y but it was believed that sometimes, in answer to earnest prayer, relics were sent down from heaven.^z A great impulse was given to this kind of superstition when, on the approach of the Lombards to Rome, in 761, Pope Paul removed the bodies of saints from their tombs outside the city to churches within the walls.^a The Frankish records of the time abound in accounts of the translation of relics to various places in France, and of the solemnities with which they were received.^b The very connexion with Rome was supposed to confer a sanctity and a miraculous power. Thus it is related that Odo, duke of Aquitaine, a contemporary of Charles Martel, having got possession of three sponges which had been used in wiping the pope's table, divided them into little morsels, which he caused his soldiers to swallow before a battle; that no one of those who had partaken was wounded, and that while 375,000 Saracens were slain in one day, the duke's losses throughout the war amounted only to 1500 men.^c

Charlemagne repeatedly condemns some ecclesiastical superstitions, as well as those of the heathens whom he subdued. He forbids the veneration of fictitious saints and doubtful martyrs;^d the invocation or worship of any but such as the Church had sanctioned, or the erection of memorials to them by the way-side;^e

^y Thus Pope Paschal I. (A.D. 817-824) states that one day when he had fallen asleep during the psalmody before St. Peter's tomb, St. Cecilia appeared to him, assuring him that, although the Lombards under Aistulf had sought for her body, the vulgar belief of their having found it was quite incorrect, and that the discovery was reserved for him. Ep. i. (Patrol. cii.): comp. Anastas. 216.

^z Schröckh, xx. 125.

^a Anastas. 173.

^b In answer to the archchaplain Fulrad, who had asked for the body of a saint, Pope Adrian says that he had been deterred by revelations from disturbing any more bodies, but informs him where one which had formerly been granted might perhaps be obtained (Bonquet, v. 560). Among Einhard's works (ii. 176-377, ed. Tenlet) is a tract on the translation of two saints named Marcellinus and Peter (A.D. 829), which gives a very curious view of the practices of relic-hunters and of the superstitions connected with the veneration of relics. Einhard's agents stole the bodies by night from a church at Rome—an act which appears to have been regarded quite lawful in such cases. (See vol. i.

p. 354.) Of the miracles which followed, one specimen may be given. A deacon, who was charged to convey a portion of the relics as a present from Einhard to a monastery, stopped to feed his horses in a meadow. Forthwith the occupier of the land appeared—a hunchback, whose face was swollen by violent toothache—armed with a pitchfork, and beside himself with rage on account of the trespass. In answer to his outcries, the deacon told him that he would do better to kneel down before the relics, and pray for the cure of his toothache. The man laid down his pitchfork, and obeyed; and when he rose up, after a few minutes, his face was reduced to its natural size, and he was freed not only from his toothache but from his deformity (pp. 328-330). St. Willibrord dealt more severely with a churl who remonstrated against a similar trespass. He deprived him of the power of drinking, and the man suffered horribly until the Saint, on revisiting the place after a year, released him. Vita S. Willibr. (Mabill. iii. 612-3).

^c Anastas. 155.

^d Capit. A.D. 789, c. 42.

^e Capit. Francof. A.D. 794, c. 42.

the circulation of apocryphal or questionable narratives;^f the introduction of new names of angels, in addition to those for which there is authority—Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael.^g The council of Mentz forbids the translation of the bodies of saints, unless with permission from the sovereign and the bishops.^h

Legendary lives of saints were now produced in wonderful abundance, and were the most popular literature of the times. In addition to their falsehoodⁱ (which, where consciously introduced, may have been held excusable by the writers for the sake of the expected good effects), and to their enforcement of all the errors which had grown upon the Church, they carried the minds of men to look for visible prosperity and chastisement according to individual desert in the ordinary government of the world.^k Yet the evil of such legends was not without a large compensation of good. They set forth the power of religion, not only in miracles but in self-denial and renunciation of earthly things. In contrast with the rudeness and selfishness which generally prevailed, they presented examples which taught a spirit of gentleness and self-sacrifice, of purity, of patience, of love to God and man, of disinterested toil, of forgiveness of enemies, of kindness to the poor and the oppressed. The concluding part of the legend exhibited the saint triumphant after his earthly troubles, yet still interested in his brethren who were engaged in the struggle of life, and manifesting his interest by interpositions in their behalf. And above all there was the continual inculcation of a Providence watching over all the affairs of men, and ready to protect the innocent, or to recompense and avenge their sufferings.^m

^f Capit. A.D. 789, c. 77.

^g Ib. c. 16. This professes to be from a canon of Laodicea (A.D. 372 ?), c. 35, which, however, prohibits *all* invocation of angels. The new turn given to the prohibition may have been intended against such teachers as Adelbert. (See above, p. 112.) Among other superstitions which are forbidden were the baptising of bells (Cap. A.D. 789, c. 69), the practices of divination and sortilege (ib. c. 68), and the employment of charms against sickness in men or in cattle. Conc. Turon. A.D. 813, c. 42.

^h C. 51 (A.D. 813).

ⁱ I must confess my inability to accept M. Ampère's definition of the legend—"Ce récit, souvent merveilleux, que personne ne fabrique sciemment, et que tout le monde altère et falsifie sans le vouloir" (i. 310-1; cf. ii. 355-6). M.

Alfred Maury, in his '*Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-Age*' (Paris, 1843)—an able and learned book, but written on the principles of Strauss—traces the fictions of the hagiologists to three causes—(1.) The attempt to assimilate the lives of their subjects to that of our Lord or to those of Scripture saints. (2.) The mistake of understanding literally things which were said in a figurative sense—e.g., where a spiritual was represented as a bodily cure. (3.) The invention of stories in order to explain symbols of which the real meaning had been lost. As to this last, see also Döllinger, '*Hippolytus u. Kallistus*,' 63.

^k Fleury, Disc. ii. 3.

^m Guizot, Lecture 17; Löbell, '*Gregor v. Tours*,' 388; Ampère, ii. 360; Stephen's Lectures, i. 142.

(7.) Even as early as the fourth century, some of the evils attendant on the general practice of pilgrimage had been noticed by Gregory of Nyssa and others;^a and strong complaints of a like kind continue to be found from time to time. Gregory the Great tells Rusticana, a lady of the imperial court, that, while she had been on a pilgrimage to Sinai, her affections had been at Constantinople, and expresses a suspicion that the holy objects which she had seen with her bodily eyes had made no impression on her heart.^o But the idle spirit in which pilgrimages were often undertaken was not the worst mischief connected with them. Boniface writes to Archbishop Cuthbert, that of the multitude of English women who flocked to Rome, only a few escaped the ruin of their virtue; that it was rare to find a town of Lombardy or France in which some dishonoured English nun or other female pilgrim had not taken up her abode, and by her misconduct brought disgrace on the church of her native land.^p Another unhappy effect of pilgrimage was, that for the sake of it bishops and abbots absented themselves for years from their proper spheres of labour, to the great injury of religion and discipline among those committed to their care.^q

From Britain, pilgrimages were most commonly made to Rome, where the English had a quarter of their own, known, as the biographer of the popes informs us, by the Saxon name of the *Burg*.^r Some pilgrims from our island even found their way to the Holy Land.^s In France, the chief place of pilgrimage was the shrine of St. Martin, at Tours; but the resort from that country to Rome became greater after the accession of the Carolingian dynasty. The lives of pilgrims were regarded as sacred; many hospitals were built for their reception,^t—among them, one for Latin pilgrims, which was founded at Jerusalem by Charlemagne.^u The emperor in 802 orders that no one, whether rich or poor, shall refuse to pilgrims a roof, fire, and water, and encourages those who can afford more to greater hospitality by a consideration of the recompense which Scripture promises.^x There are, however, canons against some of the abuses connected with pilgrimage. The Council of Verne, in 755, orders that monks shall not be allowed to wander to Rome without their abbot's consent.^y The

^a Vol. i. p. 356. ^o Ep. iv. 46.

^p Ep. 63 (Patrol. lxxxix.).

^q Fleury, Disc. ii. 5.

^r Anastas. 214; Paul. Warnef. vi. 37.

^s See the Lives of the Saxon Willibald, afterwards the first bishop of Eichstedt, and probably the same with

Willibald the biographer of St. Boniface, in Canisius, ii. 100, seqq.

^t Capit. Langobard, A.D. 782, c. 10.

^u Bernardi Itinerarium, A.D. 870, in Patrol. cxxi. 572.

^x Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 802, c. 27.

^y C. 10.

Council of Châlons, in 813, forbids the clergy to go either to Rome or to Tours without leave from their bishop; and while it acknowledges the benefit of pilgrimage for those who have confessed their sins and have obtained directions for penance, who amend their lives, give alms, and practise devotion, it denounces the error of such as consider pilgrimage a license to sin, and begs the emperor to take measures against a common practice of nobles who extorted from their dependents the means of paying the expense of their own pilgrimages.^a

In some cases, persons who had been guilty of grievous sin were condemned by way of penance to leave their country, and either to wander for a certain time, or to undertake a pilgrimage to some particular place. Many of them were loaded with chains, or with rings which ate into the flesh and inflicted excessive torture.^a Ethelwulf, the father of Alfred the Great, at his visit to Rome in 855, obtained from Benedict III. the privilege that no Englishman should ever be obliged to leave his own country for this sort of penance;^b but long before his time impostors had found their account in going naked and in irons under the pretence of having been sentenced to pilgrimage. The capitulary of 789 forbids such vagabonds to roam about the country, and suggests that those who have really been guilty of some great and unusual offence may perform their penance better by remaining in one place.^c

(8.) The discipline of the Church in dealing with sin was now regulated by Penitential Books. These books were of eastern origin; the earliest of them was drawn up by John, patriarch of Constantinople, the antagonist of Gregory the Great;^d the first in the western church was that of Theodore, the Greek archbishop of Canterbury, which soon gained a great authority in the continental churches as well as in England.^e The object of Theodore was to reduce penance to something practicable, as the impossibility of fulfilling the requirements of the ancient canons had led to a general evasion or disregard of them.^f While the penalties which

^a Cc. 44-5.

^b Notices of this are found as early as Gregory of Tours, in the end of the sixth century. *De Glor. Confess.* 87; see Martene, i. 268; Ducange, s. v. *Peregrinatio*.

^c Th. Rudborne, *Hist. Winton.*, in Wharton, i. 202; Lingard, H. E. i. 177. According to Gaimar, this privilege was obtained for the English by Canute, on his visit to Rome in 1027 or 1031 (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 821).

^c C. 78: cf. *Capit. A.D.* 802, c. 45.

^d Schröckh, xx. 146-7. John's Penitential is in the Appendix to Morinus, *De Pœnit.* 77, seqq.; and in the *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxviii. For the western Penitentials, see Walter, *Kirchenrecht*, 179-182.

^e Lingard, A. S. C. i. 335. It is in Thorpe, 277, seqq., and (with illustrations by Petit) in vol. xcix. of the *Patrologia*.

^f Planck, ii. 292; Retzb. ii. 740.

he appointed were at least as severe as in earlier times, a scheme of commutation was introduced; for example, a certain amount of fasting might be redeemed by the recitation of a prescribed number of psalms. From this the transition was easy to a system of pecuniary commutations^e—a system recommended by the analogy of the *wehr*.^h That institution had been extended from its original character of a composition for life to the case of lesser bodily injuries, so that the loss of a limb, an eye, a finger, or a tooth was to be atoned for by a fixed pecuniary fine;ⁱ and the principle was now introduced into the penitentials, where offences were rated in a scale both of exercises and of money nearly resembling that of the civil damages. As yet, however, these payments were not regarded as a source of profit to the Church, but were to be given to the poor, according to the penitent's discretion.^k In England, the rich were able to relieve themselves in their penance by associating with themselves a number of poor persons for the performance of it. By such means, it was possible to clear off seven years of penitence within a week; and, although the practice was condemned by the Council of Cloveshoo,^m it was afterwards formally sanctioned.ⁿ

The necessary effect of the new penitential system was not only to encourage the fatal error of regarding money as an equivalent for sin—an error against which some councils protested in vain,^o while the language of others seems to countenance it^p—but to introduce a spirit of petty traffic into the relations of sinners with their God. In opposition to this spirit Gregory III. said that canons ought not to lay down exactly the length of time which should be assigned to penance for each offence, forasmuch as that which avails with God is not the measure of time but of sorrow.^q The Council of Châlons denounces the penitential books, of which it says that “the errors are certain and the authors uncertain;” it

^e Theodore, in Thorpe, 309-310, 345; Egbert, c. 2 (Wilkins, i. 115); Lingard, A. S. C. 335-7.

^h Planck, ii. 296; Rettb. ii. 737, 741-2. See above, p. 207.

ⁱ See Alfred's Laws, in Thorpe, 41-4; Perry, 436.

^k Planck, ii. 330; Rettb. ii. 741-2; Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 661-4, Götting. 1828.

^m A.D. 747, c. 27.

ⁿ Turner, Hist. Anglos. iii. 86; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 338-9. See the chapter “Of powerful Men” in Edgar's canons (Thorpe, 414-5). The conclusion is—“This is the alleviation of the penance of a man powerful, and rich in friends;

but one not possessing means may not so proceed, but must seek it in himself the more diligently; and that is also justest, that every one avenge his own misdeeds on himself, with diligent *bot* (compensation). Scriptum est enim, Quia unusquisque onus suum portabit.”

^o Conc. Clovesh. c. 26; Conc. Cabil. A.D. 813, c. 36.

^p Conc. Agath. A.D. 506, c. 6; Conc. Matic. A.D. 585, c. 4. The Capit. Aquisgr. A.D. 816, c. 1, speaks of “pretia peccatorum.” See vol. i. p. 553.

^q Hard. iii. 1870; cf. Halitgar. Præf. ad Penitent. (Patrol. cv. 654, 657).

charges them with "sewing pillows to all arm-holes," and requires that penance should be restored to the footing of the ancient canons;⁷ and there are similar passages in other French councils of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁸

Confession of secret sins was much insisted on; but the priest was regarded rather as an adviser than as a judge, and the form of his absolution was not judicial but deprecatory.⁹ Absolution was usually given immediately after confession, and the prescribed penance was left to be performed afterwards, so that, whereas in earlier ages the penitents had been excluded for a time from the full communion of the Church, they now remained in it throughout.¹⁰

The penalty of excommunication became in the Frankish church much more severe than it had formerly been. The Council of Verne lays down that an excommunicate person "must not enter the church, nor partake of food or drink with any Christian; neither may any one receive his gifts, or kiss him, or join with him in prayer, or salute him."¹¹ It has been supposed that the new terrors of this sentence were borrowed from the practice of the Druids,¹² with a view to controlling the rude converts who would have disregarded a purely spiritual penalty. The power of wielding it must doubtless have added greatly to the influence of the clergy, although this effect did not yet appear so fully as at a later period.

(9.) The trial of guilt or innocence by means of a solemn appeal to heaven had been practised among many heathen nations, including those of the north.¹³ The Mosaic law had sanctioned it in certain cases;¹⁴ it fell in with the popular appetite for miracles,¹⁵ and the Church now for a time took the management of such trials into her own hands. The *Ordeal*, or Judgment of God,¹⁶ was not to be resorted to where the guilt of an accused person was clear, but in cases of suspicion, where evidence was wanting or insufficient. The appeal was conducted with great solemnity. The accuser swore to the truth of his charge; the accused (who

⁷ A.D. 813, c. 38.

⁸ Giesel. II. i. 168. On the evil of the Penitentials, see Martineau, 234-5; on the good which they were able to effect in such ages, there is an eloquent passage in Milman, i. 380-1.

⁹ Bingham, xix. ii. 5-6; Rettb. ii. 738.

¹⁰ Planck, ii. 316.

¹¹ A.D. 755, c. 9 (Pertz, i. 25).

¹² Mosheim, ii. 135.

¹³ ἦμεν δ' ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ μύθους αἰρεῖν χερσίν, κ. τ. λ. Sophocl. Antig. 264-7.

For other instances see Grimm, Rechtsalterthümer, 933; Augusti, x. 254-8.

¹⁴ As in the trial of jealousy, Numb. v.; and in the casting of lots, Josh. vii. ¹⁵ Planck, iii. 540.

¹⁶ *Ordeal* is the same with the modern German *Urtheil*, judgment. Augusti, x. 248; see Ducange, s. v. *Judicium Dei*.

for three days had been preparing himself by fasting and prayer) asserted his innocence in the same manner; and he was adjured in the most awful terms not to approach the Lord's table if he were conscious of any guilt in the matter which was to be submitted to the Divine judgment. Both parties then communicated; and after this, the clergy anointed the instruments with which the trial was to be made.^d

The ordeal was of various kinds. That by *judicial combat* or *wager of battle*^e was introduced into the Burgundian law by the Arian king Gundobald, the contemporary of Clovis, against the remonstrances of Avitus, bishop of Vienne.^f It was not uncommon among the Franks, but appears to have been unknown in England until after the Norman conquest.^g Persons who were disqualified for undergoing this ordeal by age, sex, bodily weakness, or by the monastic or clerical profession, were allowed to fight by champions, who were usually hired, and were regarded as a disreputable class.^h In the trial by *hot iron*, the accused walked barefoot over heated ploughshares,ⁱ or (which was the more usual form), he carried a piece of glowing iron in his hand nine times the length of his foot. The foot or the hand (as the case might be) was then bound up and sealed until the third day, when it was examined, and according to its appearance the guilt or innocence of the party was decided.^k The trial of *hot water* consisted in plunging the arm

^d A collection of forms used in the ordeal is given in Baluze's edition of the Capitularies, and is reprinted by Bouquet, v. 595-609, and in the Patrologia, lxxxvii. 929, seqq. See too Martene, ii. 332; Patrol. cxxxviii. 1127, seqq. The fullest code is that in Athelstane's laws (which may be found in Thorpe), Planck, iii. 540.

^e See Ducange, s. v. *Duellum*, Grimm, 927.

^f Agobard adv. Legem Gundobaldi, c. 13; adv. Judicium Dei, c. 5; Datt, 4. For this there is no ritual in the church-books. Augusti, x. 298.

^g Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 136; Phillips, ii. 127. For the Anglo-Norman laws on this subject, see the 'Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ,' l. ii. c. 3, in Phillips' Appendix. For the early Scottish laws as to the combat and other ordeals, see Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages, 185 seqq.

^h Ducange, s. v. *Campiones*. Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in the tenth century, complains that clergymen and monks were obliged to fight by proxy. The judicial combat, he says, belongs to lay-

men only, and is not a sure test in any case. (De Pressuris Eccles. Patrol. cxxxiv. 58, 61.) In later times, the privilege of exemption from the combat was often granted by emperors or other sovereigns to the inhabitants of particular cities or districts. In Scotland, the burgesses of royal burghs might claim the combat against those of burghs dependent on subjects, but could not in their turn be obliged to grant them the combat (Leges IV. Burgarum, c. 14, in Acts of Parl. of Scotland, i. 23). "Knights and free tenants might do battle by proxy, but those of foul kin were obliged to fight in person." Innes, 185.

ⁱ Ducange, s. v. *Vomeris*; Grimm, 914.

^k Grimm, 915; Lingard, ii. 136. There is a question how this trial could ever have been successfully borne. Mr. Soames supposes that the hand was fortified against the heat by some sort of preparation, and that this, with the shortness of the distance, and the interval of three days before the inspection, might be enough to account for it (A.S.C. 293). Mr. Hallam, although less con-

into a boiling cauldron, and taking out a stone, a ring, or a piece of iron, which was hung at a greater or less depth in proportion to the gravity of the offence in question.^m That of *cold water* was performed by throwing the accused into a pond with a cord attached to him, by which he might be drawn out. If he were laden with weights, sinking was a proof of guilt; if not, it was held to prove his innocence.ⁿ In the ordeal of the *cross* (which, notwithstanding the name which it acquired, was probably of heathen origin),^o the accused or his proxy held up the right arm, or both arms; psalms were sung during the trial, and the sinking or trembling of the arms was evidence of guilt.^p Among other kinds of ordeal were—holding the hand in fire; walking in a thin garment between two burning piles;^q eating a cake, which in England was called the *corened*;^r and receiving the holy eucharist.^s

Some of these practices were condemned after a time. Louis the Pious, after having in 816 prescribed the trial of the cross as a means of deciding between contradictory witnesses,^t abolished

fidently, suggests a like explanation (M. A. ii. 359), and ancient receipts for enabling the hand to bear fire exist (Ducange, s.vv. *Ferum Candens*; Münter, ii. 229; Raumer, v. 284). Grimm, (911) and Rettberg (ii. 753) say that the trial was very rarely made, and only in the case of persons against whom the popular feeling would be strong if they failed. Freemen might clear themselves by their own oath, or by that of compurgators (Ducange, s.v. *Juramentum*; Grimm, 911; Kemble, i. 210), so that the ordeal would be left to slaves (Martene, ii. 331) and to such women as could not find a champion. This explanation, however, does not at all account for the instances of success; and, moreover, cases are recorded in which the trial of hot iron was endured by monks and other freemen (Ducange s.v. *Ferum Candens*; Muratori, in Patrol. lxxxvii. 962-4). Plauck says (iii. 543-6) that in all recorded instances the issue of these ordeals was favourable, and supposes that the clergy employed a pious fraud to save the lives of innocent persons. See Augusti, x. 273.

^m Ducange, s.vv. *Aquas ferventis Judicium*; Grimm, 919; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 135.

ⁿ Ducange, s.vv. *Aquas frigidae Judicium*; Murat. in Patrol. lxxxvii. 959; Augusti, x. 289; Grimm, 523. Hincmar combats the objection raised by the opponents of ordeals, that (when there were no weights) the guilty ought to sink, and the innocent to swim (i. 605),

as is said to have happened in a case recorded by Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Martyrum*, i. 69.

^o Grimm, 926. See Ducange, s.vv. *Crucis Judicium*.

^p Capit. A.D. 779, c. 10; Pagi, xiii. 112.

^q Grimm, 912. Of this we shall meet with instances hereafter.

^r Laws of Cnut, c. 5 (Thorpe, 155); Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 132; Augusti, x. 299. Some writers (as Ducange, s.v.) derive this word from *corse* (curse), and *smaed* (a piece or mouthful); but Grimm and Mr. Thorpe (Glossary to Ancient Laws) prefer a derivation from *cor*, trial.

^s Grimm, 932. This trial was especially used for ecclesiastics, who were not allowed to swear (Ducange, s.v.) *Eucharistia*, p. 115). A council at Worms, in 868, prescribes that, for discovery of theft in a monastery, all the monks should communicate (c. 15), but this was afterwards forbidden as improper (Hard. n. in loc.). Froumund, a monk of Tegersee, in the earlier part of the eleventh century, by way of clearing himself from the suspicion of having stolen a book, prays that, if he had been anyhow concerned in the theft, the Eucharist may turn to his condemnation. Ep. 2 (Patrol. cxli.).

^t This was by way of alternative, if they were not strong enough to fight with clubs and shields. The loser was to forfeit his right hand. Capit. A.D. 816, c. i.

it in the following year, "lest that which hath been glorified by the passion of Christ should through any man's rashness be brought to contempt."^a Under the same emperor, the ordeal of cold water was forbidden in 829,^x although in 824 it had been sanctioned by Eugenius II.—the only pope who ever countenanced the system of ordeals.^y Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, a strenuous opponent of popular superstitions, addressed to Louis two tracts against the judicial combat.^z He reflects on the heresy of the Burgundian king who had sanctioned it.^a He denounces such duels as unchristian, and as involving a breach of charity more important than any good which could be expected from them.^b He argues that, if truth might be thus ascertained, all judges are superfluous;^c that the system holds out a premium to brute strength and to perjury; that the idea of its efficacy is contrary to Scripture, since we are there taught to despise the success of this world—since God suffers his saints to be slain, and has allowed believing nations to be overcome by unbelievers and heretics;^d and he appeals to instances in which the vanity of such trials had been manifested.^e The ordeal, however, continued to be supported by the popular feeling, and the cause which Agobard had opposed soon after found a powerful champion in Hincmar.^f

(10.) The privilege of Asylum in the Germanic kingdoms dif-

^a Capit. A.D. 817, c. 27.

^x Capit. Wormat. c. 12.

^y Mabill. Anallecta. 161; Augusti, x. 251.

^z Adv. Legem Gundob.; Adv. Judic. Dei (Opera, t. i.).

^a Adv. Jud. Dei, 5.

^b Adv. Leg. Gund. init.; Adv. Jud. Dei, 6-11.

^c Adv. Jud. Dei, 5.

^d Adv. Leg. Gund. 9.

^e Ib. 14.

^f See below, Book IV. c. ii. The third council of Valence, A.D. 855, ordered that persons who slew or hurt others in judicial combats should be put to penance as robbers and murderers; and that those slain in such combats should be excluded from the sacrifice of the mass and from Christian burial (c. 12). It also condemned the custom of admitting contradictory oaths (c. 11). There is a letter of Ivo, bishop of Chartres, A.D. 1099, to Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans (and afterwards archbishop of Tours), who had been required by William Rufus to clear himself, by the ordeal of hot iron, from the charge of having been concerned in the surrender of Le Mans to Elie de la Flèche (see Lappenb. ii. 204). Ivo cites several

popes against the system, and exhorts Hildebert by no means to countenance it (Ep. 74; cf. Ep. 205, Patrol. clxii.). A few years later, however, we find Gille, bishop of Limerick, in a tract intended to inculcate Roman usages on his countrymen, speaking of the priest as entitled to bless the water or the bread in ordeals, and of the bishop as blessing the "judicial iron" (ib. clix. 1000-2). Alan of Ryssel, in the end of the twelfth century, says that an oath is the only lawful purgation, "cum alia purgatione ab ecclesia sint prohibitæ, ut judicium aquæ frigidaë, et ferri candentis, et ignis; hoc enim modo se purgare, est Deum tentare" (contra Hæreticos, ii. 19, Patrol. ccx.). The Fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, forbade the clergy to take part in ordeals (c. 18). But although popes and kings endeavoured to suppress the practice of judicial combat (Ducange, s. v. *Duellum*, p. 593; Gratian, Decr. II. ii. 5, Patrol. clxxxvii.), it continued to flourish, and, as is well known, it was sanctioned by English law down to the present century, when it was abolished by 59 Geo. III. c. 46 (Kerr's Blackstone, iii. 359-362).

ferred considerably from that which had existed under the Roman empire. It arose out of the ancient national usages; the object of it was not to bestow impunity on the criminal, but to protect him against hasty and irregular vengeance, to secure for him a legal trial, to afford the clergy an opportunity of interceding for him, and, if possible, of mitigating his punishment.⁵ The operation of this institution was aided by the system of pecuniary composition for wrongs. The clergy were usually able to stipulate for the safety of the offender's life and limbs on condition that he should pay a suitable fine, or perhaps that he should submit to a course of penance.⁶ Charlemagne in 779 limited the right of sanctuary by enacting that murderers or other capital offenders should not be allowed to take refuge in churches, and that, if they gained admittance, no food should be given to them.¹ According to the Roman idea of asylum, the denial of food would have been an impiety sufficient to draw down some judgment from the patron saint of a church; but it was not inconsistent with the German view.² The clergy, however, soon discovered a way of evading this law, by construing it as applicable to impenitent criminals only—i. e. to such as should refuse to confess to the priest, and to undergo ecclesiastical penance—a refusal which was not likely to be frequent, where it involved the choice between starvation and loss of sanctuary.³ The prohibition of food does not appear in later enactments of the reign.⁴

The church could not fail to derive popularity from the power of offering shelter within its precincts against the lawlessness of which the world was then so full.⁶ With a view of investing it with such popularity among his new subjects, Charlemagne ordered, in his capitulary for Saxony (A.D. 785), that any person who should take sanctuary should, for the honour of God and His church, be safe in life and limb, and should be unmolested until the next court-day, when he was to be sentenced to make suitable amends for his offence.⁷ In legislating for the country after it had been reduced to a more settled state, this privilege was with-

⁵ Planck, ii. 256; Grimm, *Rechtsalterthümer*, 886; *Rettb.* ii. 745; Ozanam, 139.

⁶ Schröckh, xix. 471; Planck, ii. 257; *Rettb.* ii. 746-7.

¹ C. 8. This is the Lombard form, which is clearer than the Frankish. See both in Pertz, i. 36.

² *Rettb.* ii. 747.

³ Schröckh, xix. 471; Planck, ii.

259-260.

⁴ E. g. the additions to the Salic law, A.D. 803, c. 3 (Pertz, i. 113); Conc. Mogunt. A.D. 813, c. 39. It is, however, in Alfred's laws, c. 5. (Thorpe, 29.)

⁵ Planck, ii. 261; Hallam, M. A. ii. 366.

⁶ C. 2.

drawn, and the church was required to surrender up persons convicted of capital crimes.¹

Among the Anglo-Saxons, the earliest law on the subject of asylum was that of Ina, in 696, which ordered that fugitives guilty of capital crimes should have their life protected by the church, but should be bound to make legal satisfaction; and that delinquents who had "put their hide in peril"—i. e. who had incurred the penalty of whipping—should be forgiven.² But the shelter of the church was only to be granted for a certain time. The laws of Alfred (A.D. 877) limit it in some monasteries to three days;³ it was, however, afterwards extended; and even in the same laws a longer term is allowed to other places.⁴ Persons guilty of murder, treason, or crimes against religion, might ordinarily be dragged even from the altar; but some churches of especial sanctity, among which that of Croyland enjoyed the most extensive immunities, had the right of protecting all fugitives whatever.⁵ The effect of such a privilege was probably felt as a serious hindrance to the execution of justice; for when Croyland, after having been laid waste by the Danes, was restored in the reign of Edred by his chancellor Turketul, the aged statesman declined to accept a renewal of its ancient rights of sanctuary.⁶

VI. Slavery.

Instead of absolutely condemning slavery as an unlawful institution—a course which would probably have introduced anarchy into society, and would have raised a serious hindrance to the progress of the Gospel—the New Testament had been content to prepare the way for its gradual abolition by exhorting both master and slave to the performance of their mutual duties on the ground of their common brotherhood in Christ. And as yet the church aimed only at a mitigation, not at an extinction, of slavery.

Servitude was of two kinds—that of slaves properly so called, and that of the *coloni*. The slaves were individually liable to

¹ Rettb. ii. 412, 748. In Alcuin's correspondence, there is much about a dispute between him and Theodulf of Orleans, on the subject of a convicted clerk, who escaped from Orleans and took refuge in St. Martin's abbey at Tours. The monks and the mob of Tours rose in his defence, and Alcuin incurred the displeasure of Charlemagne by supporting his brethren, who seem to have been altogether in the wrong.

Epp. 118-9, 195.

² C. 5. Wilkins, i. 59; Thorpe, 46.

³ C. 2. Thorpe, 28.

⁴ C. 5. See Thorpe, 27-9; Lingard, A. S. C. i. 275.

⁵ Lingard, A. S. C. i. 276. See as to Hexham, Ric. Hagustald. ap. Twysden, 292.

⁶ Ingulf. ap. Fell, Rer. Brit. Script. 40, Oxf. 1684.

removal and sale; they were incapable, under the Roman empire, of contracting a legitimate marriage,⁷ and their property belonged to their master. The coloni were regarded as freeborn, so that, unlike slaves, they might become soldiers; they were attached to the land, so that they could not be separated from it, nor could it be sold without them. They were capable of marriage and of possessing property; for the land which they cultivated, they paid a fixed rent, generally in kind, and they were subject to the land-tax and to a poll-tax.⁸ It would, however, seem difficult to distinguish thoroughly between these classes in the canons which relate to the subject.

Theodore of Canterbury notes it as a point of difference between the eastern and the western monks, that, while the Latins have slaves, the Greeks have none.⁹ The oriental monks themselves performed the labour which was elsewhere devolved on slaves; it was usual for persons entering on the monastic life to emancipate their slaves;¹⁰ and some teachers, as Isidore of Pelusium in the fifth century¹¹ and Theodore the Studite in the ninth, altogether questioned, or even denied, the lawfulness of having such property.¹² In the west there are occasional appearances of a like kind. Thus Wilfrid, on getting possession of the Isle of Selsey, emancipated all the serfs who were attached to the soil;¹³ and Benedict of Aniane, whose ideas were chiefly drawn from the eastern monastic rules, on receiving gifts of land for his monasteries, refused to accept the serfs with it.¹⁴ Somewhat in the same spirit was the enactment of the council of Chalchythe, in 816, that a bishop at his death should liberate such of his English slaves as had been

⁷ In the East, the marriage of slaves was only concubinage, till Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867-886) altered the law; and that emperor's edict was not observed in practice (Biot, *De l'Abolition de l'Esclavage en Occident*, Paris, 1810, p. 213; Milman, i. 339). The barbarian codes, however, recognise it as proper marriage (Milman, i. 363). There are many regulations as to marriages between parties of various conditions, as to the effects of separation by sale, &c.; e. g. Conc. Tolet. IX. A.D. 655, c. 13; Theodor. Capit. 17; Egbert. Excerpt. 126; Conc. Vermer. A.D. 753, c. 6; Conc. Compend. A.D. 756, c. 5; Conc. Cabil. III. A.D. 813, c. 30.

⁸ Guizot, iii. 125-133; Savigny, on the Roman Coloni, in *Philolog. Museum*, ii. 117-146; Thierry, *Essai sur le Tiers Etat*, c. 1. The coloni appear only in the later times of Rome, and the origin

of the institution is unknown (Savigny, 145. See Guizot, 133). Prince A. de Broglie quotes Wallon, 'De l'Esclavage,' as having shown that they were originally small landholders who in bad times placed themselves in the condition here described for the sake of protection, &c., ii. 275-9.

⁹ Penit. 8 (Patrol. xcix.).

¹⁰ See e. g. Theodor. Studit. *Laudatio Platonis*, 8 (Patrol. Gr. xcix.).

¹¹ Ep. i. 142.

¹² Theodore, in his will (p. 66, ed. Sirmond), forbids the abbot of his monastery to have slaves, since the use of them, as of marriage, is allowed to secular persons only. But the reason which he gives—that they are men, made in God's image—would hold equally against all slavery whatever.

¹³ Bede, iv. 13.

¹⁴ Vita, c. 14, ap. Mabill. v. 197.

reduced to bondage in his own time.⁵ But the usual practice of the west was different. In donations of land to the church, the serfs passed with the soil, as in other transfers.⁶ Bishops were restrained by a regard for the property of their churches from emancipating the serfs who belonged to these; the fourth council of Toledo (A.D. 633) declared such emancipation to be a robbery of the church; it enacted that the next bishop should assert his right over any persons whom his predecessor had thus wrongfully liberated, and that any bishop wishing to emancipate a slave should indemnify the church by providing another in his stead.⁷ An earlier council—that of Agde, in 506—had restrained the power of bishops to alienate slaves; and, in a spirit curiously opposed to the oriental principles, it forbade monks to manumit their slaves, “lest they should keep holiday while the monks work.”⁸

Yet with all this the church did very much to abate the evils of slavery.⁹ It insisted on the natural equality of men, and on the brotherhood of Christians, as motives to kindness towards slaves; and in the treatment of its own dependents it held out an example to lay masters.¹⁰ It threw open its sanctuaries to those who fled from cruelty; it secured their pardon before surrendering them to their owners; it denounced excommunication against any master who should break a promise made to a fugitive slave.¹¹ It placed the killing of a slave without judicial authority on the same footing of guilt as the killing of a freeman.¹² It endeavoured to restrain the sale of slaves, by limiting the power which parents among the heathen nations exercised over their own offspring,¹³ and by prohibiting that any should be sold to Jews or heathens.¹⁴ It declared

⁵ C. 10; comp. the will of Ælfrie, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1006, in the Abingdon Chronicle, i. 419.

⁶ Planck, ii. 348-350.

⁷ Cc. 67-8.

⁸ C. 56.

⁹ Churton, 149-152; Kemble, i. 208-9; Rettb. ii. 735.

¹⁰ Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 418; Rettb. ii. 736; Montalemb. i. Introd. 214.

¹¹ See Neander, v. 138, who quotes a horrible story from Gregory of Tours, v. 13.

¹² Planck, ii. 350.

¹³ Theodore of Canterbury (Pœnit. 28) and Egbert of York (Pœnit. i. 27; Thorpe, 354) recognise the right of a father, in cases of need, to sell his son under the age of seven, but not above that age, except with the son's consent. — Elsewhere excommunicates those

who sell their children (Pœnit. iv. 26. p. 381),—a seeming inconsistency, which is explained by supposing the excommunication to apply to the case of boys over seven years of age. Kemble, i. 199-200.

¹⁴ E. g. Cod. Theod. III. i. 5; Cod. Just. I. iii. 56. 3; I. x.; Gregor. Epp. i. 10; ix. 36, and elsewhere; Conc. Cabil. A.D. 650, c. 9; Conc. Tolet. x. A.D. 656, c. 7; Laws of Ina, A.D. 696, c. 11 (Thorpe, 48); Capit. Mantuan. c. 7 (Pertz, i. 41). Constantius had forbidden the sale of even a heathen slave to a Jew, lest his conversion should be hindered (Biot, 138). Gregory III. charges Boniface to prevent Christians from selling slaves to pagans for sacrifice (Ep. i. 8; Patrol. lxxxix.). There is a remarkable letter of Adrian I. to Charlemagne, who had been told that

the enfranchisement of slaves to be a work conducive to salvation,* and it was through the influence of the church that innumerable masters directed by their wills that their slaves should be set free "for the deliverance of their own souls."^t The liberation was often, as under the Roman law, visibly associated with religion by being performed in church: the master at the altar resigned his slave to the church, with which the freedman was thenceforth connected by a peculiar tie—he and his descendants paying some slight acknowledgment to it, while, in the failure of posterity, the church was heir to his property.^u

There was also another way by which the church signally contributed to raise the estimation of the servile classes. As the freemen of the conquering nations were prevented from becoming clergy or monks without the sovereign's leave, in order that he might not lose their military service, the bishops were obliged to recruit the ranks of their clergy chiefly from the classes which were below the obligation to such service.^x The fourth council of Toledo requires that serfs ordained to be clergy should be emancipated;^y but it was not until the year 817, in the reign of Louis the Pious, that a similar law was established in France,^z although before that time the clergy of servile race had been exempted from servile duties.^a The serf, when ordained, became capable of rising to honour and power; when promoted beyond the minor orders, he was assessed at a *wehr* corresponding to that of high secular rank; and this rose with each step to which he was advanced in the hierarchy.^b The clergy who had thus been raised from a servile condition to dignity and influence felt themselves bound (apart from all religious motives) to labour for the benefit of the class to which they had originally belonged, and a general elevation of that class was the result.^c

the Romans had sold slaves to the Saracens, apparently with the pope's sanction. Adrian, with much indignant language, endeavours to clear himself of the imputation, and throws the blame on Greeks and Lombards, whom, he says, he had attempted to check, but in vain, as he had not ships to enforce his wishes (Bouquet, v. 557). On the sale of slaves to the Saracens, which was chiefly carried on by the Venetians, see Leo, *Gesch. v. Italien*, i. 223-6.

* See Marculf, ii. 32 (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

^t Planck, ii. 360-1; Turner, *Hist. Anglos.* iii. 480; Kemble, ii. 212.

^x Conc. Tolet. iv. A.D. 633, cc. 70-1; Planck, ii. 360; Kemble, i. 224; Rettb. ii. 736. See in *Chron. Casin.* i. 10 (Pertz, vii.), the donation made by a citizen of

Benevento, A.D. 771, to the monastery of Monte Cassino.

^z Planck, ii. 352; Neand. v. 135. For the laws as to ordination of slaves, see Gratian, *Dist.* 54 (Patrol. clxxxvii.).

^y A.D. 633. C. 74. Justinian had forbidden that slaves should be ordained, even with the leave of their masters; because these, by freeing them, could open the lawful path to ordination (Cod. Just. I. iii. 37); but afterwards ordination itself emancipated. See the notes, l.c., and comp. *Novell.* cxliii. 17; Leo, *Const.* 9, 11.

^a Capit. Generale, c. 6; Planck, ii. 355. The form then used is in Bouquet, vi. 447.

^b Planck, ii. 354-6. ^b See p. 207.

^c Planck, ii. 356-8; Guizot, ii. 32.

The advancement of persons servilely born to high ecclesiastical station was not, however, unattended by a mixture of bad effects. Thegan, the biographer of Louis the Pious, gives a very unfavourable representation of such clergy. He tells us that, when they have attained to offices of dignity, the gentleness of their former manners is exchanged for insolence, quarrelsomeness, domineering, and assumption; that they emancipate their relations, and either provide for them by church-preferment or marry them into noble families; and that these upstarts are insufferably insolent to the old nobility.^d The picture is no doubt coloured both by Thegan's prejudices as a man of high birth, and by his indignation at the behaviour of some ecclesiastics towards his unfortunate sovereign; but the parallels both of history and of our own experience may assure us of its substantial truth.

^d Vita Hludov. 20. (Pertz. ii.) On France, see Thierry, sur le Tiers Etat, the gradual disappearance of slavery in 10, seqq.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEPOSITION
OF POPE GREGORY VI., A.D. 814-1046.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS THE PIOUS (A.D. 814-840)—END OF THE CONTROVERSY AS TO
IMAGES (A.D. 813-842)—THE FALSE DECRETALS.

I. THE great defect of Charlemagne's system was, that it required a succession of such men as himself to carry it on. His actual successors were sadly unequal to sustain the mighty burden of the empire.

Feeling the approach of his end, Charlemagne, after obtaining the concurrence of the national diet, summoned his only surviving legitimate son, Louis, from Aquitaine to Aix-^{A.D. 813.} la-Chapelle, where, in the presence of a vast assemblage, he declared him his colleague and successor.* He exhorted the prince as to the duties of sovereignty, and received from him a promise of obedience to his precepts. He then desired Louis to advance to the high altar, on which an imperial crown was placed, to take the crown, and with his own hands to place it on his head^b—an act by which the emperor intended to assert that he and his posterity derived their title neither from coronation by the pope nor from the acclamations of the Romans, but immediately from God.^c After this inauguration, Louis returned to the government of Aquitaine, but was soon again summoned to Aix-la-Chapelle, in consequence of his father's death, which took place in January 814.^d

* The chief authorities for the reign of Louis are the lives by Thegan, a suffragan of Treves, and by an unknown writer, who, from his mention of conversations which he held with the Emperor on astronomical subjects (c. 58), is styled the *Astronomer*. Both are in Pertz, ii., in Bouquet, vi., and in the 'Patrologia,' civ., cvi. The name *Ludwig* or *Louis* is the same with *Chlodowig*, the harsh aspirate having been first softened,

and then omitted. In like manner *Chlothachar* became *Lothair*. Sismondi, ii. 442.

^b Einhard, Vita Kar. 30; Thegan, 6; Astron. 20; Funck's 'Ludwig der Fromme,' 41-5, Frankf. a. M. 1832.

^c See Fleury, xlv. 7; Gibbon, iv. 507; Luden, v. 227.

^d Thegan, 8. Charlemagne was beatified by the antipope Paschal III., in 1165, at the instance of the emperor Frederick I. Altars are dedicated to him at Aix-

Louis, at the time of his accession to the empire, was thirty-six years of age. In his infancy, he had been crowned by Pope Adrian as king of his native province, Aquitaine.^o He had for many years governed that country, and had earned a high character for the justice and the ability of his administration. He was brave, learned, and accomplished; kindhearted, gentle, and deeply religious.^f But when from a subordinate royalty he was raised to the head of the empire, defects before unobserved began to appear in his character. His piety was largely tinged with superstition; he had already thought it his duty to abjure the study of classic literature for such as was purely religious,^g and, but for his father's prohibition, he would have become a monk like his great-uncle Carloman.^h He was without resolution or energy, wanting in knowledge of men, and ready to become the victim of intrigues.ⁱ

In Aquitaine Louis had been surrounded by a court of his own, and his old advisers continued to retain their authority with him.^k The chief of these was Benedict of Aniane, whose rigid virtue could not fail to be scandalised by the licentiousness which, after Charlemagne's example, had increased in the imperial household during the last years of the late reign. This Louis at once proceeded to reform by banishing from the court his sisters and their paramours, with other persons of notoriously light reputation.^m Nor were the statesmen who had been associated with Charlemagne spared. Among these the most important were three brothers, related to the royal family—Adelhard, Wala, and Bernard.ⁿ Adelhard had in his youth left the court of Charlemagne in disgust at the divorce of the Lombard queen,^o and had entered the monastery of Corbie, of which he became abbot. In later years he had acquired a powerful influence over the great emperor; he had been the principal counsellor of his son Pipin, in the government of Italy, and, in conjunction with Wala, he had

la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Zurich (Böhrmer, *Reg. Karol.* 27). His name is not in the Roman calendar, but the local veneration of him is regarded by canonists as legalised, inasmuch as the sentence of the antipope has not been disallowed by any legitimate pope. (Baron. 814. 63; Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 28; Pagi, xix. 271; Patrol. xcviii. 1357). Some churches, however, as that of Metz, still have (or had in the last century) a yearly office for the repose of his soul (Fleury, xlv. 9.)

^o Easter, 781; Astron. 4; Funck, 7.

^f Astron. 19; Sismondi, ii. 424-6; Palgrave, *Norm. and England*, i. 178.

^g Thegan, 19.

^h Astron. 19.

ⁱ Luden, v. 231; Palgrave, *Norm. and Eng.* i. 187-8; Funck, 39.

^k Thegan, 20.

^m Astronom. 21-3.

ⁿ The lives of Adelhard and Wala ('*Epitaphium Arsenii*') were written in the form of dialogue by Paschasius Radbert, whose work on the Eucharist will be mentioned in the next chapter. Both are in Mabillon, v., and in Patrol. cxx. ^o P. 130; Vita Adelh. 7-8.

advised Charlemagne to name Pipin's son Bernard as heir of the empire, in preference to Louis.^p Adelhard and the youngest brother were banished; Count Wala was compelled to become a monk in the abbey from which Adelhard was removed; and thus was laid the foundation of a lasting enmity between the men of the old and those of the new reign.^q

Leo III., dissatisfied (as it would seem) at the manner in which Louis had received the crown, omitted to congratulate him on his accession, and did not exact from the Romans the usual oath of fidelity to the emperor.^r The feuds which had once before endangered this pope's life broke out afresh shortly after the death of his protector. There were serious disorders A.D. 815. and much bloodshed at Rome; and Leo took it on himself to punish some of his enemies with death—an act which Louis regarded as an invasion of his own sovereignty. He therefore sent his nephew Bernard, king of Italy, to inquire into the matter on the spot; but the pope disarmed his indignation by submitting to give an explanation of his conduct.^s Leo died in 816.^t The wealth which he had at his disposal appears to have been enormous, and the papal librarian Anastasius fills many pages with an enumeration of the splendid gifts which it enabled him to bestow on his church.

The Romans hastily chose as his successor Stephen IV., who was consecrated without any application for the emperor's consent.^u Stephen felt the necessity of apologising for June, 816. this irregularity, which he ascribed to the emergency of the time, when popular tumults were to be apprehended. He published a decree by which it was enacted that the consecration of future popes should be performed in the presence of imperial commissioners;^v and, after having made the citizens of Rome swear allegiance to Louis, he himself went into France for the purpose of explanation and excuse,—perhaps, also, to secure himself from the violence of the Roman factions.^w But the devout emperor did not wait for his submission. He met him at the distance of a mile from Rheims; each dismounted from his horse, and Louis thrice prostrated himself at the pope's feet Oct. 816. before venturing to embrace him.^x On the following Sunday, the

^p Vita Adelh. c. 16; Vita Walæ, ed. Mabill., pp. 453, seqq.; Funck, 42.

^q Vita Adelh. 32-5; Vita Walæ, i. 2, 11; Funck, 48.

^r Einhard, A.D. 815; Astron. 25; Baron. 815. 1; Funck, 55.

^s Pagi, xiii. 568.

^t Einhard, A.D. 816.

^u Gratian. Decr. Pars I. d. lxiii. 28.

^v (See notes in Patrol. cxix. 795; clxxxvii. 337; Jaffé, 221.)

^w Thegan, 16; Milman, ii. 248.

^x Thegan, 16; Astron. 26; Flodoard, ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxix.).

pontiff placed on the head of Louis a splendid crown which he had brought with him, and anointed both him and his empress Ermengarde.* Anastasius tells us that the honour paid to the pope almost exceeded the power of language to describe; that he obtained from the emperor whatever he desired; that, after our Lord's example of forgiveness, he pardoned all who in the time of Leo had been obliged to seek a refuge in France on account of offences against the church, and that they accompanied him on his return to Rome.^b On the death of Stephen, in the beginning of the following year (817), Paschal was immediately chosen and consecrated as his successor. The new pope sent a legation to assure the emperor that he "had been forced rather than had leapt into" his see, and his apology was accepted.^c

Louis was bent on effecting a reformation both in the church and in the state. By means of his *missi* he redressed many grievances which had grown up under his father's government;^d and in councils held at Aix in 816 and 817, he passed a great number of regulations for the reform of the clergy, and of the religious societies.^e The secular business in which bishops had been much employed by Charlemagne had not been without an effect on their character and on that of the inferior clergy, so that the condition of the church towards the end of the late reign had retrograded.^f The canons now passed testify to the existence of many abuses. Their general tone is strict; they aim at securing influence and respect for the clergy by cutting off their worldly pomp, and enforcing attention to their spiritual duties. The canonical life is regulated by a code enlarged from that of Chrodegang.^g The acquisition of wealth by improper means is checked by an order that no bequest shall be accepted by churches or monasteries to the disinheriting of the testator's kindred, and that no one shall be tonsured either as a monk or as a clergyman for the sake of obtaining his property.^h We find, however, complaints of the evils against which this canon was directed as well after its enactment as before.ⁱ Another important canon ordered that every parish priest should have a *mansus*, or glebe; that

* Thegan, 17. Luden observes that the biographer does not, until after this coronation, give Louis the title of emperor. v. 579.

^b Anastas. 213; Astron. 26.

^c Astron. 27.

^d Thegan, 13; Sismondi, ii. 432. The scheme of administration by *missi* had been very imperfectly carried out under

Charlemagne. Stephen, i. 112.

* See Pertz, Leges, i, 201, seqq.

^f Ellendorf, ii. 51-2.

^g See p. 213.

^h Capit. A.D. 817, c. 7.

ⁱ Ellendorf, ii. 58-62, gives quotations from Paschasius, Wettin, &c. The evil had been noted by the council of Châlons in 813, c. 6-7.

both the glebe and his other property should be discharged from all but ecclesiastical service;^k and that, when this provision should have been fulfilled, every parish, where there was a sufficient maintenance, should have a priest of its own.^m Benedict of Aniane was president of the assembly which was charged with the monastic reform. He recovered to their proper use many monasteries which had been alienated either to laymen or to secular clergy; and he obtained relief for many from the burdens of gifts to the crown and of military service,—burdens which had pressed so heavily on some of them that the remaining income had been insufficient even for food and clothing.ⁿ The rule of St. Benedict was taken as the basis of the new reforms; but the canons are marked by a punctilious minuteness very unlike its original spirit.^o

These reforms were the work of the independent Frankish church, and were sanctioned by the supreme authority of the emperor, who exercised the same prerogative as his father in matters concerning religion.^p

In the holy week of 817, as Louis and his household were passing along a gallery which led from the palace to the cathedral of Aix, the wooden pillars on which it rested gave way. The emperor suffered little hurt; but the accident suggested to his counsellors the possibility of his death, and the expediency of providing for that event.^q By their advice he proposed the subject to the national assembly, and obtained its consent to the association of his eldest son, Lothair, as his colleague in the empire;^r but this measure, which was intended for the preservation of peace, became the source of fatal divisions. The younger brothers, Pipin and Louis, who held respectively a delegated sovereignty over Aquitaine and Germany,^s were discontented at finding themselves placed in a new relation of inferiority towards their *senior*,^t to whom they were bound to pay “gifts,” and without whose consent they were not at liberty to make war or peace, to receive ambas-

^k C. 10. The Astronomer says that a male and a female serf were also attached to each living. 28.

^m C. 11.

ⁿ Vita S. Ben. Anian. (Mabill. v.), 50, 54; Astron. 28.

^o Guizot, ii. 317.

^p Guizot, ii. 318; Milman, ii. 249. Baronius, however, ventures to assert the contrary. 819. 11.

^q Astron. 28.

^r Funck, 62-3. It was not by primogeniture but by election that Lothair

became emperor. Martin, ii. 373.

^s Pagi, xiii. 539.

^t This word, from meaning the eldest or head of a family, had come, as early as the time of Gregory of Tours, to bear the sense of *lord* or *master*, which its derivatives have in the Romance languages, and from the eighth century was used to denote a king or other superior in relation to his dependent *homines* (Perry, 400). Hincmar seems to object to this use of it as novel and improper, ii. 835.

sadors, or to marry.² But the elevation of Lothair was still more offensive to Bernard, son of the emperor's elder brother Pipin by a concubine. Bernard had been appointed by Charlemagne to succeed his father in the kingdom of Italy. The defect of his birth was not regarded by the Franks as a bar to inheritance; as it had not prevented his receiving an inferior royalty, it did not disqualify him for succeeding his grandfather in the empire;³ and, as it was chiefly on the ground of maturer age that Louis, the younger son of Charlemagne, had been preferred to the representative of the elder son, Bernard might have now expected on the same ground to be preferred to the children of Louis.⁷ The king of Italy had hitherto endeavoured, by a ready submission and compliance with his uncle's wishes in all things, to disarm the jealousy which the empress Ermengarde continually strove to instil into her husband's mind.⁸ But he now yielded to the influence of the discontented party, of which Theodulf of Orleans, a Goth or Lombard by birth, and the bishops of Milan and Cremona, were the most active members, while Wala from his monastery zealously aided them by his counsels. The pope himself, Paschal, is said to have been implicated in their schemes.⁹ But the emperor and his partisans made demonstrations, which showed that any attempt to subvert the government would be hopeless. Bernard repaired to Châlons on the Saône—decoyed, according to some writers,^b by the empress, under a promise of forgiveness and safety. He confessed to his uncle his guilty designs, and, after a trial, was sentenced to death. The sentence was compassionately changed by Louis to the loss of eyesight; but, whether from the cruelty with which the operation was performed, or from grief and despair, the unhappy Bernard died within three days.^c Theodulf was deprived of his see, without any regard to his plea that, as having received the pall, he was subject to no jurisdiction except the pope's.^d Louis, now rendered suspicious of all his kindred, compelled three of his illegitimate

² *Divisio Imperii*, cc. 7, 8, 13. (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 199.)

³ See Funck, 42, 240, 243.

⁷ Michelet, ii. 93; Luden, v. 262-3.

⁸ Sismondi, ii. 436.

⁹ Ellendorf, ii. 90.

^b Sismondi, ii. 443-6; Funck, 65. Dean Milman (ii. 252) questions this, which he supposes to have no authority but that of Funck; but it is also said by Muratori (IV. iii. 302) on the authority of an ancient chronicler, Andrew, in Mencken's collection. Luden thinks it uncertain, but not unlikely. v. 265-6.

^c Both reasons are given. Ermen-garde is said to have instigated the cruelty. See Thegan, 22-3; Murat. IV. ii. 304 (citing Andrew, as above); Sismondi, ii. 443-5; Funck, 66; Palgrave, i. 231. The Astronomer seems to mean that Bernard and another committed suicide—"Dum impatientius oculorum ablationem tulerunt, mortis sibi consciverunt acerbitatem" (30). See the various accounts in Luden, v. 268, and note.

^d Theodulph. Carm. iv. 5 (Patrol. cv.); Funck, 68.

brothers—of whom Drogo was afterwards creditably known as bishop of Metz—to be tonsured.^e

The empress Ermengarde, whose zeal for the interest of her sons had been a principal cause of the late troubles, died shortly after. Louis in his sorrow was disposed to resign his crown and become a monk. But the ecclesiastics whom he consulted dissuaded him; the daughters of his nobles were assembled for his inspection, and he chose Judith, daughter of Welf, count of ^{A.D. 819.} Bavaria, to be the partner of his throne.^f The new empress is described as not only beautiful, but possessed of learning and accomplishments unusual in the ladies of that age; and her power over her husband was absolute.^g

In 821, on the marriage of Lothair, Theodulf, Wala, Adelhard, and the other accomplices of Bernard were forgiven^h—an act of grace which has been traced to the removal of Benedict by death from the emperor's councils.ⁱ But Louis was still disturbed by the remembrance of the severities which had been exercised in his name; the alarms of his conscience were increased by some reverses, by earthquakes, and other portents;^k and at the diet of Attigny, in the following year, he appeared in the dress ^{A.D. 822.} of a penitent. He lamented his own sins and the sins of his father. He expressed remorse for the death of Bernard—an act in which his only share had been that mitigation of the sentence which had been so unhappily frustrated in the execution. He entreated the forgiveness of Wala and Adelhard, who were present. He professed sorrow for his behaviour to Drogo and his brothers, and bestowed high ecclesiastical dignities on them by way of compensation. He gave large alms to monks, and entreated their prayers; and he issued a capitulary acknowledging his neglect of duty towards the church, and promising amendment of abuses.^m Wala was sent into Italy, to act as

^e Thegan, 24; Sismondi, ii. 445-6. To this time belongs the pretended date of a document known from its first words by the name of *Ego Ludovicus* (Pertz, *Leges*, ii. Append. 6), in which the emperor is represented as giving up a large part of Italy to the pope, and as ordering that no Frank, Lombard, or other person shall interfere in the appointment of popes. Sir F. Palgrave seems to regard it as genuine. (Norm. and England, i. 262, 727.) But it is generally considered a clumsy forgery. (See Pagi, xiii. 591; Schröckh, xxii. 44; Planck, ii. 779; Pertz, p. 9; Patrol.

xviii. 579.) Pagi's candour in this matter is distressing to a later annotator on Baronius (xiii. 625), and to the Abbé Rohrbacher, xi. 404.

^f Astron. 32; Thegan, 26; Einhard, A.D. 819. ^g Michelet, ii. 96-7.

^h Vita Adelh. 46; Astron. 34; Einh. A.D. 821; Pagi, xiv. 20-3. Theodulf died the same year. Pagi, 23.

ⁱ Funck, 71, 241; Gfrörer, iii. 727.

^k Luden, v. 278.

^m Capit. Attiniac. (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 231); Astron. 35; Vita Adelh. 51; Sismondi, ii. 453-5; Palgrave, i. 249. On this assembly, see Hefele, iv. 31.

adviser to Lothair, who had obtained that kingdom on the death of Bernard.ⁿ

On Easter-day, 823, Lothair, who had gone to Rome on the invitation of Paschal,^o was there crowned by the pope as emperor. He had already been crowned by his father, at the time of his elevation to a share in the empire; but Paschal, by persuading him to accept this second coronation, as an ecclesiastical sanction of his authority, carried on a chain of policy which resulted in persuading the world that sovereignty was derived from the successors of St. Peter.

Soon after Lothair's departure from the city, two high officers of the church, who were among the chief of the emperor's Roman partisans, were decoyed into the Lateran palace, where—in punishment, as was believed, of their attachment to the Frank interest—they were blinded and afterwards beheaded.^p Louis, on hearing of this affair, sent a count and an abbot to investigate it. The pope appeared before the commissioners, and, with thirty-four bishops and five other clergymen, swore that he had no share in the death of the victims. But he maintained that they had deserved it as traitors; and he refused to give up the murderers, on the ground that they had sought the protection of St. Peter, and belonged to the Apostle's family. The commissioners, having no authority to use force, reported the circumstances to their master, and Paschal at the same time sent some envoys to offer explanations. The emperor did not pursue the matter further; but he resolved to place his relations with Rome on a more satisfactory footing.^q

An opportunity was soon furnished in consequence of Paschal's death, which took place in May, 824.^r A severe contest arose for the papacy. Lothair went to Rome, and asserted the Frankish sovereignty by acknowledging Eugenius II., the candidate who was supported by Wala's influence,^s as the rightful successor of St. Peter.^t The young emperor complained of the late murder of

ⁿ Vita Walæ, i. 25.

^o Astron. 36; Einhard, A.D. i. 823. Paschasius untruly says that Louis sent his son to be crowned at Rome. See Ellendorf, ii. 26.

^p Astron. 37; Einh. A.D. 823. See Luden, v. 298.

^q Einh. A.D. 823; Astron. 37-8; Funck, 76-7; Sismondi, ii. 458-9.

^r Paschal was so detested by the Romans that they would not allow him to be buried with his predecessors; but

Eugenius ordered the body to be interred in a place which Paschal had prepared. (Thegan, 30.) Funck supposes that by *populus* Thegan here means the nobility of Rome. 78, 251.

^s Vita Walæ, i. 28. He was the candidate of the party opposed to Louis. Luden, x. 295.

^t Baron. 824. 12. Pagi (xiii. 60, 93) points out that Lothair acted as sovereign, not as protector of the church.

his adherents. He inquired why the popes and the Roman judges were continually spoken against. He discovered that many pieces of land had been wrongfully seized by the popes (perhaps under the pretence that they were legacies to the church), and caused great joy by restoring them to the rightful owners. He settled that, "according to ancient custom," imperial commissioners should visit Rome at certain times, for the general administration of justice.^a He exacted of the Romans individually an oath of fealty to the empire, saving their faith to the pope. He enacted that no person should interfere with their right of electing a bishop; but he bound them by an engagement that they would not allow any one to be consecrated as pope, until he should have sworn allegiance to the emperor in the presence of an imperial commissioner.^a Although this engagement was in the sequel sometimes neglected or evaded, the report of Lothair's proceedings is evidence of the ideas which were then entertained as to the relations of the papacy and the empire. It was considered that the emperor was entitled to investigate elections to the Roman see, and to decide between the pretensions of candidates; and, while the pope was the immediate lord of Rome, his power was held under the emperor, to whom the supreme control of the administration belonged.^y

After four years of childless marriage, Judith in 823 gave birth to a son, Charles, afterwards known as "the Bald." The jealousy of the emperor's sons by Ermengarde was excited; they declared Charles to be the offspring of adultery, and charged Judith with bewitching their father.^a The empress, on her part, was bent on securing for her son an inheritance like that of his elder brothers, and in 829 he was created duke of Germany—probably in the vain hope that such a title would give less offence than the title of king.^a Louis, under the influence of his wife, laboured to buy partisans for Charles by profuse gifts from the hereditary domains of his family and from the property of the church.^b On this account he had been bitterly attacked by Wala, at a diet held in 828;^c and when his elder sons now broke out into rebellion, they were aided by a powerful party of the hierarchy, headed by Wala (who in 826 had succeeded Adelhard in the abbacy of Corbie),^d with the archchaplain Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, Jesse, bishop of

^a Einh. A.D. 824; Astron. 38.^x Pertz, Leges, i. 240; Milman, ii.

256.

^y Murat. IV. ii. 330-2; Luden, v. 298;

Funck, 81.

^z Sismondi, ii. 467.^a Funck, 101.^c Vita Wal. ii. 2-3.^d Pagi, xiv. 118.^b Funck, 98-9.

Amiens, and Elissachar, abbot of Centulles (St. Riquier).^a Of the motives of these ecclesiastics it is difficult to judge. They may have honestly felt the dangers which threatened the empire from the system of partition which had been introduced;^c they may have been galled by the imperial control of ecclesiastical affairs, as well as by the invasions of church property. But the pretensions to superiority over the crown which now began to be asserted in their councils are startling,^e and the conduct by which they followed up their theories was utterly indefensible.

Judith was caught by the insurgents at Laon, and was pursued by the curses of the people into a convent at Poitiers, A.D. 830. where she was compelled to take the veil.^h She was also forced to engage that she would use her influence over her husband to persuade him to enter a monastery. But the inclination which Louis had formerly felt towards the monastic life was now mastered by his love for Judith and Charles. He asked time for consideration;ⁱ in spite of all opposition he contrived that the next national assembly should not be held in Gaul, where the population were generally disaffected to the Frankish rulers, but at Nimeguen, where he might hope to be supported by the kindred and friendly Germans;^k and the event answered his expectation. At Nimeguen the emperor found himself restored to power. Hilduin, who had ventured to transgress an order that the members of the diet and their followers should appear unarmed, was banished; and a like sentence was passed on Wala, with others of his party.^m Lothair (who had rebelled after having sworn to maintain Charles in his dukedom), with characteristic meanness, made his submission, abandoned his accomplices, and joined in giving judgment against them.ⁿ Judith was brought forth from her convent, the pope having declared that her forced profession was null.^o She undertook to prove by ordeal her innocence of the witchcraft and adultery imputed to her, but, as no accuser appeared, she was allowed to purge herself by oath; and Bernard, count of Septimania, her supposed paramour, on offering to clear himself by the wager of battle, found no one to accept his challenge.^p Some of those who had been most

^a Thegan, 36; Ellendorf, ii. 105.

^c Vita Wal. ii. 10.

^e In 829, councils were held at Paris, Mentz, Lyons, and Toulouse (Hard. iv. 1279), and their decrees were consolidated by a fifth assembly at Worms (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 332, seq.); their views as to the right of controlling the sovereign may be seen in book ii. of the

Parisian Council, or in Pertz, 346.

^h Sismondi, iii. 6-7.

ⁱ Astron. 44; Funck, 109.

^k Sismondi, iii. 9-10; Stephen, ii. 117.

^m Funck, 113.

ⁿ Astron. 45.

^o Thegan, 37.

^p Thegan, 38. Against Bernard, see the Life of Wala, ii. 7.

hostile to Louis in his distress were condemned to death; but, with his usual gentleness, he allowed them to escape with slighter punishments.¹

Again and again Judith's eagerness for the interest of her own son, and the jealousy of the elder brothers, brought trouble on the unhappy Louis, who seems to have fallen into a premature decay. A fresh insurrection took place in 832, in consequence of Charles' advancement to the kingdom of Aquitaine; the pope, Gregory IV., who partly owed his dignity to the influence of Wala and Hilduin, crossed the Alps, and appeared in the camp of A.D. 833. the rebels, where Wala and the other ecclesiastical chiefs of the party waited on him. Louis was supported by many bishops, who, on a report that the pope meant to excommunicate them and the emperor, declared that, if he had come with such intentions, he himself should be deposed and excommunicated.² An answer which Gregory issued, and which was probably written by Paschasius,³ one of Wala's monks, had no effect; and he began to show uneasiness and discontent with the part which he had undertaken, when Wala and Paschasius reassured him by producing a collection of canons and decretals, which were intended to prove that the pope had the right to judge all causes, and could himself be judged by no man.⁴ It seems to have been at this time⁵ that Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, sent forth two tracts—the one, a comparison between hierarchical and secular authority; the other, a defence of the rebel princes. In the first of these, he insists on the superiority of the ecclesiastical power; he utters many reproaches against the emperor, and exhorts him to submit to the pope. "If, indeed, pope Gregory had come without reason, and for the purpose of fighting, he would deserve to be opposed and driven back;⁶ but if he came for peace, he ought to be obeyed." In the other pamphlet, Agobard charges Judith with gross and notorious profligacy; he justifies the proceedings of the emperor's sons; and, as a precedent for the part taken by himself and his brethren, he alleges the opposition which the priests and prophets of Israel

¹ Astron. 46.

² Astron. 48; Vita Walæ, ii. 16; Greg. Ep. ad Episcopos, ap. Bouquet, vi. 353. The genuineness of this letter has been questioned. Bouquet (252) considers that it is established by De Marca (l. iv. c. 11). Luden is against it. v. 608.

³ This letter also is questioned. See Jaffé, 227, who dates it July 8, after the "Field of Lies."

⁴ Vita Walæ, ii. 16. Luden (v. 610) and Gfrörer (Karolinger, i. 81) argue

that these must have been something unknown at Rome—the elements of the forged Decretals, which soon after appeared. (See the last part of this chapter.)

⁵ Funck, 132; Ellendorf, ii. 115.

⁶ "Certe si nunc Gregorius papa irrationabiliter et ad pugnandum venit, merito et pugnatus et repulsus recedet." De Compar. utriusque regiminis, 6. (Agob. Opera, t. ii.)

offered to Jezebel and Athaliah.⁷ He tells the emperor that Samson, for his love to an unchaste and unbelieving woman, lost his eyes and his judgeship; he exhorts him, since he has thus far been like Samson in the loss of his power, to study that, like him, he may escape the forfeit of his eternal portion by humbly and penitently submitting to his lot.⁸

On St. John Baptist's day, the two armies encamped opposite June 24, to each other near Colmar. Gregory paid a visit to 833. the emperor, who received him without the usual marks of respect;⁹ but they afterwards exchanged presents, and the pope continued to pass from the one camp to the other. Arguments, threats, money, and other inducements were employed to influence the adherents of Louis; and, on the morning of St. Peter and

June 29. St. Paul's day, he found that all but a handful of his men had deserted him during the night. On discovering his forlorn condition, he professed himself unwilling to be the cause of bloodshed; he advised those of his followers who could expect no mercy from the rebels to save themselves by flight, desired the others to follow the example of the majority, and gave himself up as a prisoner to his sons.^b The pope is said to have returned to Italy in deep grief and shame on account of his share in these transactions,^c while the popular feeling with respect to them was shown by the name given to the scene where they took place—*Lügenfeld*, "the Field of Lies."^d

Judith, for whose safety in life and limb the successful rebels had pledged themselves by oath, was sent across the Alps to Tortona,^e while Charles was shut up in the abbey of Prüm, and Louis was led about as a captive by his eldest son. But Lothair and his advisers soon became aware that a general feeling of pity was rising in favour of the unfortunate emperor;^f and they resolved to defeat it by an act which was intended to disqualify him for reigning. At a diet held at Compiègne, a bishop (probably Agobard)^g begged Lothair's permission that a representation should be made to Louis of the misdeeds by which he had lowered the empire of the great Charles. There was little show of opposition to the proposal;^h Louis in his captivity was importuned to become a monk by a number of bishops, among whom Thegan

⁷ Lib. Apolog. pro filiis Ludovici, 11.

⁸ Cc. 12-3.

^a Astron. 48; Vita Walæ, ii. 17.

^b Thegan, 42; Astron. 48.

^c Astron. 48; Nithard in Patrol. cxvi.

48.

^d Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 290-1.

^e Thegan, 42.

^f Astron. 49.

^g Funck, 156.

^h Astron. 49.

tells us that the most active were some of servile or barbaric birth, and, above all "shameless and most cruel," the emperor's foster-brother, Ebbo of Rheims, who had turned against him at the Field of Lies; and, as their solicitations were in vain, they resolved to proceed by other means.¹ In an indictment of eight heads, drawn up with much iteration, and partly relating to offences for which he had already done penance at Attigny, he was charged with acts of violence towards his kinsmen—the death of Bernard, the tonsuring of Drogo and his brothers; with frequent breach of oaths, especially as to the partition of the empire; with having violated the rest of holy seasons by military expeditions and by holding courts or diets; with outrages and injustice against many of his subjects; with having caused waste of life, and an infinite amount of misery, through the calamities of war.² The bishops assumed the right of judging the emperor. They condemned him in his absence, declared him to be deprived of earthly power, and, in order to prevent the loss of his soul, they sentenced him to do penance before the relics of St. Medard and St. Sabinian at Soissons.³ He was strictly guarded in a cell, until the day appointed for the ceremony, when he was led forth, not as a sovereign, but as a sinful Christian desirous of showing penitence for his offences. Lothair was present, with a large body of bishops and clergy, and the cathedral was filled by a crowd of spectators.⁴ The emperor, clothed in sackcloth, prostrated himself before the altar; he acknowledged that he had been guilty of misgovernment, offensive to God, scandalous to the church, and disastrous to his people; and he professed a wish to do penance, that he might obtain absolution for his misdeeds. The bishops told him that a sincere confession would be followed by forgiveness, and exhorted him that he should not, as on the former occasion, attempt to hide any part of his sin. The list of charges against him was put into his hands; with a profusion of tears he owned himself guilty of all; and he gave up the document, to be placed on the altar as a record of his repentance. He then laid down his sword and his military belt; he was stripped of the secular dress, which he had worn under his sackcloth; and after these acts it was pretended that, according to the ancient canons, he was incapable of returning to the exercise of arms or of sovereign power.⁵ Every bishop who had been concerned in

October.

¹ Thegan, 43-4. See Luden, v. 363-4.² Acta Exauctorationis, Bouquet, v. 243-6, or Pertz, Leges, i. 366.³ Bouquet, 244; Astron. 49.⁴ Acta, ap. Bouquet, 244.⁵ Sismondi, iii. 30. "Contrarium est omnino ecclesiasticis regulis post penitentiam actionem redire ad militiam sæcu-

the affair drew up a memoir of it, which he gave into the hands of Lothair.^p

But the projectors of this humiliation were mistaken in their hopes. Compassion for the emperor, and indignation against those who had outraged him under the pretence of religion, were almost universal. His younger sons, Pipin and Louis, took his part, and Lothair, alarmed by the tokens of the general feeling, hastily withdrew from St. Denys, leaving his father at liberty. Friends speedily gathered around Louis; he was advised to resume his military ornaments, but refused to do so unless with the formal sanction of the church. He was therefore solemnly reconciled in the abbey of St. Denys; his belt and sword were restored to him by some of the same bishops who had been concerned in his degradation; it was declared that a penitent who had laid down his belt might resume it on the expiration of his penance; and the popular joy at the emperor's restoration drew encouragement from a sudden change of the weather, which had long been boisterous and ungenial.^q

In February, 835, a council was held at Thionville, where eight archbishops and thirty-three bishops condemned their brethren who had shared in the proceedings at Compiègne and Soissons. Among these delinquents the most noted was Ebbo, a man of servile birth, who had been foster-brother of Louis, and, like other low-born clerks, had been promoted by him with a view of counterbalancing the aristocratic prelates who aimed at independence of the crown.^r Ebbo was a man of learning, and had laboured as a missionary among the northern tribes;^s but his behaviour towards his benefactor had been conspicuously ungrateful.^t His treason had been rewarded by Lothair with a rich abbey, and, when the cause of Louis again became triumphant, he had fled, with all the wealth that he could collect, in the hope of finding a refuge among the Northmen.^u He was, however, overtaken, and, after having for some time been detained in the monastery of Fulda, he was

larem, cum apostolus dicat, *nemo militans Deo implicat se secularibus negotiis* (II Tim. ii. 4).^p Decret. Leonis M. c. 24, ap. Dion. Exig. (Patrol. lxxvii. 290). Cf. Conc. Tolet. XII. A.D. 681, c. 2.

^q Acta, ap. Bouquet, v. 246. Agobard's paper is given there, and in his Works, ii. 73.

^r Thegan, 45-8; Astron. 51; Annal. Bertin. A.D. 834; Funck, 143-150.

^s Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxxv.); Milman, ii. 261. Ebbo was promoted instead of Giselmair, a man of

noble family, who had been nominated to the see, but was found unable to read. Hist. Litt. v. 100.

^t See below, chap. iv.

^u He is the especial object of Thegan's abhorrence. See above, p. 248. In relating the penance at Soissons, the biographer apostrophises Ebbo, and reproaches him with clothing in sackcloth the prince who had clothed him in purple, &c. c. 44.

^v Flodoard, ii. 20.

compelled to ascend the pulpit of a church at Metz, where, in the presence of Louis, and of the assembled bishops, clergy, and laity, he acknowledged that all the late proceedings against the emperor were unjust and sinful. At Thionville, he wrote and subscribed a profession of his own unworthiness; he was deposed from his see, and remained in monastic custody, or in exile, until the death of Louis. Other bishops were gently treated, on confessing their guilt, while Agobard, who did not appear, was condemned for his contumacy.^x

Lothair was deprived of the imperial title, and was confined to the kingdom of Italy.^y But Judith afterwards found it expedient to make overtures to him, and a partition—the last of the partitions which attest the difficulties and the weakness of Louis—was made in 839, by which Pipin, the emperor's grandson, was to be excluded from inheriting his father's kingdom of Aquitaine; and, with the exception of Bavaria, which was left to the younger Louis, the whole empire was to be shared between Lothair and Charles.^z To the last the unhappy reign of Louis was distracted by the enmities of his sons, who had alike cast away all filial and all brotherly regards. He died on the 20th of June, 840, in an island of the Rhine opposite Ingelheim, when engaged in an expedition against his son Louis of Germany. On his deathbed he received the consolations of religion from his illegitimate brother Drogo, bishop of Metz. His last words, "Out! Out!" were interpreted as an adjuration commanding the evil spirit to depart.^a

During the earlier years of this reign, the fame of Charlemagne continued to invest the empire with dignity in the eyes of foreign nations, and Louis himself carried on successful war in various directions.^b But the dissensions of the Franks afterwards exposed them to enemies from without. The Northmen, whose first appearances on the coast had filled the mind of Charlemagne with gloomy forebodings,^c advanced up the Scheld in 820.^d In 835, they burnt the great trading city of Dorstadt, with its fifty-four churches;^e and their ravages were felt on the banks of the Loire and elsewhere. To the south, the Saracens were a no less formi-

^x Annal. Bertin. A.D. 835; Clerici Remenses (Patrol. cxvi. 18); Flodoard, ii. 20; Hincmar, i. 324-7; Thegan, 56; Astron. 54.

^y Sismondi, iii. 36.

^z Astron. (Patrol. civ. 973); Prudentius, A.D. 839 (ib. cxv. 1387); Palgrave, i. 306.

^a *Huz*, *huz*, equivalent to the modern German *Aus*. (Astron. 63-4). *Luden*

(v. 400) supposes the meaning to be *Es ist aus*, "It is over." Louis the German had, in 874, a vision, in which his father begged him, in Latin, to obtain his release from purgatory. Annal. Fuld. (Pertz, i. 387.)

^b Funck, 66-9.

^c Monach. Sangallen. ii. 14.

^d Sismondi, ii. 449.

^e Palgrave, i. 297.

dable foe ; in 838 they plundered Marseilles, and carried off its monks and clergy as prisoners.^f And on the east, the Slavonic nations had taken advantage of the Frankish contests to make inroads on the imperial territory. The dangers which thus threatened the empire on various sides became yet more serious under the successors of Louis.

II. Although the decision of the second Nicene council had been established as law in the eastern empire, the conformity to it which was enforced was in many cases insincere. A considerable party among the bishops and clergy was opposed to the worship of images ; and in the army, the enthusiasm with which the memory of the martial iconoclastic emperors was cherished was usually accompanied by an attachment to their opinions.^g

Leo V., "the Armenian," who in 813 became emperor by the deposition of Michael Rhangabe, was, by the influence both of his early training and of his military associations, opposed to the worship of images.^h His enemies speak of him by the name of *Chameleon*,ⁱ on account of the insincere and changeable character which they impute to him ; but even they allow that he was a man of unusual energy, and of abilities which fitted him to sustain the declining empire.^k The patriarch Nicephorus—not (it would seem) from suspicion, but merely in compliance with custom—required him on his elevation to subscribe a profession of faith ; but Leo desired that the matter should be deferred until after his coronation, and, when the application was then renewed, he refused.^m

Like other adventurers who rose to the possession of empire (and probably like a far greater number in whom the promise was not fulfilled), Leo had in early life been told that he was destined to become emperor. Hence he derived an inclination to believe in prophecies ; and a monk, who, by a rare exception to the feeling of his class, was adverse to the cause of images, now assured him of a long and glorious reign if he would suppress the worship of them, while he threatened him with calamity

^f Sismondi, iii. 41-2.

^g Schlosser, 405 ; Neand. vi. 263.

^h Schlosser, 393.

ⁱ Auctor Incertus (i. e. an anonymous continuator of Theophanes) in vol. ix. of the Byzantine historians, ed. Paris, p. 499. Vita Nicephori, 30 (Patrol. Gr. c.). Georgius Monachus, de Leone, i. 3.

^k Cedren. 490.

^m Const. Porphyrog. i. 17 ; Vita

Niceph. 32-3 ; Walch, x. 667 ; Finlay, ii. 134. Auct. Incert. says that he promised to make no innovations as to religion (431). It is said that when the patriarch at the coronation touched the head of Leo, his hands were wounded by the emperor's hair, which felt like thorns or thistles—an awful omen of what was to follow. Const. Porph. i. 18.

in case of his acting otherwise.ⁿ The words produced their effect on Leo; and he was further influenced by a comparison between the prosperous reigns of the iconoclastic emperors and the misfortunes of those who had followed an opposite policy.^o He resolved to take the Isaurian Leo and his son for his examples; but, before proceeding to action, he wished to assure himself as to the grounds of his cause. He therefore desired Antony, bishop of Sylæum in Pamphylia, John "the Grammarian," and other ecclesiastics, to abridge for his information the acts of Constantine's iconoclastic synod,^p and to collect authorities from the fathers against the adoration of images.^q He then opened the matter to Nicephorus, urging that the disasters of the empire were popularly ascribed to the worship of images—an assertion which ought perhaps to be taken as representing the feeling of the soldiery alone; and he proposed that such as were placed low^r and within reach should be removed.^s The patriarch refused his consent; on which the emperor asked him to produce any scriptural warrant in favour of images.^t Nicephorus replied that the worship of these, like many other unwritten things, was matter of apostolical tradition, and had been taught to the church by the Holy Ghost; that it would be as reasonable to ask for scriptural proof in favour of reverencing the cross or the gospels. And, on being desired to argue the question with Antony and John, or to refute the authorities which they had produced against his views, he declined, on the ground that he must have nothing to do with heretics.^u

Nicephorus and his partisans—clergy, monks, and laity—now held nightly meetings in the cathedral, where they engaged in prayer for the frustration of the emperor's designs, and bound themselves to stand by the cause of images even to the death.^x On hearing of these assemblies, Leo in the dead of night sent for the patriarch, and the question was discussed at great length.^y Nicephorus repeated his declaration as to the unlawfulness of

ⁿ Const. Porph. i. 15-6; Cedren, 486-9; Hard. iv. 1045; Walch, x. 593; Schlosser, 405-6. The accounts of these prophecies vary greatly. Walch is inclined to reject the whole story, x. 624, 662-4.

^o Auct. Inc. 415.

^p See p. 98.

^q Auct. Inc. 436; Schlosser, 406-7.

^r τὰ χαμηλά. See Neand. vi. 265.

^s Auct. Inc. 437.

^t Walch remarks that Leo did not take his stand on the Old Testament prohibitions, as the partisans of images

had been accustomed to evade these; but that he asked for a New Testament precept. x. 696.

^u Auct. Inc. 437; Schlosser, 407. Nicephorus wrote a chronicle which has often been cited in the preceding pages. His Life and remains (which include discourses of great length in favour of images) are in the Patrol. Gr., vol. c. See also vol. i. of the 'Spicilegium Solesmense.'

^x Auct. Inc. 439; Walch, x. 672-3.

^y Auct. Inc. 438; Vita Niceph. 37-53.

holding conference with heretics,^a and, after a time, asked leave to introduce his friends, who had accompanied him to the palace, and, during his conference with the emperor, had been waiting without the gates.^a Of these the most prominent was Theodore, a priest, and abbot of a monastery in the capital, which had been founded by Studius, a noble Roman, and was better known by a name derived from his than by that of its patron, St. John the Baptist.^b Theodore was a nephew of the abbot Plato, who had excommunicated Constantine VI. on account of his second marriage,^c and had vehemently opposed Tarasius for his compliance with the emperor's will in that affair. Theodore himself had taken part with his uncle; he had endured exile and other severities

A.D. 795-6.

in punishment of his contumacy, and had incurred fresh penalties under the reign of Nicephorus, when some questions connected with Constantine's marriage were revived.^d

A.D. 808.

Under his care, the Studite community had increased the number of its members from about twelve to nearly a thousand; the strictness of its discipline had acquired for it an eminence above all other Greek monasteries;^e and the abbot's character and sufferings had won for him an influence which made him important even in the eyes of the sovereign. Theodore took up the cause of images with all his characteristic zeal. There were, indeed, among its partisans some extravagances so violent that he felt himself obliged to reject and censure them;^f but he himself went so far as to eulogise a high official for employing an image as sponsor for a child.^g He held that images were not for the unlearned only, but were necessary for the most advanced Christian;^h that a

^a See Baron. 814. 9; Neand. v. 268-9.

^b Vita Niceph. 54-5.

^c For Theodore the Studite, see Schröckh, xxiii. 105. His remains, with a Life by his disciple Michael, form the 7th volume of Sirmond's 'Opera Varia,' Venet. 1728, and are more fully given in the Patrol. Gr. vol. xcix.

^d Vita Theod. c. 20. See pp. 158-9. G. Hamartolus says that Theodote, the second wife of Constantine, was related to Theodore (celvii. 14). There is a curious letter by Theodore, written towards the end of his life, in which he explains why Constantine might be stigmatised as a *Herod*, on account of his marriage, and yet might be commemorated as an orthodox emperor. Ep. ii. 218.

^e Vita, 22, 43-5; Theod. Laudatio Platonis, 31, 35; Ep. i. 21, 28; Narratio de Schismate Studitarum (Patrol. Gr. xcix.); Cedren. 477-8; Baron. 795-6,

808-9; Walch, x. 659.

^f Vita, 14, 28, seqq.

^g Thus, one of his letters (i. 15) is addressed to a stylite who had painted angels crucified, and the Saviour and angels as in old age. He finds it necessary to lay down repeatedly that the worship to be paid to images is not properly *latreutic*, but *relative* (*σχετικὴ*), and that any other is idolatrous (Epp. ii. 85, 151, 161, 167, 212); and he ends his first dialogue (Antirrheticus, i. p. 83) by declaring, "If any one, carrying to excess the reverence of Christ's image, say that he does not approach it, and would get no benefit from it, unless he were first cleansed from all sin, he is without reason" (*ἄλογος*—a variation from the preceding denunciations, of which each ends—"he is a heretic").

^h Ep. i. 17.

ⁱ Ep. ii. 171.

reverence for them was necessary in order to a right faith in the Incarnation. If images were suppressed, he said, "our preaching is vain, and your faith is also vain."¹

On being admitted into the emperor's presence, Theodore entered on the subject of images with great vehemence.^k He reproached Leo for innovating in matters of religion, and reminded him of the fate which had befallen emperors who had been enemies of the faith. The Old Testament prohibitions of images, he said, are abolished by the Incarnation: if the law of Moses were to be regarded, how is it we worship the cross, which the law speaks of as accursed?—and he urged the other usual topics of his party. The emperor told him that his insolence was notorious, but that, if he wished for the glory of martyrdom, he would be disappointed.^m Theodore rejoined that the imperial power was limited to external matters; that, according to St. Paul, God had "set in the church first apostles, then prophets, and afterwards teachers," but that nothing was said of emperors; that the emperor was bound to obey in matters of religion, and not to usurp the office of others." "Do you exclude me from the church?" asked Leo. "It is not I," the monk replied, "but the Apostle; nay rather, it is you who by your deeds have excluded yourself." The emperor desired that Antony of Sylæum might be released from the excommunication which Nicephorus had pronounced against him; but this was refused, and at length Leo in anger dismissed the patriarch and his party. On leaving the palace Theodore was enthusiastically kissed by his companions, and was greeted with demonstrations of the warmest admiration on account of the stand which he had made.^o

Leo now desired the friends of images to give up their meetings, to remain quietly at home, and to refrain from discussing the subjects which were in question; and he required them to bind themselves by a written promise of obedience. Some complied; but, before Nicephorus had signified his intentions, Theodore sent forth a violent circular addressed to all the monks of the empire,^p censuring the patriarch for his neglect to take more decided measures against the emperor, and threatening with eternal punishment all who should desert the cause of images. He kept up a lively agitation by means of letters, visits, and conversations,^q and vehemently asserted the cause of images, in verse as well as in prose.

¹ Vita, 64 (1 Cor. xv. 14).

^k His speech is in the Life, 65-72.

^m Vita, 73.

ⁿ Ib. 74; G. Hamart. cclxii. 9.

^o Vita, 75.

^p Ep. ii. 2.

^q Vita, 76; Schlosser, 411-2.

The chief of his productions are three tracts which bear the title of "Antirrhetics"—the first two in the form of dialogue between an orthodox man and a heretic; the third, consisting of the iconoclastic objections with a triumphant answer to each of them.

The emperor's opposition to images was not extreme. He did not wish to destroy them, or even to remove such as might be retained without superstition; nor did he desire to disturb the convictions of those who were attached to them, if they would consent to extend a like toleration to others.* But the vehemence of Theodore and his party, who regarded the worship of images as an inseparable consequence of a right faith in the Incarnation, provoked Leo to measures of great severity. The soldiery, without waiting for a legal warrant (yet perhaps incited by the emperor, as his enemies asserted), broke out into tumult, and Dec. 814. rushed to the brazen gate, where the image of "the Surety," so famous in an earlier stage of the controversy,⁶ had been reinstated by Irene. They uttered much abusive language, and pelted the figure with dirt and stones; whereupon the emperor removed it, under the pretence of rescuing it from such indignities, and issued a commission for taking down images in general, wherever it could be done with safety.⁷ Images were broken, burnt, or bedaubed with clay and filth.⁸ Many refractory bishops, abbots, and others, were ejected and banished; among the sufferers was the chronicler Theophanes, who died in the island of Samothrace.⁹

At Christmas 814, the emperor went in state to St. Sophia's, having previously satisfied Nicephorus that no disorder was to be apprehended by drawing a picture from his bosom and kissing it. He advanced to the altar, and kissed the altar-cloth, which was embroidered with a representation of the Nativity.⁷ But when, in the course of the service, a denunciation of idolatry was read from Isaiah,² one of the clergy stepped forth, and, addressing the emperor, told him that God, by the prophet's words, commanded him to proceed firmly in his measures for the suppression of image-worship.³

* Walch, x. 694; Neand. v. 270-5; Finlay, ii. 139.

⁶ See p. 90.

⁷ Auct. Incert. 438; Schlosser, 412.

⁸ Vita Theod. 77.

⁹ Cedren. 489; Baron. 816. 1-4; Schlosser, 411.

⁷ Auct. Incert. 439; Schlosser, 412-3. He omitted this when he next attended the cathedral. Walch supposes that he

had done it out of custom, and refrained on finding that his act was misconstrued. x. 675. C. xi. 18, seqq.

* See the various accounts in Walch, x. 665. Cedrenus (490) places the scene in the patriarchate of Theodotus; some say that Theodotus was himself the speaker (as Const. Porph. i. 20); others name John the Grammarian. Walch, x. 618, 628.

Nicephorus fell seriously ill, and it was hoped that his death would spare the emperor the necessity of proceeding against him. But he recovered, and, as all attempts to treat with him were fruitless, he was deprived, and was shut up in a monastery, where he lived fourteen years longer.^b John the Grammarian was proposed as his successor, but was rejected as wanting in birth and in age;^c and the patriarchate was bestowed on Theodotus Cassiteras, a layman connected with the family of the April, 816. Isaurian emperors, and the supposed prompter of the monk by whose prophecies Leo had been induced to attempt the suppression of image-worship.^d Theodotus, who is described by his opponents as "a man without reason, more dumb than the fishes, and ignorant of everything but impiety,"^e gave great offence to the monastic party by his free and secular habits of life.^f He assembled a synod, which confirmed the judgments of the iconoclastic council of 754, and annulled those of the second Nicene council.^g The most eminent abbots had been summoned to take part in the assembly; but Theodore in their name sent a refusal in his usual vehement strain, condemning all who should attend, and declaring that he would not share in or regard any measures which might be taken without the consent of the lawful patriarch Nicephorus.^h In defiance of the imperial order against the public exhibition of images, he caused his monks on Palm Sunday to carry in solemn procession all those which belonged to the monastery, and to chant a hymn which began with the words, "We adore thine undefiled image."ⁱ The emperor, greatly provoked by this daring contumacy, sent Theodore into banishment, where he remained for seven years.^k He was removed from one place to another; he was often cruelly scourged, even to the danger of his life; his wounds were undressed, nor, when he fell seriously ill, could he obtain any attendance or relief;^m he suffered from want of food; he was imprisoned for three years in a loathsome subterranean dungeon, and was often threatened with death.ⁿ But his resolution rose with the severity of his treatment. He declared that he would bear whatever might be inflicted on him, but that nothing should reduce him to silence.^o He found means of writing and of circulating letters which sus-

^b Vita Niceph. 59, seqq.; Auct. Incert. 440-1; Schlosser, 414-5. It is uncertain whether his deprivation was sanctioned by a council. Walch, x. 679, 686.

^c Auct. Incert. 441.

^d Symeon Magist. de Leone, 3; Walch, x. 655.

^e Sym. Magist. de Leone, 6; G. Hamart. cxii. 2.

^f Vita Niceph. 73; Auct. Incert. 441; Schröckh, xxiii. 362-3.

^g Vita Nic. 73; Walch, x. 691-3.

^h Vita Theod. 79-80.

ⁱ Ib. 78. ^k Ib. 81-102.

^m Ib. 93. ⁿ Ib. 90-3. ^o Ib. 83.

tained the determination of his party; he denounced the emperor as a Pharaoh and a Nebuchadnezzar, an enemy of the Saviour and of His virgin mother; and the increased punishment which he drew on himself by each offence served only to stimulate him to greater violence.^p He wrote to the bishop of Rome, to the three eastern patriarchs, and to the heads of some important monasteries, representing the oppressions of the church in the most moving terms, and earnestly praying for sympathy.^q

Paschal, who had just been raised to the papacy, refused to admit the imperial envoys into Rome, sent legates to intercede with Leo for the friends of images, and, in token of the interest which he took in them, built a monastery for Greek refugees, to whom he assigned the new church of St. Praxedis for the performance of service in their own language.^r The clergy of the party sought ordination in Italy; the laity, instigated by Theodore's teaching, refused religious offices at the hands of the iconoclastic clergy.^s Leo was more and more exasperated. The worshippers of images were scourged, banished, mutilated, blinded, or put to death; it was ordered that all pictures should be white-washed, or taken down and burnt; spies were employed to discover all who possessed either images or books in defence of them, all who should venture to shelter a fugitive or to relieve a prisoner of the party. All hymns in honour of images were expunged from the liturgy, and care was taken to instil an abhorrence of images into children by means of their school-books.^t

Michael "the Stammerer," a general to whom Leo had been indebted for his throne, at length became discontented, and was convicted, by his own confession, of treasonable designs, on the eve of Christmas, 820. He was condemned to death, and Leo would have ordered the execution of the sentence to take place immediately, but for the intercession of his empress, who entreated him to defer it until after the festival. The emperor agreed, but, with a melancholy foreboding, told her that her pious scruples would cost her and her children dear.^u Michael was confined in the palace, and Leo, anxious to assure himself, went in the middle of the night to look whether the prisoner were safe. He found

^p Epp. *passim*; Schlosser, 418-423.

^q Epp. ii. 12-17.

^r Anastas. 215; Baron. 818. 14-17; Schlosser, 421-3.

^s Epp. ii. 215, p. 583; Neand. v. 276.

^t Sym. Mag. de Leone, 6; Vita Niceph. 79; Schlosser, 423; Schröckh, xxiii. 364; Neand. v. 278-9.

^u Const. Porph. i. 21. It is said that Leo was about to throw him into the furnace used for heating the baths of the palace (Sym. Mag. de Leone, 7; Cedrenus, 492)—"a tale," says Mr. Finlay, "fitter for the legends of the saints than for the history of the empire." ii. 148.

both him and the officer who guarded him asleep; but the keeper had resigned his bed to the criminal, and was lying on the floor. A slave, who was in the room unobserved, had recognised the emperor by his purple buskins, and, on his withdrawal, aroused the sleepers. The officer, knowing that the indulgence which he had shown to his prisoner must render himself suspected as an accomplice, concerted with Michael a plan for instant action. Under pretence that a confessor was required, he introduced into the palace one of Michael's partisans, who, on going out, communicated with others. It was the custom to celebrate the earliest service of Christmas-day at three o'clock in the morning; the "ivory gate" of the palace was opened to admit the clergy and singers, and among them a band of disguised conspirators entered. These attacked the chief chaplain, supposing him to be the emperor, who usually led the psalmody on such occasions; but the priest escaped by uncovering his tonsured head. They then fell on Leo, who for a time defended himself by swinging the chain of a censer, and then, seizing a large cross from the altar, dealt heavy blows around him, until a conspirator of gigantic size disabled him by a stroke which cut off his right hand. On this, the emperor was immediately despatched; his head was cut off, and his body was dragged into the circus. Michael, before a smith could be found to release him from his chains, was hastily enthroned, and, on the same day, was crowned in the cathedral.^z

The friends of images now flattered themselves that Leo's policy would be reversed. The deposed patriarch Nicephorus wrote to request that the emperor would restore the images;^y while Theodore the Studite warmly congratulated Michael on his accession,^z and celebrated the murder of Leo with ferocious exultation. "It was right," he said, "that the apostate should thus end his life. It was fitting that in the night death should overtake the son of darkness. It was fitting that he who had desolated the temples of God should see swords bared against himself in God's temple. It was fitting that he should find no shelter from the altar who had destroyed the altar itself, and that that hand should be cut off which had been stretched forth against the holy things. It was fitting that a sword should pierce through the throat which had vomited forth blasphemies." After exercising his rhetoric in this style through other points of congruity, Theodore adds, in words

^z Const. Porph. i. 24-5; ii. 2; Cedren. 494-6; Gibbon, iv. 418; Schlosser, 427-431.

^y Const. Porph. ii. 8; Walch, x. 706.
^z Ep. ii. 74.

which it is possible that he may have himself believed — “I do not mock at the manner of his death, as rejoicing in the fate of the impious man, but I speak in sorrow and with tears. It is because, as He hath said who cannot lie, that wicked man hath been miserably destroyed;”^a and he goes on to express his hope that a new Josiah or Jovian may arise for the restoration of images and of religion.^b

Michael recalled those who had been banished for their attachment to images, and the return of Theodore was celebrated by a sort of public triumph.^c But the hopes which had been rashly entertained were soon disappointed. The emperor, a Phrygian by birth, was a rude soldier; it is said that he could hardly read. His enemies assert that his highest accomplishments consisted in a knowledge of horses, asses, and pigs; and to this it is added, that in early life he had been connected with a strange sect which mixed up Jewish tenets with those of the Athingani or Paulicians—that he still retained its errors, that he denied our Lord’s resurrection and the existence of the devil.^d The joy of the monastic party was effectually checked when the noted iconomachist Antony of Sylæum was raised in 821 to the patriarchate of Constantinople.^e Michael declared that he himself had never worshipped any image;^f he forbade all changes in religion, and all preaching on either side of the question. Both the friends and the opponents of images were to enjoy full liberty of opinion; but no public worship of images was to be allowed in the capital.^g Thus Theodore and his friends found that, instead of the ascendancy which they had expected, they were only to enjoy toleration—and that of a kind which was equal only in name, inasmuch as, while the opposite party lost nothing, the devotees of images were restrained from the open exercise of the worship which they regarded as essential. They once more refused to confer with their opponents, on the ground that it was unlawful to do so.^h Theodore repeated to Michael the declaration which he had made to Leo, that earthly princes have no right to intermeddle with matters of religion. He desired the emperor to restore Nicephorus to the patriarchal throne, or, if he felt any doubt or distrust, to

^a Matth. xxi. 41.

^b Ep. ii. 73. There are other scandalous passages of the same kind in Epp. 77 and 80; and an extraordinary accumulation of epithets against Leo in Ep. 75.

^c Vita, 102, 115.

^d Const. Porph. ii. 3-4, 8; Cedren.

496-9. See Fleury, xliv. 44; Walch, x. 629, 706; Schröckh, xxiii. 381; Neand. vi. 280.

^e Schlosser, 460.

^f Vita Theodor. 118.

^g Const. Porph. ii. 8; Cedren. 499; Schlosser, 433, 458.

^h Theod. Ep. ii. 86.

follow the tradition of the fathers by referring the matter to the bishop of Rome, as the inheritor of the Saviour's promise to St. Peter.¹ He met Michael's endeavours at a reconciliation between the parties by labouring to separate the church from the state.² He wrote to Marina, the divorced wife of Constantine VI., whose daughter Michael had taken from a convent to become his second wife,³ charging her to leave the palace and her daughter's company, because the sword spoken of in the Gospel was now come to set the nearest kindred at variance among themselves.⁴ Michael was provoked by the intractable behaviour of Theodore and his followers to abandon his principle of toleration, and to employ harsh measures against them. The Studite was once more banished, and died in exile at the age of sixty-nine.⁵ A.D. 826.

As the adherents of images relied much on the support of Rome, the emperor in 824 sent a legation to pope Paschal, with a view of endeavouring to dissuade him from harbouring refugees of the party. At the same time, he sent ambassadors to Louis the Pious, with a letter in which he announced his accession, and his late victory over a rival, named Thomas, who had pretended to be the deposed Constantine, and for three years had contested the possession of the empire.⁶ In this letter Michael clears his faith and his conduct in ecclesiastical matters from misrepresentations which had reached the west, and entreats the Frank emperor to aid him by the influence which, as lord of Rome, he could exercise over the pope,⁷ and in justification of his proceedings he gives some curious statements of the excess to which the superstition as to images was carried. The cross was turned out of churches, and images were substituted for it; lights and incense were offered to them, hymns and prayers were addressed to them. They were employed as sponsors for children; and novices entering into the monastic state, instead of asking religious persons to receive their hair when cut off, allowed it to fall into the lap of images. Some of the clergy, in contempt of the public churches, celebrated the Eucharist in houses, using pictures for altars. Some scraped off the colours of images, mixed them with the sacramental elements, and administered the mixture to communicants; while others placed the

¹ Ibid.; Schröckh, xxiii. 382.

² Schlosser, 459.

³ Const. Porph. ii. 24.

⁴ (Matth. x. 34-6). Ep. ii. 181. Baronius supposes the letter addressed to the mother-in-law of Leo (816. 23). But Pagi corrects him, and shows that it was not written until 824. xiii. 561.

⁵ Ep. ii. 121; Pagi, xiv. 31; Schröckh, xxiii. 382-5.

⁶ Const. Porph. ii. 10; Schlosser, 461-3.

⁷ The letter is in Goldast, 'Imperialia Decreta,' 611, seqq.; and in Baronius, 824. 18, seqq.

consecrated bread in the hands of the images, and from these the communicants received it.⁷ The effect of this embassy fell short of Michael's expectation; but we shall see that it was not unimportant in the history of the western church.

Michael was succeeded in 829 by his son Theophilus. The young emperor had been carefully educated under John the Grammarian. He was a friend of literature, arts, and science; he composed hymns and church-music, and himself led the choir in Divine service.⁸ He prided himself on a strict administration of justice, which sometimes became an absurd or cruel pedantry; and his attempts in war against the Saracens resulted in fruitless displays of courage and waste of blood, which gained for him the epithet of "the Unlucky."⁹ From the lessons of John he had derived a strong abhorrence of images, and he carried out his views with relentless determination.¹⁰

The first measure of Theophilus against images was an order, issued on the occasion of a general taxation, that the opinions of every person on the question should be ascertained.¹¹ He then, in 832, commanded that images should not be revered in any way, and that they should not be styled holy, forasmuch as God alone is holy.¹² In the same year, on the death of Antony, he bestowed the patriarchate on his tutor, John,¹³ who soon after held a synod at which the decrees of the second Nicene council were condemned.¹⁴

The emperor then ordered that pictures of animals and other common subjects should be substituted in churches for those of a religious kind; and he proceeded, with great severity, to enforce obedience. A general burning of religious pictures and statues took place. Many of the image party were imprisoned or banished. Monasteries were to be applied to secular uses; monks were forbidden to wear their habit; such of them as had lived in rural monasteries were not to be admitted into towns; and those who painted images were especially prohibited to exercise their art.¹⁵ The zealous party among the monks, on their side, were as resolute

⁷ Mich. ap. Baron. 824. 16.

⁸ Cedren. 522; Schlosser, 469.

⁹ Const. Porph. iii. 2-4, 37, 41; G. Hamart. cclxiv. 6; Cedren. 513-4; Gibbon, iv. 420; Finlay, ii. 170-3.

¹⁰ Cedren. 536; Schlosser, 517.

¹¹ Baron. 830. 2.

¹² Cedren. 518; Schlosser, 519. These orders had before been given by Leo and Michael. Const. Porph. iii. 10.

¹³ Pagi, xiv. 175, 214. John is styled *λεκανόμαντις* by the opposite party, on account of an alleged practice of divin-

ing by means of a bason (for which practice see Hippolytus adv. Haeres. iv. 35). He is also called by the name of the Egyptian magician Jannes. (2 Tim. iii. 8.) G. Hamart. cclxiv. 15-17; Const. Porph. iii. 26; iv. 7, 8. Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 12; de Michaele, 2; Cedren. 536. The frequent mention of divination by the Byzantine historians is remarkable.

¹⁴ Schlosser, 519.

¹⁵ Const. Porph. iii. 10; Cedren. 518.

as the emperor. Many of them went to him, and told him to his face that he was accursed for interfering with a worship which was derived from St. Luke, from the Apostles, and from the Saviour himself.^c A monastic artist, named Lazarus, persisted in painting, notwithstanding repeated admonitions. He was cruelly beaten; but, as soon as he had recovered in some degree, he boldly resumed his occupation. For this defiance of the law, he was again arrested; by way of disabling him, his hands were seared with hot plates of iron; and it was with difficulty that his life was saved through the intercession of the empress Theodora. Yet no suffering or danger could subdue the zealous painter, who, on being set at liberty, took refuge in a church of St. John the Baptist, and there produced a picture which speedily acquired the reputation of miraculous power.^d Two other monks, the poet Theophanes and his brother Theodore, were summoned to the emperor's presence. Theophilus, who was fond of displaying his learning and ability in disputation, was provoked at finding that the monks did not yield with the same facility to which he had been accustomed in his courtiers. He ordered that each of them should receive two hundred lashes, and should afterwards be branded on the forehead with twelve iambic verses of the emperor's own composition;^e "If the lines are bad," he said, "they deserve no better." Yet, notwithstanding these and many other severities, it does not appear that any persons suffered death in this reign on account of an attachment to images.^f

But within the emperor's immediate circle the worship of images was secretly practised. In the beginning of his reign, his stepmother, Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI. by his Armenian empress,^g had caused the noblest maidens of the empire to be assembled in order that Theophilus might select a consort from among them. Struck with the beauty of Icasia, he was about to bestow on her the golden apple, which was the symbol of his choice, when he paused for a moment, and said, as if unconsciously uttering his thought—"Of how much evil have women been the cause!" Icasia at once answered the reference to Eve with an

^c Const. Porph. iii. 11; Cedren. 519.

^d Cedren. 520; Baron. 832. 5.

^e G. Hamart. cclxvi.; Const. Porph. iii. 14. Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 22; Cedren. 520-1; Baron. 835. 35. It does not seem impossible (as some writers have supposed) to find room for the verses on the tonsured heads of the monks, if a small letter were used. This difficulty is not raised by the ancient authorities; and, at least, the branding

is certain.

^f Giesel. II. i. 11. Schlosser (517, 524), Mr. Finlay (ii. 178), and Dean Milman (ii. 136) agree in denying that there is any authority for Gibbon's statement (iv. 494) as to the extreme cruelty of the punishments inflicted by Theophilus.

^g Theophilus afterwards sent Euphrosyne back to her nunnery. Cedren. 514.

allusion to the Redemption—"Yes; and of how much greater good!" But the emperor took alarm at this excessive readiness of repartee; he gave the apple to Theodora, a candidate of less brilliant and more domestic character; and Icasia sought consolation in founding a monastery, where she lived for the cultivation of learning.^b Theodora had been brought up in the worship of images. Her mother,¹ who was devoted to them, secretly kept a number of them, and, when the emperor's children visited her, she used to bring forth the images, and offer them to be kissed. Theophilus, by questioning the children, discovered that their grandmother was in the habit of amusing them with what they styled dolls. He strictly forbade them to visit her again, and she had difficulty in escaping punishment, although she continued to reprove the emperor very freely for his measures.^k Theodora herself was detected in paying reverence to images by a dwarf, who was kept about the court as a jester. On hearing his tale, Theophilus rushed in a fury to the empress's apartment; but the images were not to be found, and the dwarf was silenced for the future by a whipping.^m

Theophilus died in January, 842. Fearing, in his last sickness, for the empire which he was about to leave to women and young children, he endeavoured to secure it by the death of his brother-in-law, Theophobus, a descendant of the Persian kings, who had distinguished himself by military services. The head of Theophobus was cut off in prison, and was carried to the emperor; and, with his hand on it, he expired.ⁿ

It is said that Theophilus, with a view to the continuance of his ecclesiastical policy, had bound Theodora and the senate by oath to make no change as to religion.^o The guardians of his son Michael, however, were either favourable to images or capable of being gained to the cause.^p The only seeming exception was Manuel, uncle of the empress. But in a dangerous sickness he was visited by some Studite monks, who promised him life if he would swear to undertake the restoration of images;^q and Manuel, on his recovery, joined with the other ministers in laying the subject

^b G. Hamart, cclxiv. 2; Sym. Magist. de Theophil. i.; Zonaras, ap. Baron. t. xiv. 151; Gibbon, iv. 421.

¹ See Const. Porph. iii. 5; Cedren. 545; Walch, x. 520.

^k Const. Porph. iii. 5; Cedren. 515-6.

^m Const. Porph. i. 6; Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 7; Cedren. 516.

ⁿ For the history of Theophobus, see

Const. Porph. iii. 19-20. The writer cited under that name (iii. 38) and Cedrenus (533) say that, according to some, he was put to death by an officer without orders.

^o Cedren. 528, 533; Walch, x. 720.

^p Schlosser, 544-5.

^q Const. Porph. iv. 1. See Walch, x. 769.

before Theodora, who said that her own wishes had long been in the same direction, but that she had felt herself restrained by her engagements to Theophilus.^r The revolution was speedily begun. The patriarch John was ejected, not without personal violence,^s and Methodius, who had been a confessor under the last reign,^t was put into his place. A synod, to which those who were known as resolute iconomachists were not invited, pronounced in favour of images; but the empress still hesitated, and entreated the assembled clergy to intercede for the forgiveness of her husband's sins. Methodius replied that they could only intercede for those who were yet on earth; that, if Theophilus had died in his error, his case was beyond the power of the church. Thus urged, Theodora ventured on the fiction (which she is said to have even confirmed with an oath) that the emperor, before his death, had expressed repentance for his measures; that he had asked for some images, and had kissed them with ardent devotion; whereupon the patriarch assured her that, if it were so, he would answer for her husband's salvation.^u There was now no further hindrance to the restoration of images. Those of the capital were re-established with great solemnity on the first Sunday in Lent^v—a day which was styled the Feast of Orthodoxy, and has ever since been celebrated by the Greeks under that name, although with a wider application of the term.^w The bodies of Nicephorus, Theodore the Studite, and other eminent friends of images, who had died in exile, were translated to the capital.^x The sees were filled with members of the triumphant party, and among them was the branded monk Theophanes, who obtained the bishoprick of Nicæa.^y The empress, at a banquet, expressed to him her regret for the cruelty with which her husband had treated him. "Yes," said Theophanes, "for this I will call him to account at the

^r Cedren. 535; Walch, x. 787, 790.

^s For the tricks imputed to John—wounding himself, and pretending that his enemies had assaulted him, &c., see Const. Porph. iv. 3; Cedren. 535; Walch, x. 771. Symeon says that, in the monastery where he was shut up after his deposition, he put out the eyes of an image, and that the empress, on being informed of this, ordered his own eyes to be put out. De Mich. 4.

^t Sym. Mag. de Theoph. 24; Vita Method. 7-9 (Patrol. Gr. c.); Cedren. 521-2.

^u Const. Porph. iv. 6; Schlosser, 548-552.

^v Const. Porph. iv. 6. This is gene-

rally placed in 842; but, as in that year Theophilus died on Jan. 20, and the first Sunday of Lent was Feb. 20, Walch says that the solemnity must be put off to 843. x. 743. See Pagi, xiv. 267.

^w Const. Porph. iv. 10; Walch, x. 804-8.

^x Walch, x. 780.

^y Symeon Magister tells us that some objected to him as being a Syrian, and without any warrant of his orthodoxy; but that Methodius, pointing to the verses on his forehead, said, "I could wish for no better warrant than this." De Theoph. 23.

righteous judgment-seat of God!" Theodora was struck with horror; but the patriarch Methodius reassured her by blaming the vehemence of his brother, and by repeating his declaration that Theophilus was safe.^b

The worship of images—although only in the form of painting, not of sculpture^c—has ever since been retained by the Greeks. The opposition to it had not proceeded from the people, but from the will of the emperors; and when the imperial authority was steadily exerted in favour of images, the iconomachist party became, not indeed immediately,^d but within no long time, extinct.^e

III. The opinion of the Frankish church as to images had continued in accordance with the council of Frankfort, when the embassy from the Greek emperor Michael,^f in 824, led to a fresh examination of the question. Louis had such confidence in the correctness of the Frankish view as to hope that, if care were taken to avoid all cause of irritation, even the pope himself might be brought to agree in it. He therefore, after having received the Greek ambassadors, sent some envoys of his own to Rome in their company, with a request that Eugenius, who had just succeeded Paschal, would allow the clergy of Gaul to collect the opinions of the fathers on the subject.^g Having, by this show of deference to the pope, guarded against offence in the outset, Louis summoned an assembly which met at Paris in 825.^h The bishops drew up a collection of authorities, which they forwarded to the emperor, with a letter in which they censure both the extreme parties among the Greeks. They distinguish, as the Caroline Books had done, between paying reverence to the cross and to images,ⁱ and

^b Const. Porph. iv. 11; Cedren. 539. There is a similar story as to the resentment of the painter Lazarus. Const. Porph. iii. 13.

^c The Greeks have a saying that it is unlawful to worship any image whose nose may be laid hold of with two fingers. (Ansalduus, 'De sacro et publico pictarum tabularum cultu,' 10, Venet. 1753). Some Romanists attack the inconsistency of the Greeks even more than the entire opposition of Protestants. Schröckh, xxiii. 394. See Augusti, xii. 234.

^d See below, c. iii.; Walch, x. 818.

^e Giesel. II. i. 12; Neand. vi. 287; Milman, ii. 139.

^f See p. 273.

^g Einhard, A.D. 824; Baron. 824. 31.

^h The letters of Louis to Eugenius

and to his own commissioners are in Hardouin, but Mansi is the only editor of the Councils who includes this. Most of the documents are given by Baronius (824-5), and the whole by Goldast (626, seqq.): as also in the 'Patrologia,' xcvi. 1293, seqq.; civ. 1317, seqq. On the attempts of Romanists to suppress them, or to deny their genuineness, see Walch, xi. 96; Schröckh, xxiii. 406. Baronius contents himself with abusing the anonymous first editor—"Arguendus est iste filius esse tenebrarum, qui tenebrososum opus, perpetuis tenebris dignum a majoribus habitum, et abditum, obscuritate nominis, et loci unde prodierit, totum densa effusum caligine in odium et invidiam Catholici nominis sparserit," &c. 825. 2.

ⁱ Goldast, 683.

declare the opinion of the fathers to be, that images are not to be worshipped or adored, but are to be used for loving remembrance of the originals. They strongly censure Pope Adrian's manner of answering the Caroline Books; but they charitably suggest that his reference to his predecessor Gregory the Great, in behalf of opinions widely different from those which that father really held, proves his error to have been not wilful, but committed in ignorance.^k They congratulate Louis on the prospect which the Greek application affords him of being able to mediate between the opposite parties, to convince the pope himself, and to bring both to an agreement in the truth.^m They send him a sketch of a letter to the pope, drawn up with an extreme anxiety to avoid all risk of a collision. In this document the emperor is made to extol the position and authority of the "supreme pontiff," the "universal pope," as having the means of reconciling the intolerant factions of the Greeks;ⁿ he will not presume to dictate, but only ventures on suggestions; he speaks of the assembly of Paris as not a synod, but merely a conference of his friends, the children of the apostolic father.^o The bishops even go so far as to draw up a letter which the pope himself might subscribe and send to Constantinople—forbidding all superstitions as to images on the one hand, and all acts of contempt or outrage against them on the other.^p

Two bishops, Jeremy of Sens and Jonas of Orleans, were sent by Louis to Rome, with a letter entirely different from the draft which the council had supplied.^q The emperor requests Eugenius to mediate between the friends and the enemies of images, and offers that his own envoys may accompany those whom the pope should send to Constantinople. The instructions given to Jeremy and Jonas^r direct them to deal very carefully with the pope. They are not to show him any parts of the documents drawn up at Paris which might be distasteful to him; they are to avoid everything which might possibly jar on the characteristic obstinacy of the Romans,^s and thus might provoke him to some irrevocable act; they are to present the matter to him in such a way that, instead of supposing the truth to be forced on him, and thence conceiving a prejudice against it, he may imagine it to be his own discovery.

^k Bar. 825. 8.^m Ib. 11.^q Hard. iv. 1259.^r Ib. 1260.ⁿ Goldast, 720-1.^o Ib. 722. This distinction (which, after all, does not appear in the letter actually sent) is absurdly dwelt on as important by Baronius (825. 1) and other Romanists. See Walch, xi. 135.^p Goldast, 723, seqq. See Walch, xi. 128.^s "Pertinacia Romana." Baronius contends that in that age *pertinacia* was equivalent to *constantia*. Very possibly; but only with those who were guilty of it, not with those who charged it on others. The words are directly opposed to each other by St. Augustine, C. Julian. iv. 20.

The result of this mission is but imperfectly known. It did not induce the Romans to abandon their former views; yet Eugenius made no such demonstration against Louis as his predecessors had made against the eastern emperors; nor did he even attempt to answer him, as Adrian had answered Charlemagne.^c The envoys whom Louis sent to the east were well received there, and, as Michael was himself no violent iconoclast, it seems probable that the two imperial courts agreed as to the question of images.ⁿ But the Franks were soon after engrossed by domestic troubles, which may sufficiently account for the absence of any later communication with the Greeks on the subject of this controversy.

There were, however, some members of the Frankish church, who carried their opposition to images beyond the views which had been sanctioned by the councils of Frankfort and Paris.^x Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, whose share in the political movements of his time has been noticed in the earlier part of this chapter, distinguished himself more creditably by his opposition to prevailing superstitions—as to ordeals,⁷ to the expectation of miraculous cures,^z to the excess of reverence lavished on the tombs^a of saints, to the belief that storms, diseases of cattle, and other rural troubles were caused by magical art.^b Among his tracts is one 'On the Images of Saints,' in which—provoked, as it would seem, by the eastern emperor's report as to the extravagant superstition of the Greeks^c—he appears altogether to disallow the use of such representations.^d He quotes largely from older writers, especially from St. Augustine, and shows that the early church had employed images for remembrance only, and not for any religious purpose.^e In answer to a plea frequently advanced by the advocates of images, he maintains that visible things, even although good in themselves, instead of aiding towards the contemplation of things unseen and spiritual, often act as a hindrance to it.^f An image, he says, represents the body only; if men were to be worshipped at all, such honour ought rather to be paid to them while alive, and complete in the union of body and soul.^g He who adores a picture or an image pays his worship not to God, to angels, or to saints, but to the image itself; to think otherwise is to yield to a

^c Walch, xi. 138.

ⁿ Ib. 132.

^x See Mabill. IV. xx.-xxi.

⁷ See p. 242.

^z "Ad Bartholomæum."

^a "Memoriae." See Baluze, n. on "De Imaginibus," c. 17; Ducange, s.v.

^b "De Grandine."

^c Mabill. IV. xxvi.

^d Baronius is much displeased with Agobard. 825. 63.

^e C. 32.

^f C. 15.

^g C. 28. This was also said by Claudius of Turin.

delusion of the devil, who aims at the restoration of idolatry.^b Nor is it less absurd to expect good from religious pictures than it would be to think of recruiting an army by painted soldiers, or to look for the fruits of the earth from a picture of the harvest or of the vintage.^c

It does not appear that Agobard incurred any censure on account of his opinions as to images; but one of his contemporaries, Claudius of Turin (who, indeed, took up the subject somewhat earlier), by a more thorough and more active opposition to the prevailing religion, occasioned much agitation in the Frankish church.^k Claudius was by birth a Spaniard, and is said to have been a pupil of Felix of Urgel,^m although he does not appear to have been a follower of the Adoptionist doctrines. He was a diligent student of St. Augustine, but spoke contemptuously of the other fathers in general;ⁿ and it would seem that from the doctrines of the great African teacher as to the nothingness of human merit he derived a strong dislike of the current opinions as to the means of attaining sanctity.^o He had gained reputation by commentaries on Scripture, of which some are still extant.^p He had been attached to the court of Louis in Aquitaine,^q and, in the first year of his patron's reign as emperor, was appointed by him to the see of Turin,^r in the hope that A.D. 814. he might be able to effect a reform among his clergy and in the neighbouring district. The emperor, however, could hardly have been prepared for reforms so extensive as those which Claudius attempted. Finding that the churches of his diocese were full of images and votive offerings,^s he at once unceremoniously ejected all such ornaments. No distinction was made in favour of historical pictures; and relics and crosses—objects which the eastern iconoclasts had spared—shared the same fate.^t To worship the images of saints, he said, is merely a renewal of the worship of

^b C. 31.

^c C. 33.

^k There is, as Gieseler (II. i. 106) remarks, much verbal agreement between Agobard and Claudius. Our knowledge of Claudius is mostly derived from the treatises of Jonas and Dungal against him—especially from their quotations. They are both in the *Bibl. Patrum*, Lugd., t. xiv., where also the chief passages of Claudius are collected, pp. 197-9.

^m Jonas, p. 168. Neander without any ground questions this. vi. 120.

ⁿ Jonas, 171, b. c.; Dungal, 204, f.; Walch, xi. 181.

^o Giesel. II. i. 190.

^p Jonas, *Præf.* aud p. 168. These and

other remains of Claudius are in the *Patrologia*, t. civ.

^q *Præf.* ad *Comm.* in *Galat.* *Patrol.* civ. 841.

^r Gfrörer places his promotion in 818. iii. 732.

^s "Inveni omnes basilicas sordibus anathematatum et imaginibus plenas." (Claud. ap. Jon. 170.) Jonas confounds *anathēmata* (votive offerings) with *anathēmata* (curses or cursed things), as if Claudius had applied the latter term to the images. Neander. vi. 123. (See on the distinction of the words, Ellicott, n. on *Galat.* i. 8.)

^t Jonas, 168, 170, 174.

demons under other names ;^a to worship the cross is to join with the heathen in dwelling on the shame of the Saviour's history, to the exclusion of his glorious resurrection ;^x and he followed out this by arguing, in a somewhat ribald style, that, if the cross were to be revered on account of its connexion with the Saviour, the same reason would enforce the veneration of all other objects which are mentioned as having been connected with Him.⁷ He opposed the worship of saints, supplications for their intercession, and the practice of dedicating churches to their honour.⁸ He also objected to the practice of pilgrimages ; it was, he said, a mistake to expect benefit from visiting the shrine of St. Peter, inasmuch as the power of forgiving sins, which was bestowed on the apostles, belonged to them only during their lifetime, and on their death passed to others. On being pressed, however, he said that he did not absolutely either condemn or approve pilgrimages, because their effects were various in different persons.⁹ The proceedings of Claudius occasioned much excitement. Pope Paschal, on hearing of them, expressed his displeasure, although he did not venture to take any active steps against a bishop who had been so lately promoted by the emperor's personal favour ; but Claudius made light of the papal censure—declaring that the title of *Apostolical* belongs not to him who occupies an apostle's seat, but to one who does an apostle's work.^b

Theodemir, an abbot,^c who had been a friend and admirer of Claudius, on receiving one of his works which was inscribed to himself, took alarm and wrote against him. Claudius defended himself in a scornful and contemptuous tone. He met the charge of impiety by taxing his opponents with superstition and idolatry ; and, in answer to Theodemir's statement that he had founded a sect which had spread into Gaul and Spain, he declared that he had nothing to do with sects, but was devoted to the cause of unity.^d The controversy was carried further. The Frankish clergy in general, who had at first been disposed to countenance Claudius, now took offence. Some of them requested Louis to examine into the bishop's opinions, and the emperor, with the advice

^a Claud. ap. Jon. 174.

^x Ib. 176, c.

⁷ Ib. 178.

⁸ Jon. 174.

⁹ Claud. ap. Jon. 188, 190 ; Dungal, 214. See Walch, xi. 160, 214.

^b Claud. ap. Jon. 195, g. Jonas answers this in a way which draws from the editors the marginal note "Caute"

Claudius was not happy as an

etymologist—"Apostolicus dicitur," says he, "quasi *Apostoli custos* !" (ibid.) The writing in question was later than the Parisian synod of 825. Pagi, xiv. 72.

^c Probably of a monastery called *Psalmody*, near Nismes. Hist. Litt. iv. 490 ; Walch, xi. 184. See Patrol. civ. 1030.

^d Claud. ap. Jon. 169-70.

of his counsellors,^o pronounced against him. A synod of bishops was then held; but Claudius, who had been cited, refused to appear before it, and is said to have spoken of it as an assembly of asses.^f

Dungal, a deacon of Scottish or Irish birth, who had been established by Charlemagne as a teacher at Pavia,^g wrote against Claudius in 827, with a great display of learning, but without much critical judgment; he speaks, for example, of images as having been used in the church from the very beginning—"about eight hundred and twenty years or more"—although he produces no instance earlier than Paulinus of Nola, about the year 400.^h Jonas, bishop of Orleans, one of the commissioners who had been sent to Rome after the synod of Paris, also undertook a refutation of Claudius at the request of Louis.ⁱ Before this was finished, both Claudius^k and the emperor died, and Jonas had abandoned the work, when he was induced to resume and to complete it by finding that the errors of Claudius continued to be spread by means of his writings and of his pupils.^m The treatise is dedicated to Charles the Bald: the first book is in defence of images; the second, of the cross; the third of pilgrimages. But, although Jonas is vehement in his opposition to Claudius (whom he charges with having left writings of an Arian tendencyⁿ), he preserves on the subject of images the medium characteristic of the Frankish church, whereas Dungal had approximated to the Nicene view;^o and he denounces in strong terms the superstitious doctrines and practices of the Greeks.^p As a lesser matter, it may be mentioned that he frequently remarks on the ignorance of Latin style, and even of grammar, which the bishop of Turin had displayed.^q

Claudius died in possession of his see. It has been erroneously said that he went to the length of separating his church from the communion of Rome, and the hostility to Roman peculiarities which was afterwards cherished in the Alpine valleys has been traced to him, either as its originator, or as a link in a chain begun by Vigilantius, or earlier; but, although it may be reasonably supposed that his writings, like those of others who more or

^o "Palatii sui prudentissimis viris."
Jonas, Præf.

^f Dungal, 223, g.

^g See Walch, xi. 186. Mabillon and the authors of the Hist. Littéraire (iv. 493) wrongly suppose him a monk of St. Denys. Mansi, not. in Baron. xiv. 244. See Lanigan, iii. 256, seqq.

^h Patrol. cv. 469. See Walch, xi. 161, 219; Schröckh, xxiii. 414-6.

ⁱ Jon. Præf.

^k Claudius died in 839.

^m Jon. Præf.

ⁿ Ib. See Walch, xi. 222-4.

^o Mabill. IV. xxi xxiii.

^p "Sceleratissimus error." See Jon. p. 168, g. h.; Walch, xi. 209.

^q E. g. that he had used *destrui* as a deponent (171, a), and that he had made *fungor* govern an accusative. 195, g.

less strongly opposed the prevailing system of religion, had some effect in maintaining the spirit of such opposition, the idea of a succession of connected "witnesses" against the Roman church appears to be altogether groundless.* In Claudius, as in many other reformers, the intemperance of his zeal marred the goodness of his designs.

Notwithstanding the difference on a subject which had elsewhere occasioned so many anathemas, the Frankish church remained in uninterrupted communion with Rome. It continued until nearly the end of the century to adhere to its distinctive view; but about that time a change becomes visible, which gradually assimilated its doctrines on the question of images to those which were sanctioned by the papal authority.†

IV. About the time which we have now reached, the law of the church received an extraordinary addition, which in the sequel produced effects of vast importance. The collection of canons and decretals made by Dionysius Exiguus† had been generally used throughout the west. But from the seventh century another collection, which (whether rightly or otherwise) bore the name of Isidore of Seville, had been current in Spain; and, as it contained some pieces which were not in the compilation of Dionysius, it also found its way into France.‡ The same venerated name was now employed to introduce another set of documents, distinguished by some new and very remarkable features.*

In the older collections, the Decretal Epistles had begun with that addressed by pope Siricius to Himerius, in 385.† But the writer who styled himself Isidore produced nearly a hundred letters written in the names of earlier bishops of Rome, from Clement and Anacletus, the contemporaries of the Apostles, with

* See for various views, Allix on the Churches of Piedmont, c. ix.; Walch, xi. 143; Schröckh, xxiii. 420; Hahn, ii. 28, 57; Ampère, iii. 88; Milman, ii. 271.

† Fleury, xlvii. 5; Mabillon, IV. xvi., xxviii.; Pagi, xiv. 71; Schröckh, xxiii. 247-8.

‡ See vol. i. p. 547.

§ This collection was first edited by Gonzales, Madrid 1808-1821, and is reprinted in vol. lxxxiv. of the 'Patrologia.' It is supposed to have been formed between the date of the fourth council of Toledo (which is the latest council included in the original form of the code) and the death of Isidore, by whom it was used, although his personal share in the formation of it is

doubtful;—i. e. between 633 and 636. See Arevalo, 'Isidoriana,' iii. 91 (Patrol. lxxxi.); Gonzales, ib. lxxxiv. 11-14; Santander, ib. 877-888; Planck, ii. 801-6; Walter, 171; Bähr, 596-7; Gfrörer's 'Karolinger,' i. 96.

¶ The pretended compiler is made in some MSS. to style himself "Isidorus Mercator." (See Hard. i. 4.) But it is generally agreed that the bishop of Seville was meant, and mercator is supposed to be the mistake of a copyist for peccator—a term which bishops by way of humility sometimes attached to their names. (See Hincmar, ii. 793, quoted by Santander, Patrol. lxxxiv. 893). Schröckh, xxii. 30-1; Gieseler, II. i. 173.

† See vol. i. p. 304.

some letters from supposed correspondents of the popes, and the acts of some hitherto unknown councils.^a The spuriousness of these pieces is established by gross anachronisms, and by other instances of ignorance and clumsiness; ^a as, that persons who lived centuries apart are represented as corresponding with each other; ^b that the early bishops of Rome quote the Scriptures according to St. Jerome's version; and that some of them who lived while Rome was yet heathen, complain of the invasion of church-property by laymen in terms which evidently betray a writer of the Carolingian period.^c Some of the forgeries included in the work—among them, the Donation of Constantine—were of earlier manufacture; ^d a great part of the other materials has been traced to various sources—to Scripture, to the Latin fathers, to the service-books of the church, to genuine canons and decretals, and to the Pontifical Books (a set of legendary lives of Roman bishops, which was continued by Anastasius "the Librarian," and is usually cited under his name). The work of the forger consisted chiefly in connecting these materials together, and in giving them the appearance of a binding authority.^e

The date of the composition must be placed between the sixth council of Paris, in 829, from which the forger has borrowed, and that of Quiercy, in 857, where the decretals were cited as authoritative by Charles the Bald.^f That they were of Frankish origin is proved by certain peculiarities of language; ^g and Mentz is now

^a There were also some forgeries in the names of writers later than Siricius (see vol. i. p. 547, n.^o). The earlier letters are in Hardouin, i.; the whole collection, in vol. cxxx. of the 'Patrologia.'

^b Gfrörer's Karolinger, i. 72.

^c Thus Victor (A.D. 190-202) writes to Theophilus of Alexandria (A.D. 400). Hard. i. 103.

^d E. g. Pius (A.D. 142-157), Ep. ii. col. 97; Urban. (A.D. 223-230), col. 115. (Giesel. II. i. 174-5.)

^e See Walter, 184; Gfrörer's Karol. i. 80. There has been much discussion about a set of capitularies said to have been presented by Angilram, of Metz, to Adrian (or by the pope to the bishop), in 785, which have much in common with the forged Decretals. (Hard. iii. 2061-2072.) Gfrörer (Karol. i. 77-80) and Denzinger (Patrol. cxxx. Proleg. vi.) hold with Wasserschleben, who, in his 'Gesch. d. Vorgratianischen Rechtsquellen' (1839), maintains that they are genuine, and were afterwards interpo-

lated from the Decretals. But they are now more generally regarded as spurious, and as derived from the Decretals. (Walter, 212; Bähr, 302; Retzb. i. 501-9, 652; Giesel. II. i. 183.) The first reference to them is by Hincmar of Laon, about 870.

^f Planck, ii. 810; Walter, 195-6; Gfrörer, Karolinger, i. 90.

^g Car. Calv. ap. Pertz, Leges, i. 453; Gieseler, II. i. 181; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 82. It has been said that the Decretals are also indebted to the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 836 (Walter, i. 191-2); but this is questioned. (Gfrörer, 81.) Prof. Denzinger finds in them allusions to the council of Thionville, A.D. 835, and places them between that date and the treaty of Verdun, A.D. 843. (Patrol. cxxx. Prolegg. ix-x.) Gfrörer's opinion that Wala used the elements of the forgery at the Field of Lies, in 833, has already been cited, p. 259.

^h Gfrörer, Karol. i. 91. (Denzinger, viii., from Knust, 'De Fontibus et Consilio Pseudoisidorianæ Collect.' Götting. 1832.)

commonly supposed to have been the place of the fabrication. Hincmar says that the collection was brought from Spain by Riculf, who held that see from 787 to 814—a statement which is probably founded on Riculf's having obtained from Spain a copy of the older Isidorian collection, of which the forger availed himself.^b And Benedict, a "Levite" (or deacon) of Mentz, who between 840 and 847 added to the capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis three books of spurious collections, which have much in common with the decretals, states that he chiefly derived his materials from the archives of his cathedral, where they had been deposited by Riculf and had been discovered by the existing archbishop, Autcar or Otgar.^c This Benedict is generally regarded as the forger of the decretals also.^k

In these decretals, the privileges of the clergy in general, and especially of the bishops, are set very high; and the power of the pope is extended beyond anything that had as yet been known. He appears as the supreme head, lawgiver, and judge of the church, the one bishop of the whole. All causes may be carried to him by appeal; he alone is entitled to decide all weighty or difficult causes;^m without his leave, not even provincial councils may be called, nor have their judgments any validity.ⁿ A very large proportion of the decretals relates to accusations against bishops; indeed almost every one of the popes who are personated has something to say on this subject. Bishops are declared to be exempt from all secular judgment;^o evil bishops are to be borne as an infliction of Providence, which will redound to the eternal benefit of those who submit to it;^p the judgment of them is to be left to God.^q If, however, charges should be brought against a bishop,

^b Hincm. Opera, ii. 476; Santander, in Patrol. lxxxiv. 892-901; Walter, 187; Giesel. II. i. 182; Denzinger, viii.

^c Bened. Levit. ap. Pertz, Leges, II. App. 39. The older genuine collection of capitularies, by Ansegis, is in Pertz, Leges, i. 257, seqq.; those of Benedict are in the 2nd volume, with a dissertation by Knust, in which they are traced to their sources.

^k Planck says that the internal evidence proves both the forgeries to have been carried on at the same time (ii. 311-4); but Walter (192), Knust (ap. Pertz, ii. 34), and Gieseler (II. i. 181) place the Decretals first. Gfrörer thinks that Benedict was concerned in the original authorship, but that the forgery was probably elaborated in Neustria—the kingdom of Charles the Bald—where it first made any noise; and, if so, that

Wenilo of Sens and Rothad of Soissons (personages with whom the next chapter will make us acquainted) were parties to it. (Karolinger, i. 112.) Phillips (from whose 'Kirchenrecht' the section on the Decretals is translated in the Patrologia, cxxx.) supposes the authorship wholly Neustrian, and that Rothad was concerned in it. xxiii.-iv.

^m Anacletus iii. 4 (Hard. i. col. 74); Sixtus, i. (c. 80), ii. (c. 90); Eleutherius, ii. (c. 102); Zephyrinus, c. 106; Fabian, iii. 5 (c. 129); Melchisedes, i. (c. 244); Julius, i. 1-2 (c. 558); ii. 2-4 (c. 563), &c.; Planck, ii. 815-6; Gieseler, II. i. 176.

ⁿ Præf. col. 5; Giesel. II. i. 180-1.

^o Pontianus, i. (c. 117).

^p Zephyrinus, c. 107.

^q Pius, ii. (c. 96).

care is taken, by the rigour of the conditions which are laid down as necessary, to render the prosecution of such charges almost impossible.^r No layman may accuse a bishop, or even a clerk; for the disciple is not above his master, nor must the sheep accuse their shepherd.^s A clerk who would accuse his bishop is infamous, as a son taking arms against his father; and therefore he is not to be heard.^t In order to prove a bishop guilty, seventy-two witnesses are required;^u and the qualifications of witnesses are defined with a strictness which seems intended rather to shut out evidence than to secure its trustworthiness.

There was, however, one grade in the hierarchy on which the decretals bore hardly—the metropolitans. In the Frankish system, the trial of a bishop had belonged to his metropolitan, from whom the last appeal lay to the sovereign;^x but by the decretals the metropolitan was powerless without the concurrence of his suffragans; he could not even assemble these except by the pope's permission, and all decisive judgment in such matters belonged to the pope alone.^y And now a broad distinction was drawn between ordinary metropolitans and the higher grade of *primate*s, who were distinguished by the commission of vicars under the pope.^z

It is matter of conjecture in what interest this forgery was originally made^a—whether in that of the pope, to whom it assigned a supremacy so awful in its alleged origin and unlimited in its extent; or of the bishops, whom it emancipated not only from all secular control, but also from that of metropolitans and provincial synods, while it referred their causes to the more distant tribunal of the pope, as the only judge competent to decide them; or whether, without any definite purpose as to the mutual relations of different classes in the hierarchy, it was merely intended to assert the privileges of the clergy against the oppressions which they suffered in the troubled reigns of Charlemagne's successors, and to claim for them a position independent of the temporal power. The opinion of the most judicious inquirers appears to point to a combination of the second and third of these motives—that the decretals were

^r Anaclet. ii. (c. 69); Fabian, ii. 2 (cc. 126-7); Stephan. ii. 11 (c. 564); Julius, ii. 11 (c. 145); Felix, c. 755; Damasus, c. 765, &c. See Planck, ii. 821.

^s Anaclet. ii. 9 (c. 69-70); Marcellin. ii. 3 (c. 215); Giesel. II. i. 175-6.

^t Telesphor. iv. (c. 92); Stephan. ii. 9 (c. 144); Julius, ii. 10 (c. 564).

^u Zephyrin. c. 105; Sylvester, iii. (cc. 291-2), who also says that there must be 44 against a presbyter—and so

on through the lower grades.

^x See p. 149, and the case of Theodulf, p. 254.

^y Hyginus, ii. (c. 94); Lucius, iv. (c. 138); Giesel. II. i. 138; Ellendorf, 'Karolinger,' ii. 161-3.

^z Anaclet. ii. (c. 71); Anicet. ii.-iii. (c. 99); Stephan. ii. 6 (c. 144); Julius, ii. 12, 14 (c. 564); Walter, 197; Giesel. II. i. 178.

^a See Schröckh, xxii. 28-9.

fabricated for the benefit of the clergy, and more especially of the bishops; that they were designed to protect the property of the church against invasion, and to fix the privileges of the hierarchy on a basis independent of secular authority; that the metropolitans were especially assailed because they had been the chief instruments by which the Carolingian princes had been able to govern the bishops, to depose such of these as were obnoxious, and to sway the decisions of synods. The popes were eventually the principal gainers by the forgery; but this appears to have been a result beyond the contemplation of those who planned or who executed it.^b

That the author's design was, as he himself professes,^c to supply a digest of the existing ecclesiastical laws—to promote the advancement of religion and morality—will hardly be believed on his own authority, although in our own time the assertion has found champions whose ability is more evident than their sincerity.^d Yet we may do well not to judge him too severely for his imposture, but are bound to remember the vicious principles which his age had

^b See Schmidt, i. 675-8; Planck, ii. 818-824; Guizot, ii. 341; Giesel. II. i. 174-5; Gfrörer, Karoling. i. 83-8, 92-4; Ellendorf, ii. 167; Denzinger, viii.-ix.; Milman, ii. 305. The forgery of both the Capitularies and the Decretals seems to have been especially intended to serve the interest of the archbishopric of Mentz. Other sees had in late times gained various advantages over it; Cologne and Salzburg had become metropolitan, and Otgar had reason to fear the dismemberment of his province and the loss of his position in the German hierarchy. Hence the distinction between metropolitans and the higher dignity of *primate*—among whom, as successor of St. Boniface, he might reasonably hope to gain a place. (Blasco, cited by Gieseler, II. i. 178; Knust, ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 38; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 98-102.) In like manner Prof. Gfrörer would account for the part which he supposes Wenilo, another metropolitan, to have taken as to the Decretals by supposing that he aimed at acquiring the degree of *primate*, which was afterwards bestowed on Ansegis, one of his successors in the archbishopric of Sens. (i. 462.) Professor Denzinger, who styles Otgar the "moral author" of the forgery, traces the depreciation of synods to the fact that he himself had been one of the bishops who suffered by the synod of Thionville.

^c Præf. 4, e.

^d As Walter (195) and Möhler ('Fragmente aus und über Pseudoisidor,' in vol. i. of his 'Aufsätze'). Möhler maintains that the writer's object was to combat Arian and other heresy (287)—to supply a manual of orthodoxy, practical religion, morality, and pastoral care (288, 308). He speaks of him as a poet or novelist (*Dichter*), and of his work as *dieses Poëm* (297-8). He supposes him to have been a sincerely pious man, who had no intention of deceiving (305), but adopted the form of a fiction because he used the labours of others (308); and that he was obliged to suit himself to the circumstances of his own time by representing popes as having been from the beginning the general oracles of Christendom (294). It is a pity that the ingenious author of this theory was unable to illustrate it by the history of Solomon Spaulding's romance, which, in other hands, became the book of the Mormon revelation. Ellendorf answers Möhler at some length (ii. 175-186). That the moral and religious lessons were merely the framework, appears, he says, from the fact that they are but a third of the whole (175-6.) Luden, in the tone which he usually affects in speaking of the mediæval church, goes far to extenuate the imposture. (v. 472-6.) Denzinger, although a Romanist, gives up Möhler's theory. x.

inherited from several centuries which preceded it as to the lawfulness of using falsehood for purposes which were supposed to be good : nor, although he differed from other forgers in the greatness of the scale on which he wrought, and although his forgery has exceeded all others in the importance of the results, would it be easy to show any essential moral difference between his act and the acts of others who had fabricated documents of less extent, or of the innumerable legendary writers who imposed on the world fictions as to the lives and miracles of saints.

It has been argued in the Roman interest, that the Decretals made no change in the actual system of the church.⁶ The only considerable new claim, it is said, which they advanced in behalf of the pope, was that which regarded provincial councils ; and this, it is added, never actually took effect.⁷ To such arguments it has been answered that the system of the Decretals was a direct reversal of that which immediately preceded them in the government of the Frankish church ;⁸ but the answer, although true, is even narrower than the proposition which it is intended to meet. To rest such a proposition on an analysis of the Decretals is, however, obviously a fallacy. Although it may be shown in detail that this or that portion of them was older—that what was now laid down universally had before been said with a more limited application—that claims had been made, that jurisdiction had been exercised ; although, in truth, the main outline of the papacy had been marked out four centuries earlier by Leo the Great ;—the consolidation of the scattered fragments into one body, the representation of the later papal claims as having come down by unbroken tradition in the character of acknowledged rights from the apostolic times, could not but produce a vast effect, and the difference between the earlier and the following history abundantly proves their influence.

The history of the introduction of these documents in France and at Rome will be given in the next chapter. Published in an uncritical age, they bespoke a favourable reception by holding out to various classes redress of their grievances and increase of their privileges ; even those who were galled by them in one respect were glad, like Hincmar of Rheims, to make use of them where it was convenient to do so. They were therefore admitted without any expressed doubt of their genuineness, although some questions were raised as to their application or obligatory power. In the

⁶ Döllinger, ii. 41-3 ; Walter, 196, seqq. ; Denzinger, xiv.-xv. ; Phillips, xix.-xxi. Rohrbacher is worthy of himself on this point. xvi.

⁷ Walter, 201. The orders that a layman should not accuse a clerk were also imperative. Phillips, xix.

⁸ Ellendorf, ii. 86.

next century, they were cited in a collection of canons by Regino, abbot of Prüm;^h and they continued to be used by the compilers of similar works, until, in the thirteenth century, Gratian made them the foundation of his 'Decretum,' the great lawbook of the church during the middle ages, and accommodated to their principles all the more genuine matter which he admitted.ⁱ Although sometimes called in question during the long interval before the Reformation,^k they yet maintained their public credit; and, while the foundation has long been given up, even by the extremest writers of the Roman church, the superstructure yet remains.^m

^h Baluz. Præf. ad Regin. (Patrol. cxxxii. 179). For other collectors who used them, see Walter, § 100. Atto of Vercelli, a contemporary of Regino, cites them largely in his tract 'De Pressuris Ecclesiasticis.' (Patrol. cxxxiv.)

ⁱ Schröckh, xxii. 22. •

^k Ib. 34; Giesel. II. i. 188.

^m Erasmus and Calvin declared them

spurious, but the first attempt at critical proof of their spuriousness was in the Magdeburg "Centuries." Torres, a Jesuit, replied; but Blondel answered him in a manner which even such zealous Romanists as Walter (190) and Phillips (xxii.) admit to be conclusive. As to the later history of the Decretals, see Robins, 228-234.

CHAPTER II.

THE FRANKISH CHURCH AND THE PAPACY, FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS THE PIOUS TO THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT.

A.D. 840-887.

THE history of the Carolingians after the death of Louis the Pious is marked by a continuance of those scandalous enmities between the nearest kinsmen which had given so unhappy a character to his reign.^a Sometimes these enmities were carried out into actual war; but after the battle of Fontenailles, in 841, where the loss is said to have amounted to 40,000 on one side, and on the other to 25,000 or 30,000,^b they more commonly took the form of intrigues, of insincere alliances, and selfish breaches of treaties.

Charlemagne had found great difficulty in keeping together the very various elements of which his vast empire consisted. As often as he led his troops into any quarter, for the purpose of conquest or of suppressing rebellion, an insurrection usually broke out behind him.^c In order to conciliate the nationalities which were united under his sceptre, he appointed kings to govern them, as in Aquitaine and in Italy. By his system, which was continued under Louis, these kings were to be subordinate to the "senior" or head of the family; the whole empire was to be regarded as one, subject to the chief.^d But in the beginning of the period now before us, this system is broken up; the delegated government by kings is found to have been the means of organising the different nations for resistance to the idea of unity, and for asserting their independence of each other.^e Language played an important part in the dissolution of the empire.^f From the time of the Frank conquest of Gaul, Latin had been the language of the church and of the state, while German had been that of the army. The king and the chiefs were familiar with both; but in the south the Latin—(or rather the "rustic Roman," which differed from the more

^a See Nithard, *De Dissensionibus Filliorum Ludov.* in Pertz, iii.

^b Martin, ii. 414. Some have made the total slaughter 100,000 (Murat. *Annali*, V. i. 3). But these numbers are beyond the truth, and perhaps the effects of the battle have been exagge-

rated. Luden, v. 416.

^c Lehuërou, *Institut. Mérov. et Carol.* ii. 558-9.

^d Gfrörer, i. 64.

^e Lehuërou, ii. 557.

^f See Guizot, ii. 285-290.

correct official Latin)—was native, and the German was acquired by learning, while the reverse was the case in the northern and eastern territories.⁶ The populations which used these different languages as their mother-tongues now became separate. At the treaty of Strasburg, in 842, Louis of Bavaria took an oath in German, and Charles of Neustria in the Romance dialect,^h and they addressed their subjects in the same tongues respectively. The Romance oath is the oldest monument of French; the other is the oldest specimen of German after the baptismal renunciation of St. Boniface's time.ⁱ A like scene was enacted at Coblenz, in 860, when, in pledging themselves to the observance of certain articles, Louis and the younger Lothair employed the German language, and Charles the Romance.^k

The treaty of Verdun, by which the empire was divided in 843 between the three sons of Louis, established each of them in entire independence. The portion of the second brother, Louis, may be broadly spoken of as *Germany*; Charles the Bald's share may with a like latitude be styled *France*; ^m while Lothair, the emperor, had a territory lying between the two—long and for the most part narrow, reaching from the mouths of the Weser and the Scheldt to the frontier of the duchy of Benevento, and including the two imperial cities—Rome, the ancient capital of the world, and Aix, the chief seat of Charlemagne's sovereignty. The Rhine served for a considerable part of its course as the eastern boundary of this territory; but a deviation was made from it, in order that Louis might include within his dominions Mentz, the see of Boniface and ecclesiastical metropolis of Germany, with the suffragan dioceses of Worms and Spire; while this cession was compensated to Lothair by a tract to the east of the river in the lower part of its course.ⁿ Lothair's kingdom, not being marked out by any older boundaries of population or language, was called from him *Lotharingia*.^o By a later partition, the portion of it north of the Alps was divided between Louis and Charles the Bald, when Louis added to his dominions the countries

⁶ Sismondi, iii. 69-60; Gfrörer, i. 34.
^h They are given by Nithard, iii. 5, in Pertz, ii. 665-6, with notes by J. Grimm.

ⁱ See p. 110, note ^r; Bähr, 62.

^k Pertz, *Leges*, i. 473.

^m The Gauls, unwilling to renounce the glory of three centuries and a half, now styled themselves *Franks*, and their country *Francia*, while the eastern Franks began to be called *Germans*.

Sismondi, iii. 9-10.

ⁿ Gfrörer, i. 21-2, 54, 58. See the second map of Germany in Spruner's admirable Atlas, pt. ii.

^o Gfrörer, i. 57. Hence the name of *Lorraine*, afterwards given to a part of it. Some writers have supposed that *Lotharingia* was called after the younger Lothair, son of the emperor; but see Bouquet, vii. 188.

of the German and Belgic tongues, and Charles acquired those in which the Romance prevailed.^p

The feeling of nationality also showed itself in the rebellion of the Bretons under Nomenoë, who compelled Charles to acknowledge him as king, and established a new hierarchy under the archbishop of Dol, independent of the Roman connexion;^q in the revolts of the Saxons, who killed or drove out their governors, and resumed the profession of paganism;^r and in the subdivision of France towards the end of the century into a great number of petty principalities, although other causes also contributed to this result.^s

Charlemagne had endeavoured to provide a defence against the northern pirates by fortifying the mouths of rivers; but this policy was now neglected.^t No longer content with ravaging the coasts, the fierce barbarians of the north made their way in their "serpent"^u barks up every river whose opening invited them, from the Elbe to the Adour. They repeatedly plundered the more exposed cities, such as Hamburg, Dorstadt, and Bordeaux; they ascended the Rhine to Mentz, and even to Worms; the Moselle to Treves; the Somme to Amiens; the Seine to Rouen and to Paris, once the Merovingian capital, and still the chief city of Neustria, rich in churches and in treasures, and with the royal monastery of St. Denys in its immediate neighbourhood. From Paris, they made their way up the Marne to Meaux and Châlons, up the Yonne to Sens and Auxerre.^x The Loire gave them a passage to Tours,^y the city of St. Martin, and to Orleans;^z the Vienne, to Limoges; the Charente, to Saintes and Angoulême; the Garonne, to Toulouse.^a They sailed on to the Spanish peninsula, plundered Lisbon, passed the strait of Gibraltar, and successfully encountered the Arabs of Andalusia;^b even the coast of Italy felt their fury.^c Everywhere they pillaged, burnt, slew, outraged women, and carried off captives.^d After a time, growing

^p Pertz, *Leges*, i. 517; Palgrave, *Norm. and Eng.* i. 370.

^q Sismondi, iii. 90; Wiltch, i. 471; Phillips, i. 34. For documents relating to Dol, see Martene, *Thes.* iii. 857, seqq.

^r Sism. iii. 74.
^s See Guizot, ii. 280; Stephen, i. 112.

^t Einhard, A.D. 800, 811; Michelet, ii. 136.

^u *Snekkar, drakar*. Depping, i. 71-2; Snorro Sturleson, by Laing, i. 441.

^x Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 887.

^y Baron. 845. 29, seqq., and Pagi's

notes.

^z Sismondi, iii. 85-7. For a list of places plundered by the Northmen, see Palgrave, 'Normandy and England,' i. 419-20, 582; for further details, Depping, 'Expéditions Maritimes des Normands,' Paris, 1826.

^a Hist. de Languedoc, i. 751.

^b Depping, i. 134-5.

^c Ib. 165-9. See the story of their plundering the ancient Etruscan city of Luna. Dudo, in *Patrol.* cxli. 622-4; Guil. Gemet. i. 10 (ib. cxlix.).

^d Dudo, 622.

bolder through impunity, they would leave their vessels on the greater rivers, and strike across the unresisting country to pillage inland places of noted wealth—such as Ghent, Beauvais, Chartres, Bourges, Rheims, Laon, and Charlemagne's own city of Aix, where they stabled their horses in the imperial palace.^o They established permanent camps, often on islands in the great rivers, and ravaged in a wide circle around them.^f Many of these pirates were exiles or adventurers who had fled from other countries to the regions of the north;^g many were men, or the offspring of men, who had suffered from the forcible means employed by Charlemagne for the conversion of the pagans. Their enmity against Christianity was therefore fierce and unsparing; there was religious hatred, as well as the lust of spoil, in the rage which selected churches and monasteries as its especial objects. Wherever the approach of the Northmen was reported, the monks deserted their abodes, and fled, if possible, leaving their wealth to the invaders, and anxious only to rescue the relics of their patron saints.^h The misery caused by these ravages was extreme. From dread of them, husbandry was neglected, and frequent famines ensued;ⁱ even wolves were allowed to prey and to multiply without any check.^k The condition to which Aquitaine was reduced may be inferred from the fact, that a bishop was translated from Bordeaux to Bourges, on the ground that his former diocese was rendered utterly desert by the pagans.^m Many monks who had been driven from their cells threw off the religious habit, and betook themselves to a vagabond life.ⁿ And a striking proof of the terror inspired by the invaders is found in the insertion of a petition in the Gallican liturgies for deliverance "From the fury of the Northmen."^o

However divided by dissensions among themselves, the Northmen always acted in concert as to the course which their expeditions should take. They kept a watch on the movements of the Carolingian princes, and were ready to take advantage in every quarter of their discords and of their weakness.^p Sometimes, it would seem, they were not only attracted by the hope of booty,

^o Adam. Bremens. i. 40.

^f Sismondi, iii. 120; Phillips, i. 20.

^g Thus, one of the Hastingses (for of that name there were three famous seakings) is said to have been a native of the diocese of Troyes, of servile birth. Radulph. Glaber, i. 5, ap. Bouquet, x. 9. Cf. Depping, i. 121-3; Palgrave, i. 490.

^h Sismondi, iii. 79.

ⁱ Ibid. 119.

^k Palgrave, i. 432.

^m Joh. VIII. Epp. 1, 4, 5, 12, ap. Hard. vi.

ⁿ Conc. Duziac. A.D. 860, c. 5.

^o Palgrave, i. 460.

^p Luden, vi. 14; Palgrave, i. 320, 425-8.

but were bribed by one of Charlemagne's descendants to attack the territories of another.⁹

The martial spirit of the Franks had been exhausted by the slaughter of Fontenailles.⁷ Many of the free landholders—the body on which the old Frankish system mainly relied for national defence—sought a refuge from the miseries of the time by becoming serfs to abbots or nobles who were strong enough to protect them; and thus their military service was lost.⁸ The Franks were distracted by faction, and, instead of combining to resist the common enemy, each party and each class was intent on securing its own selfish interests. The nobles in general stood aloof, and looked on without dissatisfaction while the Northmen pillaged towns or estates which belonged to the crown or to the church.⁶ In a few cases, the invaders met with a vigorous resistance—as from Robert “the Strong,” the ancestor of the Capetian line,¹⁰ and from his son Odo or Eudes, who, with the bishop, Gauzelin, valiantly defended Paris in 885.¹¹ But a more usual course was that of paying them a large sum as an inducement to depart for a time—an expedient which pressed heavily on the people, who were taxed for the payment, while it ensured the return of the enemy after a short respite. A better, although not uniform, success attended the attempt to appease the northern chiefs with grants of land. They settled on these estates; they and their followers were baptised, and took wives of the country, by means of whom the northern language was soon extinguished among their offspring; they became accustomed to their new homes, and gradually laid aside their barbarian ferocity.¹²

To the east, the Slave populations pressed on the German portions of the empire, and engaged its sovereigns in frequent wars;¹³ and on the south of France, as well as in Italy, the Saracens were a foe not less terrible than the Northmen on the other coasts

⁹ Luden, vi. 171. This is much insisted on by Gfrörer (e. g. *Karol.* i. 20, 135, 158, 411), and perhaps Dean Milman may have gone too far in altogether setting aside his views on the subject (ii. 356), although Dr. Gfrörer's constant straining after originality, and parade of a paradoxical acuteness, interfere very seriously with the respect which his knowledge and abilities might claim; while his frequent changes of opinion—beginning in Rationalism, and resulting for the present in Romanism—destroy all confidence in his judgment.

¹² Regino, A.D. 842 (Pertz, i.); Guil.

Gemet. i. 1 (Patrol. cxlix.); Sismondi, iii. 865.

¹⁰ Sismondi, iii. 168; Hallam, M. A. i. 16. The change took place chiefly between 830 and 860. Gfrörer, i. 390; comp. Leo, *Gesch. v. Italien*, i. 216.

¹¹ Luden, vi. 182; Gfrörer, i. 274, 281-2. ¹² Palgrave, i. 486.

¹³ Annal. Vedast. (Pertz, i. 522-3); Abbo de Bello Parisiaco (ib. ii.); Depping, ii. 2, seqq.; Palgrave, i. 685, seqq.

¹⁴ Sismondi, iii. 114, 184-5; Palgrave, i. 503; Michelet, ii. 134-7.

¹⁵ Luden, vi. 35; Palgrave, i. 410, seqq.

of the empire. An expedition from Spain had made them masters of Crete in 823. Four years later they landed in Sicily, and, by degrees, they got possession of the whole island, although it was not until after half a century (A.D. 876) that Syracuse fell into their hands.^a They seized on Cyprus and Corsica, devastated the Mediterranean coast of France,^b sailed up the Tiber, carried off the altar which covered the remains of St. Peter, and committed atrocious acts of rapine, lust, and cruelty.^c The terror inspired by these adventurers—the offscourings of their race, which in Spain and in the East had become more civilised, and had begun to cultivate science and literature^d—drove the inhabitants of the defenceless towns to seek a refuge in forests and among mountains.^e Some of the popes showed much energy in providing the means of protection against them. Gregory IV. rebuilt and fortified Ostia, to which he gave the name of Gregoriopolis.^f Leo IV., who was hastily raised to the papal chair on an emergency when the Saracens threatened Rome, took very vigorous measures. He fortified Portus, in which he planted a colony of Corsican refugees; drew a chain across the mouth of the Tiber, and repaired the walls of Rome. With the approbation of the emperor Lothair, who contributed largely to the expense, he enclosed within a wall the Transtiberine district which contained the church of St. Peter and the English Burg;^g and to this new quarter he gave the name of the “Leonine City.”^h Nicolas I. also contributed to the defence of Rome by strengthening the fortifications and the garrison of Ostia.ⁱ But in the south of Italy the Saracens were triumphant. They established a sultan at Bari,^k although after a time that city was recovered from them by the united forces of the emperors Louis II. and Basil the Macedonian.^m Naples, Amalfi, Salerno, and other cities, finding resistance impossible, entered into alliance with them, and joined them in plundering. But for dissensions among themselves, the Moslems would probably have become masters of the whole peninsula.ⁿ

A.D. 852.

A.D. 871.

^a Const. Porphyrog. ii. 21-7; Cedren. 508, 512; Gibbon, v. 200-9; Famin, ‘Invasions des Sarrasins en Italie,’ i. 140, 146, 347, 395 (Paris, 1843).

^b Marseilles, which had suffered from them in 838, was again plundered by Greek pirates ten years later. Sismondi, iii. 92.

^c A.D. 846. Chron. Casin. ap. Pertz, iii. 225-230, or Patrol. clxxiii.; Sismondi, iii. 89.

Sismondi, Rep. Ital. i. 27.

^d Anastas. 244.

^e Ib. 226.

^f See p. 236.

^g Anastas. 240-3; Gibbon, v. 209-210.

^h Anastas. 260.

ⁱ Chron. Casin. 8.

^k Const. Porphyrog. v. 55; Famin, i. 298. Muratori, however, denies that the Greeks shared in the capture (Annali, V. ii. 115).

^m Erchempert. A.D. 876 (Pertz, iii.); Gibbon, v. 209.

The royal power in France was greatly impaired by the changes of this period. Among the earlier Franks, there had been no class of nobility, properly so called, but consideration had depended on wealth and power alone ;^o nor had the counts originally been landholders, but officers of the sovereign, invested with a dignity which was only personal and temporary. But from the time of the civil wars between Louis the Pious and his sons, the Frankish princes found themselves obliged to pay those on whom they depended for support by a diminution of their own prerogatives and property.^p The system was continued ; at the diet of Quiercy, in 877, Charles the Bald, with a view of securing the consent of his chiefs to his projected expedition into Italy, granted that their lands should descend by inheritance, and only reserved to the sovereign the choice of a successor in cases where the tenant should die without male issue ;^q nay, as we shall see hereafter, in his eagerness to gain aid towards the extension of his dominions, he even consented that his crown should be regarded as elective.^r The nobles, thus erected into a hereditary order, became more independent ; they took advantage of the weakness of the sovereign ; and, by the end of the century, the dismemberment of the empire had been so much imitated on a smaller scale that France was broken up into no fewer than twenty-nine independent states.^s

The Frankish clergy suffered severely in their property during the troubles of the time. Not only did Louis and his sons habitually employ the old resource of rewarding partisans with gifts of ecclesiastical benefices, but they even carried it further than before, by extending it to religious houses which had hitherto been regarded as exempt from this kind of danger. The abbey of St. Martin's itself—the most revered, as well as the richest, of all the sanctuaries of Gaul—was granted by Charles in benefice to Robert the Strong.^t Almost every council has its piteous complaint that the property of the church is invaded in a manner more fitting for pagan enemies than for her own sons ; that the poor, the strangers, the pilgrims, the captives are deprived of the endowments founded for their relief ; that hospitals, especially those of the Scots,^u are diverted from their object, so that not only

^o Perry, 416.

^p Planck, iii. 18 ; Sismondi, iii. 221-2 ; Funck, 184.

^q Pertz, *Leges*, i. 539, c. 9. See Ducange, s. v. *Comes*, p. 451 ; Sismondi, iii. 218 ; Stephen, i. 126 ; and Gfrörer, ii. 149, who shows that the effect of this concession was general,

although in words it was granted to such only as should take part in the Italian expedition.

^r Sismondi, iii. 223 ; Gfrörer, ii. 280.

^s Guizot, ii. 280.

^t Palgrave, i. 466, 468.

^u Walafrid Strabo says of the Scots (Irish), "*Quibus consuetudo peregrini-*

are guests not entertained, but those who had dwelt in them from infancy are turned out to beg from door to door; that some lands are alienated in such a way as to cut off all hope of recovery; that the sovereigns grossly abuse their patronage by bestowing spiritual offices on laymen.^a The only weapon which the church could wield against the rapacious laity was excommunication; but neither spiritual terrors nor tales of frequent judicial miracles were sufficient to check the evil.⁷ Another frequent complaint relates to the decay of letters among the Franks.^a Charles the Bald was a patron of learned men, and took pleasure in their society;^a but, while literature enjoyed this courtly and superficial encouragement, the institutions by which Charlemagne had endeavoured to provide for the general instruction of his subjects were allowed to fall into neglect.^b

But in other respects the clergy gained greatly. The sixth council of Paris, in 829, had asserted for them a right to judge kings.^c This power had been exercised against Louis by the rebellious bishops at Compiègne, and his restoration had not been accomplished without a formal act of the church.^d Charles the Bald admitted it, as against himself, at the council of Savonnières, in 859;^e and in all the disagreements of the Carolingians, each prince carried his grievances to the pope—thus constituting the Roman see a general court of appeal, and weakening the rights of all sovereigns by such submission. Ecclesiastical judgments were popularly regarded as the judgments of God.^f Bishops asserted for themselves an exclusive right to judge all matters relating to the clergy,^g and, by the superintendence which they exercised over morals, they were able to turn every scandal of the

nandi jam pene in naturam conversa est." Vita S. Galli, ii. 47 (Patrol. cxiv.).

^a Conc. Aquisgr. A.D. 836, iii. 19; Conc. Theod.-viii. A.D. 844, c. 3 (Pertz, Leges, i. 381); Conc. Vern. II. A.D. 844, cc. 12, &c. (ib. 383-5); Conc. Sparnac. A.D. 846 (ib. 389-90); Conc. Meld. A.D. 845, cc. 40, 41, 75, &c.; Conc. Carisiac. A.D. 858, Ep. ad Ludov. (Hard. v. 466, seq.); Conc. Sparnac. A.D. 859, c. 14; Conc. Duziac. II. A.D. 874 (Hard. vi. 148-9); Conc. Trecass. II. A.D. 878, c. 3, &c.

⁷ Sismondi, iii. 126, 150.

^a E. g. Conc. Valent. IV. A.D. 855, c. 18; Conc. Tull. ad Saponarias, A.D. 859, vi. 10 (Hard. v. 499).

^a Heric of Auxerre, in his dedication of the Life of St. German to Charles,

speaks of Greece as deserted by her scholars that they might flock to the Frankish court, and describes Ireland as "pene totam cum grege philosophorum ad littora nostra migrantem." Patrol. cxxiv. 1133.

^b Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 166-7. Many cathedral and monastic schools, however, continued to flourish. See Hist. Litt. iv. 224, seq.; Bähr, 39-45.

^c Lib. iii. 8, citing a speech ascribed by Rufinus to Constantine (Hist. Eccl. i. 2). The substance of this council is identical with a treatise 'De Institutione Regia,' by Jonas, bishop of Orleans (Patrol. cvi. 279, seq.).

^d See p.

^e C. 3 (Pertz, Leges, i. 462). Guizot, ii. 326.

^f Planck, iii. 23.

^g Ib. 22.

royal house to the advantage of the church.^h They became more and more active in politics;ⁱ they claimed the power of bestowing the crown, and Charles appears to have acknowledged the claim.^k Yet, although they endeavoured to gain for themselves an exemption from all secular control, that prince still kept a hold on them by means of his *missi*.^m

The most prominent among the French ecclesiastics was Hincmar, a man of strong, lofty, and resolute character, of a mind at once subtle and eminently practical, of learning which, although uncritical and indifferently digested, raised him above almost all his contemporaries, and of great political talent.ⁿ Hincmar was born in 806, of a noble family in Neustria, and at an early age entered the monastery of St. Denys, where he became a monk under Hilduin.^o He took an active part in restoring the discipline of the house, and to the end of his days he observed the monastic severity of life.^p His attachment to his abbot was shown by becoming the companion of his exile in 830;^q but notwithstanding this, and although his own feelings were no doubt in favour of the unity of the empire, he withstood all Hilduin's attempts to draw him into rebellion, and to the last preserved the favour of Louis, by means of which he was able to effect his superior's recall.^r In 845 he was promoted to the archbishoprick of Rheims, which had not been regularly filled since the deposition of Ebbo, ten years before. He accepted the dignity on condition that the property which had been alienated from it to laymen during the vacancy should be restored,^s and he held it for thirty-nine years. His province, and even his diocese, were partly in Neustria and partly in Lotharingia^t—a circumstance which brought him into connexion with the sovereigns of both countries. To him, as the successor of St. Remigius, it belonged to crown kings, and to take the chief part in state solemnities;^u and he gave full effect to his position. His political influence was immense; he steadily upheld the cause of the church against both the king and the nobles, and in its behalf often opposed the princes to whose interests in other respects he was zealously devoted.^x But most especially he was

^h Schröckh, xxii. 443; Sismondi, iii. 143.

ⁱ Sism. iii. 133.

^k Michelet, ii. 126-7.

^m E. g. Convent. Sparnac. A.D. 846 (Pertz, Leges, i. 389); Capit. Mersen. A.D. 847 (ib. 394), c. 3; Convent. Silvan. A.D. 853 (ib. 423-6).

ⁿ Hist. Litt. v. 587, 590; Planck, iii. 103; Sismondi, iii. 147-8.

^o Opera, ii. 304.

^p Flodoard, iii. 1 (Patrol. cxxxv.).

^q Ib.; Prichard's Life of Hincmar, 97 (Littlemore, 1849).

^r Flodoard, l. c.

^s Flodoard, iii. 4; Prichard, 96-9.

^t Opera, ii. 310, 694.

^u Hist. Litt. v. 546; Guizot, ii. 352.

^x Hist. Litt. v. 588; Guizot, ii. 354-5.

the champion of the national church and of the rights of his sovereign against the growing claims of the papacy.⁷

The popes endeavoured to take advantage of the weakness of Charlemagne's descendants in order to shake off the golden chains with which the great emperor had bound them, and in this endeavour they were greatly aided by the effect of the partition of the empire; inasmuch as they were thenceforth in no way subject to any prince except the one who held the imperial title and the kingdom of Italy, while they were yet brought into relation with all the Carolingian sovereigns, and became general arbiters between them.⁸

On the death of Gregory IV. in 844, Sergius II., after some tumultuary opposition from a rival named John,^a was consecrated without waiting for the imperial confirmation. Lothair, indignant at the slight thus shown to his authority, sent his son Louis to call the new pope to account. The prince was accompanied by Drogo, bishop of Metz, with a numerous train of prelates and counts, and was at the head of a large army, which is said, in its advance towards Rome, to have committed much wanton slaughter and devastation, and to have lost many of its soldiers, who, in punishment of their misdeeds, were slain by lightning. Sergius received Louis with the usual honours, but would not permit his troops to enter the city; nor would he allow the doors of St. Peter's to be opened to him, until, in answer to a solemn adjuration, the prince had professed that he came without any evil intention, for the good of Rome and of the church. The pope crowned him as king of the Lombards, but resisted a proposal that the Romans should be required to swear allegiance to him, on the ground that such oaths were due to the emperor alone. He consented, however, that a fresh oath should be taken to the emperor.^b Drogo returned to

⁷ Sismondi says that in his contests with Nicolas I. Hincmar seemed to be restrained by the feeling that his appointment was open to question (iii. 148). But it was investigated, and it would appear that he had really nothing to fear in this respect, so that we must rather suppose him to have been restrained by political considerations. M. Guizot well describes him as a mixture of the logician with the man of business, the practical part of his character controlling the other; and points to Bossuet as a parallel (ii. 358-9). M. Ampère, whose estimate of Hincmar is unfavourable, says that in his character "il y a de l'évêque de Meaux et un peu de l'évêque d'Autun" (iii. 168). The

authors of the 'Histoire Littéraire' are also unfavourable to him, chiefly on account of his behaviour to Gottschalk, whose cause they, as Augustinians, espouse.

^a Planck, iii. 26-8, 31.

^b Anastas. 227.

^c Ib. 227-9. Schröckh questions this writer's account of the affair as too favourable to the pope (xxii. 68). Luden thinks that Sergius outwitted Louis (vi. 9). Muratori takes occasion to observe that the practice of conferring the kingdom of Italy by the iron crown at Monza, Milan, or Pavia, was not yet introduced. Annali, V. i. 20.

France with a commission^c appointing him primate and papal vicar, and conferring on him in that character large privileges and jurisdiction; but, on finding that some question was raised as to the reception of this instrument by a synod to which he exhibited it, he refrained from urging his pretensions.^d

Sergius died after a pontificate of three years, and Leo IV. was chosen by general acclamation. The Romans were in A.D. 847. great perplexity; the imminent danger in which they were from the Saracens required them to proceed to an immediate consecration, while they were afraid to repeat their late offence against the Frank empire. They therefore fell on the expedient of consecrating Leo with an express reservation of the imperial rights, and it would seem that this course was allowed to pass without objection.^e Towards the end of Leo's pontificate, Lothair, having been informed that a high Roman officer had expressed himself against the Frankish connexion, and had proposed a revolt to the Greek empire, went to Rome, and held an inquiry into the case. The librarian Anastasius tells us that the charge was proved to be imaginary, and that the accuser was given up to the accused, from whom the emperor begged him.^f But the pope was required, probably in consequence of this affair, to promise obedience to the emperor and his commissioners.^g A remarkable innovation was introduced by Leo in his correspondence with sovereigns, by setting his own name before that of the prince to whom he wrote, and omitting the word *Domino* in the address—a change which intimated that St. Peter's successors no longer owned any earthly master.^h

Benedict III. was elected as the successor of Leo; but he met with a very serious opposition from Anastasius,—probably the same

^c Hard. iv. 1463-6.

^d Conc. Vern. II. c. 11 (Pertz, *Leges*, i. 385); Hincmar, ii. 737; De Marca, VI. xxix. 3.

^e Anastas. 231; Murat. *Annali*, V. i. 31. The misstatements of Baronius as to this are exposed by Pagi, xiv. 348, seqq.

^f Anast. 246. Gfrörer thinks that Anastasius does not tell the truth, and that there was a real conspiracy (i. 287).

^g Giesel. II. i. 49.

^h Ib. 48; see Garnier, in *Patrol.* cv. 119-130. The fabulous female pope, Joan, is inserted between Leo and Benedict. Had such a story been known at Rome in the middle of the eleventh century, Leo IX. would not have ventured, in writing to the patriarch of Constantinople, to mention a rumour

that the Byzantine church "eunuchos passim promovendo fœminam in sede pontificum suorum sublimasset aliquando." (Hard. vi. 940.) The first writers, unsuspected of forgery or interpolation, in whom it is found, are Stephen de Borbone and Mart. Polonus—both of the thirteenth century. Its origin is still matter of question, but is most commonly referred to the degradation of the papacy under female influence, which followed soon after this time. See Baron. 853. 56-69; Ciacon. i. 626-640; Pagi, xiv. 424; Schröckh, xxii. 75-110; Bayle, art. *Papesse* and *Polonus*; Gibbon, iv. 512-3; Giesel. II. i. 29-32; Guericke, ii. 113. Luden is inclined to favour the tale (vi. 513-7). Gfrörer very confidently proposes some wild conjectures on the subject. i. 289.

with a cardinal of that name who under the last pontificate had been deposed, chiefly for his attachment to the Frankish interest.¹ Anastasius got possession of St. Peter's and of St. John Lateran, and (perhaps in the hope of recommending himself to the Franks, whom he may have possibly supposed to be iconoclasts) he is said to have broken and burnt the images which adorned the churches.^k He was aided by Frankish soldiers, and gained over the envoys who were sent to ask the imperial confirmation of his rival's election; he stripped Benedict of his robes, insulted him, and beat him. But the clergy and people of Rome adhered to Benedict, and their demonstrations prevailed on the emperor's commissioners to sanction his consecration.^m

Benedict was succeeded by Nicolas I., who, according to a contemporary annalist, owed his elevation rather to the presence and favour of Louis II., Lothair's successor in the empire, than to the choice of the Roman clergy.ⁿ At his consecration

A.D. 858. was introduced the new ceremony of coronation—a ceremony which probably had its origin in the fable that a golden crown had been bestowed on Sylvester by Constantine,^o and which was intended to assert for the pope the majesty of an earthly sovereign, in addition to that higher and more venerable dignity which claimed not only precedence but control over all earthly power.^p And when, soon after, Nicolas visited the camp of Louis, the emperor, after the pretended example of the first Christian emperor, did him reverence by holding his bridle, and by walking at his side as he rode.^q Nicolas was one of those popes who stand forth in history as having most signally contributed to the advancement of their see. The idea entertained of him shortly after his death is remarkably expressed by Regino, of Prüm, who speaks of him as surpassing all his predecessors since the great Gregory; as giving commands to kings and tyrants, and ruling over them as if lord of the whole world; as full of meekness and gentleness in his dealings with bishops and clergy who were worthy of their calling, but terrible and austere towards the careless and the refractory; as another Elias “in spirit and in power.”^r He was learned, skilful in the management of affairs, sincerely zealous for the

¹ Leo IV. Epp. 7, 13 (Patrol. cxv.); Anast. 224; Baron. 853. 3-5; Gfrörer, i. 288.

^k Anast. 247-8; Gfrörer, i. 293-4.

^m Anast. 249; Milman, ii. 275.

ⁿ Annales Bertiniani (in this part written by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes), Pertz, i. 452.

^o See p. 187.

^p Anast. 253; Schröckh, xxii. 112.

^q Anast. 253. In the ‘Donation’ Constantine is made to say, “Tenentes frænum ipsius [Sylvestri] pro reverentia B. Petri stratoris officium illi exhibuimus.” Patrol. clxxxvii. 464.

^r Regino, A.D. 868 (Pertz, i. 579).

enforcement of discipline in the church, filled with a sense of the importance of his position, ambitious, active, and resolute in maintaining and advancing it. He took advantage of the faults or vices of the Frank princes—their ambition, their lust, or their hatred—to interpose in their affairs, and with great ability he played them against each other. His interposition was usually in the interest of justice, or in the defence of weakness; it was backed by the approbation of the great body of the people, who learnt to see in him the representative of heaven, ready everywhere to assert the right, and able to restrain the wicked who were above the reach of earthly law;^{*} and doubtless he was able to conceal from himself all but what was good in his motives. But those of his acts which in themselves were praiseworthy, were yet parts of a system which in other cases appeared without any such creditable veil—a scheme of vast ambition for rendering all secular power subject to the church, and all national churches subject to Rome.[†]

Of the controversies or disputes of this time—which must be treated severally, since it is a less evil to sacrifice the display of their correspondent progress than for its sake to throw the narrative into hopeless confusion—two related to important points of doctrine—the Eucharistic Presence, and Predestination.

I. We have already seen that, with respect to the Eucharist, there had been a gradual increase of mystical language; and that expressions were at first used rhetorically and in a figurative sense, which, if literally construed, would have given an incorrect idea of the current doctrine.[‡] In the west the authority of St. Augustine had generally acted as a safeguard against materialising views of the Eucharistic presence;[§] but an important step toward the esta-

^{*} Giesel. II. i. 196; Gfrörer, i. 297-8.

[†] One of this pope's smaller triumphs may be mentioned in a note. John, archbishop of Ravenna—a see which had often before given trouble to the popes—set up high pretensions to independence. But he was disappointed in his hopes of support from Louis II., and, being excommunicated by Nicolas, he was reduced to a very abject state. In order to obtain absolution, he bound himself to repair to Rome once a-year, and submitted to a limitation of his power over his own suffragans, whom he was not to consecrate without the pope's permission (A.D. 861-2). Anas-

tas. 254-6; Baron. 861. 57-64; Milman, ii. 289-90.

[‡] i. 569; ii. 226.

[§] Ebrard, i. 309, seqq.; Giesel. I. ii. 117. Villiers, the editor of Fulbert's works, finding in them a quotation where it is said that our Lord's words as to eating His body are a *figure*, inserted "*dicet hæreticus*;" but, being informed that the quotation was from St. Augustine, he coolly put his own interpolation into the table of errata, with the note, "*Interpretatio est mystica*." (Patrol. clxi. 333; Schröckh, xxiii. 506.) For Fulbert see below, Book V. c. iii.

blishment of such views was now made by Paschasius Radbert, abbot of Corbie. Paschasius had been brought up in that monastery under Adelhard and Wala, whose biographer he afterwards became. He had been master of the monastic school, and had laboured as a commentator on the Scriptures. In 844, he was elected abbot; but the disquietudes which were brought on him by that dignity induced him to resign it in 851, and he lived as a private monk until his death in 865.⁷

In 831, Paschasius, at the request of his old pupil Warin, who had become abbot of the daughter monastery of New Corbey,^a in Saxony, drew up a treatise on the Eucharist for the instruction of the younger monks of that society.^a Soon after his appointment to the abbacy of his own house, in 844, he presented an improved edition of the work to Charles the Bald, who had requested a copy of it. In this treatise^b the rhetoric of earlier writers is turned into unequivocally material definitions. Paschasius lays it down, that, although, after the consecration, the appearance of bread and wine remain; yet we must not believe anything else to be really present than the body and blood of the Saviour—the same flesh which was born of the Blessed Virgin—the same in which He suffered on the cross and rose from the grave.^c This doctrine is rested on the almighty power of God; the miracles of Scripture are said to have been wrought in order to prepare the way for it and to confirm it; that the elements remain unchanged in appearance and in taste, is intended, according to Paschasius, as an exercise of our faith.^d The miraculous production of the Saviour's body is paralleled with his conception as man.^e Tales are adduced of miracles by which the reality hidden under the appearance of the elements was visibly revealed.^f The doctrine afterwards known as Transubstantiation appears to be broadly expressed; but, contrary to the later practice of Rome, Paschasius insists on the necessity of receiving the cup as well as the eucharistic bread.^g

⁷ Hist. Litt. v. 289; Pagi, xiv. 390.

^a See Patol. civ. 1128-31.

^b Pagi, xiv. 173; Mabill. VI. viii.-x.

^c 'De Corp. et Sanguine Domini' (in Bibl. Patr. Lugd. xiv. or Patol. cxx.).

^d C. 1, 10. It seems to be chiefly in thus maintaining the *identity* of the body, that Paschasius goes beyond John of Damascus. See p. 226; Joh. Dam. de Fid. Orthod. iv. 13 (t. i. 169); Dupin, vii. 65. Mabillon attempts to show that it was only at the expression of this idea that the contemporaries of Paschasius were offended, and argues very unsuccessfully that there was

ancient authority for it (VI. Pref. xxiv.-xxxii.).

^e C. 1.

^f C. 4.

^g C. 14.

^h C. 19. On the slight differences between the doctrine of Paschasius and that afterwards sanctioned, see Basnage, 910. Bishop Cosin, after having, in the draft of his work on Transubstantiation, given the usual view of Paschasius's opinions, maintained in the treatise, when published, that he did not teach transubstantiation (Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. iv. 79-81); and in our own day Ebrard has argued that he taught only a *spiritual* presence, by *power* or

Paschasius had professed to lay down his doctrine as being that which was established in the church; but protests were immediately raised against it.^a Raban Maur,¹ Walafrid Strabo,^k Florus,^m and Christian Druthmar,ⁿ all of them among the most learned men of the age, objected to the idea of any other than a spiritual change in the Eucharist, and denounced it as a novelty. Even among his own community, the views of Paschasius excited alarm and opposition. One of his monks named Frudegard expressed uneasiness on account of the abbot's apparent contradiction to St. Augustine, so that Paschasius found it necessary to defend himself by the authority of earlier writers, among whom he especially relied on St. Ambrose.^o And the chief opponent of the doctrine was another monk of Corbie, Ratramn, who examined the abbot's book at the request of Charles the Bald,^p and answered it, although, in consideration of his relation to Paschasius, he did not name the author. Ratramn divides the question into two heads: (1) Whether the body and blood of Christ be present in figure or in truth; (2) Whether it be the same body which was born of the Virgin, suffered, rose again, and ascended. He defines *figure* to mean that the reality is veiled under something else, as where our Lord styles himself a vine; and *truth* to mean, that the reality is openly displayed. Although, he says, the elements remain outwardly the same as before consecration, the body and blood of

virtual effect (i. 410-412). But the very chapter in which the word *potentialiter* occurs (c. 4) goes on to language and illustrations which seem clearly to show that the representation usually given of the writer, both by friends and by opponents, is correct. To the same purpose are the stories of miracles (c. 14), which Bishop Cosin is obliged to dispose of by supposing them interpolated (p. 81). The utmost that Professor Ebrard appears to establish is an *inconsistency* in the doctrine of Paschasius (411-416).

[Since this volume was first published, Mr. Freeman has also denied that Paschasius taught the doctrine which is commonly ascribed to him (Principles of Divine Service, ii. 35-40). But see the masterly reply in Bishop Thirlwall's Charge for 1857, Appendix B, where cc. 12, 13, 16, are especially brought forward in evidence.]

^a This fact is enough to disprove the argument of Mabillon (VI. xv.) and of Pagi (xiv. 173), that so learned a man could not have mistaken the Church's doctrine.

¹ De Institutione Clericorum, i. 31; iii. 13 (Patrol. cvii.); Pœnitentiale, 83 (ib. cx.); compare Ep. 3 (ib. cxii.)—a piece which Mabillon found with the title 'Dieta cujusdam sapientis,' and identified with a letter which Raban speaks of himself as having written to Eigil on the doctrine of Paschasius (Pœnit. l. c.). Mabillon's conjecture, however, has been questioned. See Gieselser, II. i. 120.

^k De Rebus Eccles. 16-17 (ib. cxiv.).

^m Adv. Amalar. 9 (ib. cxix.).

ⁿ In Matth. xxvi. 26 (ib. cvi. 1476).

Druthmar was distinguished as a commentator, who, contrary to the usual practice of his time, followed the literal and historical explanation of Scripture (Schröckh, xxiii. 269; Hist. Litt. v.). For the history of the manner in which Romish writers have dealt with this writer's testimony, see Maitland, Catal. of Early Printed Books in Lambeth Library, 368-372.

^o Ad Frudeg., Bibl. Patrum, xiv. 754, seqq.

^p Ratramn. de Corp. et Sang. Domini, Oxon. 1838, or Patrol. cxxi., c. 1.

Christ are presented in them, not to the bodily senses, but to the faithful soul.¹ And this must be in a figurative way; for otherwise there would be nothing for faith, "the evidence of things not seen," to work on; the sacrament would not be a mystery, since in order to a mystery there must be something beyond what is seen.² The change is not material, but spiritual;³ the elements, while in one respect they continue bread and wine, are in another respect, by spirit and potency, the body and blood of Christ,⁴ even as the element of water is endued with a spiritual power in order to the sacrament of baptism.⁵ That which is visible and corruptible in them feeds the body; that which is matter of belief is itself immortal, sanctifies the soul, and feeds it unto everlasting life.⁶ The body of Christ must be incorruptible; therefore that which is corruptible in the sacrament is but the figure of the reality.⁷ Ratramn clears the interpretation of the passages which had been quoted from St. Ambrose in favour of the opposite view.⁸ He cites St. Augustine and St. Isidore of Seville as agreeing in his own doctrine;⁹ and argues from the Liturgy, that the Saviour's presence must be spiritual and figurative, since the sacrament is there spoken of as a *pledge*, an *image*, and a *likeness*.^b

John Scotus, who will be more particularly mentioned hereafter, is said to have also written on the question, at the desire of Charles the Bald; but if so, his book is lost.^c His other works contain

¹ Cc. 9-10.

² C. 12.

³ Cc. 17-18.

⁴ Cc. 86-7.

⁵ Cc. 33-6, 41-5, 77-8, 93-6.

^b Cc. 84-6. Ratramn's book was first printed in 1532, and in that and other editions he is called *Bertram*. Some Romanists declared it to be a forgery of the Reformers, and it was classed by the Council of Trent among forbidden books. An attempt was afterwards made by some divines of Louvain and Douay to show that it was tolerable; but the use made of it by the reformed stood in the way of this opinion. It is excluded from the Lyons Bibliotheca (t. xv.), where other works of Ratramn are given, under the pretext that it had been corrupted by heretics. Mabillon (VI. l. seqq.), Boileau (Patrol. cxxi.), the authors of the 'Hist. Littéraire' (iv. 260; v. 397), and others, have, however, attempted to show that the treatise is identical in doctrine with that of Paschasius—an opinion which the Abbé Rohrbacher maintains with his usual amount of modesty and good

⁶ C. 11.

⁷ Cc. 13-16.

⁸ Cc. 19, 49.

⁹ Cc. 61-69.

sense (xii. 85-7). See Mosheim, ii. 233; Schröckh, xxiii. 479. Amid these conflicting views, the English church may fairly claim Ratramn as an ally, since Bishop Ridley was converted by this book from a belief in transubstantiation, and it served as a model for the doctrine of our Reformation. Ridley, ed. Park, Soc. 159.

^c It appears that the early quotations which profess to be from Scotus on the Eucharist are really from Ratramn's book, and that mediæval writers who speak of a book by the one do not name the other; and to this Gieseler would trace the notion of Scotus having written on the subject (II. i. 123-4). But, as Neander observes (vi. 217-8), the confusion between the books is hardly enough to warrant us in supposing that Scotus did not write at all. De Marca (ap. D'Acher. Spicil. iii. 852) had supposed Ratramn's book to be really the work of Scotus, but was confuted by Mabillon, VI. xlii-vii. See Dupin, vii. 47-8; Bähr, 474. Gieseler's opinion has been supported by Laufs; against it see Gfrörer, Kirchengesch. iii. 921-2.

grounds for thinking that he regarded the Eucharist as a merely commemorative rite, and that on this, as on other points, he was regarded as heterodox.⁴ While the most learned divines of the age in general opposed Paschasius, his doctrine appears to have been supported by the important authority of Hincmar,⁵ although it is doubtful whether the archbishop really meant to assert it in its full extent, or is to be understood as speaking rhetorically; and Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt, a commentator of great reputation, lays it down as strongly as the abbot of Corbie himself.⁶ The controversy lasted for some time; but the doctrine of Paschasius, which was recommended by its appearance of piety, and by its agreement with the prevailing love of the miraculous, gained the ascendancy within the following century.⁷

II. Throughout the west St. Augustine was revered as the greatest of all the ancient fathers, and the chief teacher of orthodoxy; yet his system was not in general thoroughly held. The councils which had been assembled on account of the Pelagian doctrines had occupied themselves with the subject of Grace, and had not given any judgment as to Predestination; and the followers of Augustine had endeavoured to mitigate the asperities of his tenets on this question. The prevailing doctrine was of a milder tone; in many cases it was not far from Semipelagianism,^h and

Dr. Floss thinks that Scotus did not write a special treatise on the Eucharist, but that his opinions on that subject were contained in his commentary on St. John (Patrol. cxxii. Præf. xxi.). Dr. Christlieb supposes that Scotus may have been asked by Charles the Bald to give an opinion on the question; that he wrote a short letter on it, in opposition to the views of Paschasius, and that hence Ratramn's book, which at first appeared anonymously, may have been ascribed to Scotus. *Leben und Lehre des Joh. Scotus Erigena* (Gotha, 1860), pp. 70, 78-9.

⁴ Mabill. vi. Præf. lxiv.; Schröckh, xxiv. 482; Neand. vi. 217-8. Hincmar says of Prudentius and Scotus that, among other errors, they held "*quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sint Domini, sed tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus*" (De Prædest. 31, t. i. p. 232). A little additional light has been thrown on John's eucharistic doctrine by an imperfect commentary on St. John, which was first published by M. Ravaisson in 1849, and appears to be truly ascribed to him. From this, as from some pas-

sages in his work '*De Divisione Naturæ*,' it would seem that his view of the sacrament was connected with a belief that the Saviour's body was changed after the resurrection into a "reasonable soul" which is everywhere present (In Evang. Joh. Fragm. i., Patrol. cxxii. 312; De Div. Nat. v. 20, ib. 894; 38, ib. 992; Floss, Præf. ix.). "*Spiritualiter eum immolamus, et intellectualiter, mente non dente, comedimus*" (col. 311 b). The commentary unfortunately breaks off before entering on the critical part of chapter vi., perhaps, as Dr. Floss supposes (p. x.), because the transcriber was unwilling to reproduce the suspected doctrines of Scotus on the Eucharist. In his '*Expositiones on Dionysius the Areopagite*' (ib. 140), Scotus, although decidedly against Paschasius, speaks also against those who hold "*visibilem eucharistiam nil aliud significare præter se ipsam*." See Floss, note ib., 141.

⁵ Hincm. ii. 99-100.

⁶ De Corp. et Sang. Dom., Patrol. cxviii. 815-8.

⁷ Schröckh, xxiii. 487-8; Giesel. II. i. 126-7.

^h See vol. i. p. 537.

even where it could not be so described, it fell so far short of the rigid Augustinianism that a theologian who strictly adhered to this might have fairly charged his brethren with unfaithfulness to the teaching of the great African doctor.¹

Gottschalk,^k the son of a Saxon count, was in boyhood placed by his father in the monastery of Fulda. On attaining to man's estate, however, he felt a strong distaste for the life of a monk, and in 829 he applied for a release from his vows to a synod held at Mentz under Archbishop Otgar. His petition was granted, on the ground that he had been devoted to the monastic profession before he could exercise any will of his own. But the abbot of Fulda, Raban Maur, the pupil of Alcuin, and himself the greatest teacher of his time,^m appealed to Louis the Pious, arguing that persons offered by their parents, although without their own choice, were bound by the monastic obligations; and the emperor overruled the synod's decision.ⁿ

Although compelled to remain a monk, Gottschalk was allowed to remove from Fulda, where his relation to Raban would have been inconvenient, to Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. Here he gave himself up to the study of Augustine and his followers; he embraced their peculiarities with enthusiasm, and such was his especial love for the works of Fulgentius that his friends usually called him by the name of that writer.^o It is a characteristic circumstance that one of the most eminent among these friends, Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, in a letter of this period, charges him with an immoderate fondness for speculation, and

¹ Schröckh, xxiv. 119-121; Neand. vi. 178; Giesel, II. i. 128.

^k *Schalk*, in old German, signified a servant, although its meaning has undergone the same change as that of our own word *knave*. *Gottschalk*, therefore, = *servant of God*. The Epistle to Titus begins in the Gothic version "Paulus, skalks Guths," Patrol. xviii. 857.

^m Neand. vi. 156. He was, perhaps, born in 786, and he died in 856 (Kunstmann, 'Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus,' 14, 159, Mainz, 1844). The name of Maurus was given to him by Alcuin in remembrance of St. Maur, the disciple of St. Benedict. Ib. 37; Mabill. vi. 20.

ⁿ Schröckh, xxiv. 5-6; Kunstmann, 70. Raban's tract 'De Oblatione Puerorum, contra eos qui repugnant institutis B. Patris Benedicti' (Patrol. cvii.), really belongs to this time, although Migne has erroneously dated it in 819. (Hefele, iv. 125.) Gottschalk's claim might seem to have been countenanced

by the Council of Mentz, in 813 (c. 23), which is against compelling persons to be monks or clergy; but Mabillon argues (VI. cvi.) that it did not intend to forbid the oblation of boys. The capitulary for monks enacted at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 (see p. 253) orders that boys offered by their parents shall confirm the obligation "tempore intelligibili" (c. 36); but it is not said that they may decline the monastic life. The rule of Cluny afterwards ordered that the benediction of boys should not take place under the age of fifteen; and in this, other orders, popes, and at length the Council of Trent, agreed. Mabill. VI., cvi.-cvii. See Petr. Venerab. Statuta, c. 36 (Patrol. clxxxix.); Hugonis Statuta, c. 6 (ib. ccix.), where the age is twenty; Ducange, s. v. *Oblati*; Mabill. Analecta, 157, seqq.; Nat. Alex. xiii. 374.

^o He is so styled by Walafrid Strabo, in a poem (Patrol. cxiv. 1115).

exhorts him to turn from it to matters of a more practical kind.^p Hincmar, on the report of the abbot of Orbais, describes him while there as restless, changeable, bent on perversities, addicted to argument, and apt to misrepresent what was said by others in conversation with him; as scorning to be a disciple of the truth, and preferring to be a master of error; as eager to gain an influence, by correspondence and otherwise, over persons who were inclined to novelty and desired notoriety at any price.^q With a view, no doubt, to qualify himself for preaching his doctrines, Gottschalk procured ordination as a priest from a chorepiscopus of Rheims, during the vacancy of that see after the deposition of Ebbo. This act appears to have been a token of disaffection to the episcopal body, with which the chorepiscopi were then on very unfriendly terms;^r it was censured as irregular, inasmuch as Gottschalk belonged to the diocese of Soissons, and as the chorepiscopus had no authority from any superior to confer the priestly ordination at all.^s

The doctrine on which Gottschalk especially took his stand was that of Predestination. The usual language in the church had been, that the righteous are *predestinate*, and that the wicked are *foreknown*, while the rigid Augustinianism spoke of the wicked as *reprobate*;^t but Gottschalk applied the term *predestinate* to both classes.^u There is, he said, a *twofold* predestination—a term for which he cited the authority of Isidore of Seville.^v In both cases predestination is to good; but good is twofold, including not only the benefits of grace but the judgments of justice. As life is predestined to the good, and they to it, so evil is predestined to the wicked, and they to it.^w His opponents usually charged him with maintaining that the wicked were irresistibly and irrevocably doomed to sin, as well as to its consequences. But it would seem, even by Hincmar's own avowal,^x that Gottschalk did not admit this representation of his opinions; he maintained only that, as the perseverance in evil of the devil, his angels, and wicked men was foreknown, they were predestinated to righteous punishment.^y He

^p Serv. Lup. Ep. xxx. (Patrol. cxix.).

^q Hincm. De Prædest. c. 2 (Opera, i. 20); Ep. ad Nicol. Pap. t. ii. 262; ii. 264, 295.

^r See p. 195, and below, Ch. VIII. i. 2.

^s Hincm. i. 21; ii. 262.

^t Neand. vi. 180-2.

^u Confessio prolixior, ap. Usser. 'Hist. Gottschalci,' Dubl. 1631, pp. 215-7. On the controversy raised by Gottschalk, see also Petav. de Incarnat. l. xiii. cc. 8, seqq.

^v Conf. brevior, ap. Usser. 212 (Isid. Sentent. ii. 6, Patrol. lxxxiii.); Cf. Hincm. de Præd. c. 9, p. 33.

^w Conf. prolix. 214.

^x De Præd. c. 15, p. 63, where he treats Gottschalk's distinction as only nominal, "cum non nisi per peccatum perveniri valeat ad interitum." See Kunstm. 135.

^y Conf. brev. 211; Conf. prolix. 219, 222; Usser. 44; Giesel. II. i. 129.

denied that Christ died for any but the elect, and explained the texts which speak of God's willing all men to be saved as applicable to those only who actually *are* saved. And, unlike Augustine, he held that even the first human pair were subject to a predestination.^b The view which his adversaries took of his opinion may be in some degree excused by the violence with which he insisted on his difference from them, and by his zeal in condemning them—circumstances which could not but lead them to suppose the difference far greater than it appears to have really been.

Gottschalk was returning from a visit to Rome, in 847, when at the house of Eberhard, count of Friuli, a son-in-law of Louis the Pious,^c he met Notting, who had been lately nominated to the see of Verona. He propounded his doctrine of twofold predestination, at which Notting was greatly startled. The bishop soon after mentioned it to Raban Maur, whom he found at the court of Louis of Germany; and Raban, who had lately become archbishop of Mentz, wrote both to Notting and to Eberhard, in strong condemnation of Gottschalk's opinion, which he declared to be no doctrine of St. Augustine. Predestination, he said, could only be a preparation for grace; God foreknows evil, but does not predestinate to it; all who yield their corrupt will to the guidance of Divine grace may be saved.^d Count Eberhard, on receiving the archbishop's letter, dismissed his dangerous visitor, who then travelled slowly homeward through Southern Germany;^e and it would seem to have been on account of his proceedings in these already Christian lands that Hincmar speaks of him as having visited barbarous and pagan nations for the purpose of infecting them with his errors.^f In 848 Gottschalk appeared before a synod held by Raban at Mentz in the presence of King Louis. His attendance was probably voluntary,^g and, as if prepared for a disputation, he carried with him an answer to Raban's objections, in which he charged the archbishop with following the heresy of Gennadius and Cassian, and reasserted the doctrine of a double predestination.^h His opinions,

^b Gottesch. ap. Hincm. de Prædest. cc. 25, 27, 29 (t. i. 147, 211, 226); Neand. vi. 181.

^c Eberhard was father of Berengar, who was crowned as emperor in 916. Murat. Annali, V. i. 35.

^d Rab. Epp. 5, 6 (Patrol. cxii.); Kunstm. 120, seqq.

^e Annal. Bertin. A.D. 849; Kunstm. 127.

^f Hincm. ii. 262; Remig. in Patrol. cxxi. 987.

^g Schröckh, xxiv. 13-15; Gfrörer, i. 214-5. From the words in the *Annales Bertiniani* (A.D. 849)—“*episcopali concilio detectus atque convictus*”—Kunstmann (wrongly, as it appears to me) infers that he was dragged from a hiding-place. [In this I find myself agreeing with Hefele, iv. 131.]

^h Fragments of this are preserved in ‘*De Prædestinatione*.’ See Patrol. cxxi. 365.

as might have been expected, were condemned by the synod; he was obliged to swear that he would never again enter the dominions of Louis;¹ and he was sent to his own metropolitan, Hincmar, with a letter in which Raban styled him a vagabond,² and recommended that, as being incorrigible, he should be confined.³

In the following year, Hincmar brought Gottschalk before a synod at Quiercy⁴ on the Oise, where, according to the archbishop, he behaved like a possessed person, and, A.D. 849. instead of answering the questions which were put to him, broke out into violent personal attacks. He was flogged severely, in the presence of King Charles,—a punishment for which the rule of St. Benedict and the canons of Agde were quoted as a warrant, not without some straining of their application.⁵ When exhausted with this cruel usage, he was required to throw his book into the fire, and had hardly strength enough to do so.⁶ Hincmar long after told Pope Nicolas that he had been obliged to take the matter into his own hands because the bishop of Soissons, Rothad, was himself infected with novelties;⁷ and for the same reason Gottschalk, who was condemned by the synod to perpetual silence, was removed to the monastery of Hautvilliers, within the diocese of Rheims.⁸

His zeal was rather quickened than daunted by his imprisonment. He refused to subscribe a declaration sent to him by Hincmar, which would have had the effect of releasing him on condition of his admitting that there might be divine foresight without predestination.⁹ He denounced the opposite party under the name of Rabanists;¹⁰ and, in one of two confessions which he sent forth, he speaks of them as heretics whom it was his bounden duty to avoid.¹¹ In these confessions he lays down his doctrine of a twofold predestination—predestination of good angels and men, freely, to bliss; of the evil to punishment, justly, on foreknowledge of their guilt. In the longer of the two, which (probably in imitation of St. Augustine) is composed in the form of an address to God, he breaks out into a prayer that an opportunity might be granted him of testifying the truth of his opinions, in the presence of the

¹ Annal. Fuld. 848 (Pertz, i. 365).

² "Gyrovagus." He would seem to have left Orbais without leave from the abbot. Kunstm. 120, 132.

³ Rab. Ep. 8 (Patrol. cxiii.). Hefele questions the genuineness of these acts. iv. 138. Comp. Schröckh, xxiv. 15-19.

⁴ Hard. v. 17.

⁵ Hincm. de Prædest. 2. t. i. 21, 443. See Schröckh, xxiv. 40.

⁶ Remigius de Tribus Epistolis, 25 (Patrol. cxxi.).

⁷ Hincm. ii. 262.

⁸ Hard. v. 20.

⁹ Flodoard, iii. 28 (Patrol. cxxxv. 259). Comp. Schröckh, xxiv. 43.

¹⁰ "Rhabanicos." Amulo ad Gottschalk. Patrol. cxvi. 95.

¹¹ Conf. prolux. ap. Usser. 232.

king, of bishops, clergy, monks, and laity, by plunging successively into four casks of boiling water, oil, fat,^x and pitch; and lastly by walking through a blazing pile. This wish has been variously traced to humility and to hypocrisy^y—qualities which seem to have been alike foreign to Gottschalk's character. It would accord better with the rest of his history, if we were to seek the motive in a proud and self-important but sincere fanaticism.

The doctrines for which Gottschalk was suffering now found champions of name and influence, although these varied somewhat among themselves, while all (like Gottschalk himself) disavowed the opinion of an irresistible predestination to sin. Among them were—Prudentius, a Spaniard by birth, bishop of Troyes;^z Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, an old pupil of Raban, who had great weight in the French church, and was highly esteemed by Charles the Bald;^a and Ratramn, who in this controversy, as in that on the Eucharistic Presence, wrote at the king's request and for his information.^b Hincmar found it necessary to seek for assistance against these writers. Raban, to whom he applied, excused himself, chiefly on the plea of age and infirmity, and added that in many points he agreed with Gottschalk, although he thought him mistaken as to the predestination of the wicked.^c But Hincmar found allies in Amalarius, an ecclesiastic of Metz, who was distinguished as a ritualist,^d and in Amulo, archbishop of Lyons, the pupil and successor of Agobard.^e

The most remarkable work in opposition to Gottschalk's views, however, was that of John Scotus, whose name has already been mentioned in connexion with the eucharistic question. The circumstances of this celebrated man's life are enveloped in great obscurity. The name Scotus, like that of Erigena, which was given to him at a later time, indicates that he was a native of

^x "Oleo, pingui" (ib. 233). These words are usually printed without a comma between them, as if *pingui* were an epithet. But it must be taken as a substantive, in order to make up the number of barrels.

^y See Schröckh, xxiv. 48.

^z Prudentius (whose works are in the 'Patrologia,' vol. cxv.) wrote part of the 'Annales Bertiniani,' which were continued by Hincmar. Hincmar, in the opening of his part, says that his predecessor, after having opposed Gottschalk, took up his cause out of private enmity to some bishops. Pertz, i. 465.

^a Patrol. cxix.; Hist. Litt. v. 256-7; Schröckh, xxiv. 56, seqq.

^b Ratr. de Prædest. Dei, Patrol. cxxi. 13.

^c Raban. ad Hincm., Patrol. cxii. Ep. 4; Kunstm. 138. Compare a later letter of Raban in Kunstm. Append. v. Gfrörer (altogether improbably and unjustly, as it seems to me) supposes that Raban lent himself to Louis of Germany's dislike of Hincmar, by first drawing him into controversy and then deserting him! (i. 262-3.)

^d Some, however, have supposed this Amalarius to have been a different person from the ritualist. See Hist. Litt. iv. 535.

^e Amulo is in the Patrol. t. cxvi.

Ireland, a country which furnished many others of the learned men who enjoyed the patronage of Charles the Bald.^f From his knowledge of Greek (in which language he even wrote verses, although with an utter disdain of prosody^g) it has been supposed that he had travelled in the east; but the supposition is needless, as Greek was then an ordinary branch of education in his native country and in Britain.^h That he was acquainted with Hebrew has often been said, but without sufficient proof.ⁱ Like the scholars of his time in general, John appears to have been a priest; or, at least, to have belonged to some order of the clergy.^k He had for some years found a home in the court of Charles,^m and had restored the reputation of the Palatine School,ⁿ which had sunk during the distractions of the preceding reign;^o while, among other literary labours, he had executed a translation of the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which had been sent as a present by the Greek emperor Michael to Louis the Pious.^p Scotus was better versed in Greek than in Latin theology, so that even as to the question of the Holy Spirit's procession he inclined to the oriental side.^q But, in truth, he had a far greater affinity

^f See above, p. 298. Prudentius says that Ireland sent John to Gaul, and speaks of his "Celtic eloquence." (De Prædest. 14, Patrol. cxv. 1194.) Instead of *Eriyena*, the word in the oldest MSS. is *Ierugena*, which Dr. Floss believes to be formed after a supposed analogy with *Grajugena* and to be compounded of *λεπὸν* (sc. *ῥηθρον*) and *γενά* (Patrol. cxvii. 194). Although the false concord would not perhaps have shocked the middle ages, I cannot follow this derivation so unreservedly as Dr. Christlieb, who has certainly not strengthened his case by ascribing to John the formation of *Grajugena* as well as of *Ierugena* (Joh. Scot. Erig. 16-7). For other views as to John's country, see Patrol. cxvii. 6, 95.

^g See ib. 1237.

^h Christlieb, 22.

ⁱ Ritter, vii. 206-7. See an anonymous Life, published at Bonn in 1835, and reprinted in the 'Patrologia,' cxvii. 10; also Christlieb, 59.

^k This has been denied, as in the Bonn Life (col. 44); but Staudenmaier, Ritter (vii. 207), and Christlieb (54-5), maintain it. The argument on the other side seems chiefly to rest on the fact that he is not distinguished by any clerical title.

^l Christlieb dates his appearance there between 840 and 846. p. 24.

^m See p. 143.

ⁿ Guizot, ii. 371.

^o It was not, as has been commonly said, the embassy on the question of images (see p. 273) but a later one, in 827, that conveyed this present (Pagi, xiv. 134). Louis, after his reconciliation with the church at St. Denys, in 836, desired Hilduin to collect materials for the Life of the Areopagite, who from that time was identified with the patron of the monastery and of France, although it appears that some persons still denied the identity. (See the letters prefixed to the Life, Patrol. cvi.; Hincmar, ib. cxxvii. 154; Innoc. III. A.D. 1215, ib. cxxvii. 241; Baron, 824, 30; 834, 4, seqq.; Fleury, xlvii. 50; Schröckh, xxiii. 113-7.) Hilduin is not, however, to be regarded as the author of this opinion, but only as having given it establishment and popularity, for traces of it are found earlier (e.g. Venant. Fortunat, in Patrol. lxxxviii. 580), and it is indeed implied in the selection of the abbot of St. Denys as the biographer of the Areopagite. (See Hist. Litt. iv. 611-2; Giesel, II. i. 162-4.) The most celebrated passage of Hilduin's work is in c. 32—"Se cadaver erexit, sanctaque manu caput... cœpit vectitare." Comp. the Lessons in the Roman Breviary for Oct. 9.

^q See Floss, xxii.; Christl. 179. He seems to have extended his Greek sym-

with the ancient philosophers—especially the Neoplatonists—than with the theologians of his own age. His bold and rationalising mind plunged into questionable, or evidently heretical, speculations; he startled his contemporaries by denying the literal sense of some parts of the Scripture narrative,^r and there are passages in his works which indicate an almost undisguised pantheism.^s Of his latter years nothing is known, except that Pope Nicolas, on the ground that his orthodoxy was suspected, requested Charles to send him to Rome, or, at least, to prevent his longer residence at Paris, where his teaching might do mischief.^t It would seem that, notwithstanding this denunciation, Charles continued to protect Scotus, and that the philosopher ended his days in France; although many writers have supposed that, after the death of his patron, he removed into England, and aided the great Alfred in his labours for the education of his people.^u

The controversy thus far had differed from those of the earlier ages in appealing exclusively to authority. Augustine and the other fathers had exercised their original thought in the definition of doctrine; but hitherto the question as to predestination did not relate to the truth of Christian doctrine, but to the manner in which that doctrine had been determined by St. Augustine.^x Scotus, however, took a different course from the theologians who had preceded him on either side.^y Like them, indeed, he professed to appeal to Scripture and the fathers—especially to the great teacher on whom the opposite party chiefly relied; ^z but both Scripture and

pathies so far as to prefer Constantinople to Rome. See the verses at the end of his translation of Dionysius, col. 1194; Christl. 27-8.

^r See Christl. 299-305, 346.

^s See Guizot, ii. 383-7; Neand. vi. 163-9; Rhter, vii. 235; Ampère, iii. 137-146; Christl. 129-132, 199. John's work '*De Divisione Naturæ*' was condemned to the flames by Honorius III., in 1225 (Patrol. cxxii. 439), and, on its publication by Gale (Oxford, 1681), was put into the Roman Index of forbidden books. (Ib. Præf. i.)

^t Ib. 1025; the date is uncertain.

^u The idea of his removal into England has chiefly arisen out of a confusion between Scotus and another John, a learned monk of Old Saxony. They are identified by Baronius (878. 62); Fuller (i. 180-2); Spelman and his editor Hearne (Life of Alfred, 133-5); Ware (Writers of Ireland, 61); Collier (i. 388). Against the identity, see Pagi, xv. 337; Harris, n. on Ware, l. c.; Hist.

Litt. v. 419; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 246; Murdock, n. on Mosheim, ii. 213; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 391; Lauigan, iii. 301; Hardy, n. on W. Malmesb. 188; Gfrörer, iii. 938; Floss, xxiv. Bähr (485), and Christlieb (43), while they distinguish between the two Johns, think it likely that Scotus, finding his position uneasy, may have left France and have repaired to Alfred's court. Mr. Soames, in that anti-historical spirit against which I have often felt it necessary to protest, denounces the distinction between the Johns as an attempt in the Roman interest to clear Alfred from the charge of having patronised an opponent of Transubstantiation! N. in Mosheim, loc. cit.

^x Guizot, ii. 361, 369.

^y '*De Divina Prædestinatione Liber.*' (Opera, 355-440.)

^z E. g. C. xi. 2, 4. Many of his quotations are taken from the treatise '*De libero Arbitrio*,' an early work written by Augustine against the Manichæans,

fathers (he said) had condescended to the weakness of their readers, and much of their language was to be figuratively understood. Thus a principle was laid down by which their most positive expressions might be set aside, and anything which seemed to disagree with the philosopher's own speculations might be explained away.^a

Scotus wrote at the request of Hincmar, and inscribed his book to him and to his associate in the cause, Pardulus, bishop of Laon.^b He sets out with a parade of philosophical method, and declares that true philosophy and true theology are identical.^c He treats Gottschalk as a heretic—a tool of the “old enemy”—and traces his errors to a want of liberal culture, especially to ignorance of the Greek language and theology.^d It is, he says, an impropriety to speak of *predestination* or *foreknowledge* in God, since to Him all time is present; but, admitting the use of such words, he holds that predestination is eternal, and is as much a part of God Himself as any other of his attributes.^e It can, therefore, only be *one*; we can no more suppose two predestinations in God than two wisdoms or two knowledges.^f He disallows Gottschalk's distinction of *one twofold* predestination; the Divine predestination must be truly one, and must be to good only; and such (he maintains) is the use of the term, not only in Scripture, but in Augustine's own writings, if rightly understood.^g Yet the number both of those who shall be delivered by Christ and of those who are to be left to their wickedness is known, and may be said to be predestined; God has circumscribed the wicked by his law, which brings out their wickedness, while it acts in an opposite manner on the good.^h Scotus strongly asserts the freedom of the will to choose not only evil (to which Lupus had limited it),ⁱ but good; free-will (he says) is a gift with which our nature is endowed by God—a good gift, although it may be employed for evil;^k whereas Gottschalk, by referring all virtue and vice to predestination, denies both the freedom of the will and the assistance of grace, and thus falls at once into the errors of the Pelagians and of their extreme opponents.^m Predestination and foreknowledge in God

at a time when his opinions on Predestination had not been developed by the Pelagian controversy. Scotus also relies in part on a spurious work, the ‘Hypognosticon’ or ‘Hypomnesticon,’ which is printed in the Appendix to vol. x. of Augustine (xiv. 4).

^a Cc. ix.; xi. 6; Hist. Litt. v. 420-1; Ritter, vii. 212-5.

^b De Div. Præd. Præf.

^c C. 1; Ritter, vii. 211.

^d Cc. i. 2-4; xviii. 1-4.

^e C. ix. 1, 5-7; xv. 5; xvii. 2.

^f C. ii. 6.

^g C. xviii. 8; Epilog. 2.

^h Cc. iii.-iv.; xi. 3-7; xii. 4-5; xiii.-xiv.

ⁱ Lup. Ep. 128 (Bibl. Patr. xv. 42, c); De Tribus Questionibus, ib. 45, f.

^k Cc. iv. 4; v.; vi. 1; vii. 1-2; viii. 7-9.

^m C. iv. 1-4.

are one, and relate only to good ; for God can only foresee that which has a being, whereas sin and punishment are not.ⁿ Sin is, as Augustine had taught, only the defect of righteousness ; punishment is but the defect of bliss.^o If the soul has the capacity for blessedness, the longing for bliss without the power of attaining it is the keenest possible torment ; thus the true punishment is that which sin inflicts on itself, secretly in the present life, and openly in that which is to come, when those things which now appear to be the pleasures of sin will become the instruments of torment. That which is punished is not our nature (which is God's work), but the corruption of our nature ;^p nor is God properly the author of punishments ; He is only so spoken of inasmuch as He is the creator of the universe in which they are ;^q the wicked will be tormented by their own envy ; the righteous will be crowned by their own love.^r The fire ("whether it be corporeal, as Augustine thinks, or incorporeal, according to Gregory") is not needed for the punishment of the wicked—even of the evil, whose pride would suffice for its own chastisement ; it is one of the four elements which form the balance and completeness of the universe. It is in itself good ; the blessed will dwell in it as well as the wicked, and it will affect each kind according to their capacities, even as light produces different effects on sound and on ailing eyes.^s "Forasmuch as there is no bliss but eternal life, and life eternal is the knowledge of the truth, therefore there is no other bliss than the knowledge of the truth. . . . So, if there be no misery but eternal death, and eternal death is the ignorance of the truth, there is consequently no misery except ignorance of the truth."^t

If Hincmar, in inviting Scotus to take part in the controversy, aimed at counteracting the influence of Lupus and Ratramn over Charles the Bald, he was in so far successful ; for from that time the king was steadily on his side.^u But in other respects he found the philosopher a very dangerous and embarrassing ally, so that he even felt himself obliged to disavow him.^x

The excitement raised by the novelties of Scotus was very great. Wenilo, archbishop of Sens, whom Hincmar had studiously, and hitherto successfully, endeavoured to conciliate,^y now sent a

ⁿ Cc. x. 3 ; xi.-xii. ; xv. 3-5.

^o C. x. 4-5 (Aug. De Civ. Dei, xii. 7).

^p C. xvi. ^q C. xvii. 1.

^r C. xviii. fin.

^s C. xvii. 8-9 ; xix.

^t C. xvii. 9. Compare a passage in the Commentary on Dion. de Hierarchia Cœlesti, col. 205. "Non autem

hoc dicimus quasi nulla poena sit æterna, dum unusquisque sua conscientia sive beatificabitur sive damnabitur in æternum, sed solummodo agimus quod nulla natura in ullo puniatur."

^u Guizot, ii. 376 ; Gfrörer, i. 321.

^x Hincm. de Præd. c. 31, p. 232.

^y Gfrörer, i. 217, 232.

number of propositions, extracted from the book, to Prudentius, with a request that he would examine, and, if necessary, refute them.^a The bishop of Troyes thereupon wrote against Scotus with great asperity, and he was followed by Florus, a deacon and master of the cathedral school at Lyons.^a These writers charge Scotus with Pelagianism, to which Prudentius adds accusations of Origenism and Collyridianism.^b They complain of him for imputing imaginary errors to his opponents; they censure him for substituting philosophy for theology, and sophistical subtleties for arguments from Scripture and ancient authorities. Hincmar and Pardulus entreated Amulo of Lyons again to assist them; but he died in 852, and his successor, Remigius, answered the application by writing, in the name of his church, a book on the opposite side—taking up the case of Gottschalk more expressly than those who had preceded him, censuring the cruelty with which he had been treated,^c and defending the impugned opinions, with the exception of that which limited the exercise of free will since the Fall to the choice of evil.^d

Finding that the literary contest was turning against him, Hincmar resolved to fortify himself with the authority of a council, and at Quiercy, in 853, four decrees on the subject of the controversy were passed.^e It is laid down that man fell by the abuse of his free will; that God, by his foreknowledge, chose some whom by his grace He predestinated to life, and life to them: but as for those whom He, by righteous judgment, left in their lost estate, He did not predestine them to perish, but predestined punishment to their sin. "And hereby," it is said, "we speak of only one predestination of God, which relates either to the gift of grace or to the retribution of justice."^f It is defined that our free will was lost by the Fall, but was recovered through Christ; that we have a free will to good, prevented and aided by grace, as well as a free will to evil, deserted by grace;^g that God would have all men to be saved, and that Christ suffered for all; that the ruin of those who perish is to be ascribed to their own desert.^h

Prudentius, who was present when these decrees were passed, subscribed them, but afterwards put forth four propositions against

^a Usser. 115-125.

^b Hist. Litt. v. 214.

^c Prud. de Prædest. Præf. (Patrol. cxv. 1011); Florus adv. Scotum, 4, 8 (ib. cxix. 132, 152). See Pagi, xiv. 400.

^d De Tribus Epistolis, 25 (Patrol. cxxi.).

^e He questioned whether Gottschalk

held this. Ib. 21.

^f Sirmond, followed by Archbp. Ussher (c. vi.) and others, wrongly refers these to the council of the same place in 849. Giesel. II. i. 134.

^g Conc. Carisiac. II. A.D. 853; c. 1.

^h C. 2.

ⁱ Cc. 3-4.

them ;¹ and Remigius, who, as a subject of Lothair, felt himself independent of the influence of Charles the Bald, wrote, in the name of his Church, a book against the articles of Quiercy.^k Of Scotus the archbishop says that he is ignorant of the very words of Scripture, and that, instead of being consulted on points of faith, he ought either to be pitied as a man out of his right mind, or to be anathematised as a heretic.^m Remigius, however, maintains the necessity of free will, in order to responsibility.ⁿ Against the authority of the council of Quiercy was set one which met under the presidency of Remigius in 855 at Valence, in Lotharingia.^o This assembly condemned nineteen propositions extracted from Scotus, which, by a phrase borrowed from St. Jerome's attack on Cœlestius, it characterised as "porridge of the Scots."^p It laid down moderate definitions as to free will and the extent of the benefits of the Redeemer's death.^q But it censured the four articles of Quiercy as useless, or even noxious and erroneous ; and it forbade, in the name of the Holy Spirit, any teaching contrary to its own.^r The decrees of Valence were confirmed by a council held near Langres in 859,^s although, at the instance of Remigius, the offensive expressions against the articles of Quiercy were omitted.^t A greater council, to which that of Langres was preliminary, met a fortnight later at Savonnières, a suburb of Toul. Here again the subject was entertained ; Remigius acted in a spirit of conciliation, and the decision was adjourned to a future synod.^u

In the mean time Gottschalk was not inactive in his seclusion. Hincmar had altered an ancient hymn of unknown authorship,^x in which the application of the word *trine* to the Godhead seemed to suggest a threefold difference in the nature of the Divine Persons.^y But Ratramn defended the term, and Gottschalk—eager, it would seem, to provoke his powerful enemy in all ways—put forth

¹ Prud. Ep. ad Guenilon. (Patrol. cxv. 1365-8) ; Gfrörer, i. 241-4 ; Hefele, iv. 180-1.

^k 'De tenenda Scripturæ veritate.' The authorship has been questioned, but without reason. See Schröckh, xxiv. 98-9, who, however, is wrong in applying to Hincmar some expressions (c. 2) which clearly relate to Gottschalk.

^m Eccl. Lugd. ap. Usset. 185.

ⁿ C. 10 ; Schröckh, xxiv. 100-2.

^o Hard. v. 87, seqq.

^p C. 6. See vol. i. p. 412. The articles of Valence are supposed to have been drawn up by Ebbo, bishop of Grenoble, nephew of the deprived archbishop of Rheims. Ussher, 185 ; Hefele, iv.

184.

^r Hincmar complains of this (i. 65), and in cc. 16, seqq., of his treatise on Predestination, defends the articles of Quiercy by quotations from the fathers.

^s Hard. v. 498.

^t Giesel. II. i. 137.

^u Conc. Tull. I. apud Saponarias, A.D. 859, c. 10 of Introduction ; also pt. vi. cc. 1-6 ; Hincm. i. 2.

^x Opera, i. 413, 438.

^y "Te, trina Deitas unaque, poscimus." Hincmar argued that *Deitas* meant the nature of God, and altered *trina* into *summa*.—'De una et non trina Deitate,' Opera, i. 413-555 ; Giesel. II. i. 137.

in its behalf a tract in which he charged Hincmar with Sabellianism.^a The archbishop replied in a work of which the substance was shown to Gottschalk, in the hope of converting him, although it was not completed until after his death.^a He meets the charge of Sabellianism with one of Arianism;^b he exhorts monks to keep clear of novelties in a style which seems to intimate that his opponent had many adherents among that class; and he gives very significant hints of the bodily and spiritual punishments to which an imitation of Gottschalk would render them liable.^c Hincmar was not further molested about this affair; but the word to which he had objected, although his objection was supported by the authority of Raban,^d kept its place in the Gallican service.

In 859, a monk of Hautvilliers named Guntbert, whom Gottschalk had gained, privately left the monastery, and carried an appeal from the prisoner to Rome.^e It appeared as if the new pope, Nicolas, were disposed to take up the matter.^f Hincmar wrote to him, professing his willingness to act as he should direct—to release Gottschalk, to transfer him to other custody, or even to send him to Rome (although he spoke of the two synods which had condemned the prisoner as a bar to this course); but he refused to appear with him before the pope's legates at Metz in 863, on an occasion which will be related hereafter.^g From a letter written by Hincmar to Egilo, archbishop of Sens, who was about to set out for Rome, we learn some details as to Gottschalk's condition. It is said that in respect of food, drink, and fuel, he was as well treated as any of the monks among whom he lived; that clothes were supplied, if he would receive them; but that, ever since he was placed at Hautvilliers, he had refused to wash not only his body, but even his face and hands.^h From another writing of Hincmar, it appears that the unfortunate man had become subject to strange delusions, and had visions in which the imagery of the Apocalypse was applied to foreshow the ruin of his chief enemy. His long confinement and sufferings, acting on his

^a *Schedula Gottschalci*, ap. Hincm. i. 415-7.

^b Hincm. i. 552.

^c P. 418.

^d Pp. 436-444.

^e Rab. ap. Kunstm. Append. vi.

^f Hincmar describes Guntbert as having often before incurred punishment for faults, and charges him with having stolen horses, books, and vestments when he left the Abbey. ii. 290.

^g Prudentius says, in *Annal. Bertin.* A.D. 859 (Pertz, i. 464), that Nicolas gave

a "Catholic" decision on the points in question—i. e. a decision agreeable to the writer's own views. But Hincmar, referring to this, says that he had never heard or read the statement elsewhere; and he commissions Egilo, archbishop of Sens, when going to Rome, to beg that the pope would discountenance such misrepresentations. (ii. 292.) See *Hefele*, iv. 199.

^h See below, p. 324; Hincm. ii. 264; *Usser.* 202; *Schröckh*, xxiv. 117.

ⁱ Hincm. ii. 292.

vain, obstinate, and enthusiastic temper, had partially overthrown his reason.¹

The synodal discussion of the predestinarian controversy, to which the council of Savonnières had looked forward, was never held. But a council at Toucy, near Toul, in October 860, which was attended by Charles the Bald, Lothair II., and Charles of Provence, by twelve metropolitans, and by bishops from fourteen provinces, adopted a letter drawn up by Hincmar, which is in part a general statement of doctrine, and in part is directed against the invasion of ecclesiastical property. In this letter the freedom of man's will, the will of God that all men should be saved, the necessity of grace in order to salvation, the Divine mercy in choosing and calling men from out of the "mass of perdition," and the death of Christ "for all who were debtors unto death," are distinctly stated, but in such a manner as rather to conciliate than to repel those who in some respects had been the archbishop's opponents.^k Hincmar, at the desire of Charles the Bald,^m employed himself at intervals, from 859 to 863, in composing a work of great length on predestination and the kindred subjects,ⁿ chiefly in defence of the articles of Quiercy, which he had before maintained in a book of which the preface only is extant.^o He labours to bring the theology of Augustine, Fulgentius, and others into accordance with his own opinions, which are rather those of the time before the Pelagian controversy arose. He quotes very profusely; but most of the passages which he relies on as St. Augustine's are from a work falsely ascribed to that father, which had already been employed by Scotus, and declared by Remigius to be spurious.^p He admits the expression of *one twofold* predestination,^q but differs from Gottschalk in saying that, while the righteous are predestined to life, and it to them, punishment is predestined to the reprobate, but they are not predestined to it; that God did not predestinate them, but forsook them.^r With this work the controversy ceased.

Gottschalk remained in captivity twenty years. In 869, the monks of Hautvilliers perceived that his end was approaching, and sent Hincmar notice of the fact, with an inquiry whether they should allow him to receive the last sacraments. It was replied that they might do so, if he would sign a confession

¹ De una et non trina Deit. (Opera, i. 550); Giesel. II. i. 137.

^k Hincm. Ep. 21 (Patrol. cxxvi.). See Hefele, iv. 206-9.

^m Ep. ad Regem, Opera, i. 1.

ⁿ It fills 410 folio pages.

^o A.D. 857; Fleury, xlix. 33.

^p See above, p. 314, n. *; Remig. de III. Epistolis, 35; de tenenda Script. Verit. 9.

^q C. 19, p. 110.

^r Epilog. 3, p. 373.

embodying the archbishop's views as to Predestination and the Trinity.* But Gottschalk was still unbending, and refused with much vehemence of behaviour and language. In consequence of this refusal, he died without the sacraments and under the ban of the church; he was buried in unhallowed earth, and was excluded from prayers for the repose of his soul.[†]

On the question of Gottschalk's orthodoxy or heterodoxy, very opposite opinions have been pronounced—a result rather of the opposite positions of those who have judged him than of any differences between them as to the facts of the case.[‡] As to these facts, however, there is room for an important question—whether his two confessions embody the whole of his doctrine on the subject of predestination, or whether he also held that opinion of an irresistible doom to sin, as well as to punishment, which his adversaries usually imputed to him. A moral judgment of the case is easier. Gottschalk's sincerity and resolute boldness were marred by his thoroughly sectarian spirit; but the harshness with which he was treated has left on the memory of Hincmar a stain which is not to be effaced by any allowances for the character of the age, since even among his own contemporaries it drew forth warm and indignant remonstrances.

From controversies of doctrine we proceed to some remarkable cases in which questions of other kinds brought the popes into correspondence with the Frankish church.

I. In 855 the emperor Lothair resigned his crown, and entered the monastery of Prüm, where he died six days after his arrival.[§] While his eldest son, Louis II., succeeded him in the imperial title and in the kingdom of Italy, the small kingdom of Arles or Provence fell to his youngest son, Charles, and the other territory north of the Alps, to which the name of Lotharingia was now limited, became the portion of his second son, Lothair II.

Lothair II. in 856 married Theutberga, daughter of the duke or viceroy of Burgundy, and sister of Humbert or Hucbert, abbot of St. Maurice. He separated from his wife in the following year, but

* This answer was in accordance with Raban's opinion. See Kunstmann, *Append.* p. 218.

† Hincm. *De una et non trin. Deit.* (i. 552-5); *ad monach. Altavill.* (ii. 314); *Flodoard*, iii. 28 (*Patrol.* cxxxv. 259).

‡ The Jesuits are strong in condemnation of him; the Jansenists and Augus-

tinian Romanists (as the authors of the *Hist. Litt.* iv. 262), with Protestant writers in general, are favourable to his orthodoxy, and suppose that his opinions were misunderstood. Giesel. II. i. 138.

§ *Annal. Fuld.* (Pertz, i. 369); *Luden*, vi. 44.

Humbert, who was more a soldier than a 'monk, compelled him by a threat of war to take her back. In 859 Theutberga was summoned before a secular tribunal, on a charge of worse than incestuous connexion with her brother before her marriage; and the abbot's profession was not enough to disprove this charge, as the laxity of his morals was notorious.⁷

It now appeared that, in desiring to get rid of his wife, Lothair was influenced by love for a lady named Waldrada, with whom he had formerly been intimate.^a Two archbishops—Gunther, of Cologne, archchaplain of the court, and Theutgaud, of Treves, a man who is described as too simple and too ignorant to understand the case^b—had been gained to the king's side,^b and insisted that Theutberga should purge herself by the ordeal of boiling water; but, when she had successfully undergone this trial by proxy, Lothair declared it to be worthless. In the following year the subject came before two synods at Aix-la-Chapelle,^c in which Wenilo, archbishop of Sens,^d and another Neustrian prelate were associated with the Lotharingian bishops. Theutberga—no doubt

A.D. 860.

influenced by ill usage, although she professed that she acted without compulsion—acknowledged the truth of the charges against her, while she declared that she had not consented to the sin; whereupon the bishops gave judgment for a divorce, and, in compliance with the unhappy queen's own petition, sentenced her to lifelong penance in a nunnery.^e A third synod, held at Aix in April 862, after hearing Lothair's representation of his case—that he had been contracted to Waldrada, that his father had compelled him to marry Theutberga, and that his youth and passions rendered a single life insupportable to him—gave its sanction to his marrying again;^f and, on the strength of this permission, his nuptials with Waldrada were celebrated, and were followed by her coronation.^g Gunther's services were rewarded by the nomination of his brother Hilduin to the see of Cambray;

⁷ Prudent. Annal. 860 (Pertz, i. 454); Hincm. i. 575. Hincmar notes under the year 864 that "Hugbertus, clericus conjugatus," was killed by Louis II.'s soldiers.

^a Regino, A.D. 864 (Pertz, i. 571).

^b Ibid.

^c I agree with Dean Milman (ii. 364) in doubting the story that they were nearly related to Waldrada. Regino (in Pertz, i. 571-2) says that Gunther was won to take part against Theutberga by a promise that his niece should be queen; but this niece was clearly a dif-

ferent person from Waldrada.

^d Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 465.

^e It has been supposed, more or less confidently, that from the conduct of this prelate came the name *Gamelon* (the same with *Wenilo* or *Guenilo*), given to the traitor of Carolingian romance. See Baron. 859. 30; Ducange, s. v. *Gamelon*; British Magazine, xxiii. 260; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 166.

^f Pertz, Leges, i. 467; Hincmar, i. 569, 574-7; Pagi, xiv. 564.

^g Hard. v. 539, seqq.

^h Hincm. Annal. 862 (Pertz, i. 458).

but Hincmar refused to consecrate the new bishop, and pope Nicolas eventually declared the appointment to be null and void.^b

The partisans of Lothair had represented Hincmar as favourable to the divorce; but in reality he had steadfastly resisted all their solicitations.^c A body of clergy and laity now proposed to him a number of questions on the subject,^d and in answer he gave his judgment very fully.^e There were, he said, only two valid grounds for the dissolution of a marriage—where either both parties desire to embrace a monastic life, or one of them can be proved guilty of adultery; but in the second case, the innocent party may not enter into another marriage during the lifetime of the culprit.^f Among other matters, he discusses the efficacy of the ordeal, which some of Theutberga's enemies had ridiculed as worthless, while others explained the fact that her proxy had escaped unhurt,^g by supposing either that she had made a secret confession, or that, in declaring herself clear of any guilt with her brother, she had mentally intended another brother instead of the abbot of St. Maurice.^h Hincmar defends the system of such trials, and says that the artifice imputed to her, far from aiding her to escape, would have increased her guilt, and so would have ensured her ruin.ⁱ With respect to a popular opinion that Lothair was bewitched by Waldrada, the archbishop avows his belief in the power of charms to produce the extremes of love or hatred between man and wife, and otherwise to interfere with their relations to each other;^j and he gives instances of magical practices as having occurred within his own knowledge. He strongly denies the doctrine which some had propounded, that Lothair, as a king, was exempt from all human judgment;^k for, he said, the ecclesiastical power is higher than the secular, and when a king fails to rule himself and his dominions according to the law of God, he forfeits his immunity from earthly law.^l He says that the question of the marriage, as it is one of universal concern, cannot be settled within Lothair's dominions; and, as it was objected that no one but the pope was

^b Nic. Epp. 63-8; Gfrörer, i. 353.

^c Hincm. i. 568, 583; Gfrörer, i. 350.

^d Hincm. i. 565, 683.

^e "De Divortio Lotharii et Theutbergæ." Opera, i. 561-705.

^f Pp. 580, 588, 670, 681.

^g "Incoctus." P. 499.

^h P. 613. There is also a letter on the Ordeal, ii. 676.

ⁱ Pp. 653, seqq.

^j This was a pretension derived from Justinian. (Gfrörer, i. 396.) It had

been carried still further by a synod held at Constantinople in the reign of Nicephorus, which, with reference to the divorce and second marriage of Constantine VI., declared that the Emperor was above law, and was not bound by rules which bound other men. Theod. Stud. Ep. i. 33 (p. 239 D); cf. Ep. i. 36.

^k "Rex a regendo dicitur," &c. (674-6), a favourite sentence in councils, &c., of the time.

of higher authority than those who had already given judgment on it, he proposes a general synod, to be assembled from all the Frankish kingdoms, as the fittest tribunal for deciding it.^u

Theutberga had escaped from the place of her confinement, and had found a refuge with Charles the Bald, who, in espousing her cause, would seem to have been guided less by any regard for its justice than by the hope of turning his nephew's misconduct to his own advantage.^x She now appealed to the pope, whose intervention was also solicited by others, and at last by Lothair himself, in his annoyance at the opposition of Hincmar and the Neustrian bishops.^y In answer to these applications, Nicolas declared that, even if the stories against Theutberga were true, her immoralities would not warrant the second marriage of her husband; he ordered that a synod should be assembled, not only from such parts of the Frankish dominions as Lothair might hope to influence, but from all; and he sent two legates to assist at it,^z with a charge to excommunicate the king, if he should refuse to appear or to obey them.

The synod was held at Metz, in 863, but no bishops except those of Lotharingia attended.^a The legates had been bribed by Lothair; one of them, Rodoald, bishop of Portus, had already displayed his corruptness in negotiations with the Byzantine church.^b Without any citation of Theutberga, or any fresh investigation of the case, the acts of the synod of Aix were confirmed. Nicolas represents the tone of the bishops as very violent against himself, and says that when one bishop, in signing the acts, had made a reservation of the papal judgment, Gunther and Theutgaud erased all but his name.^c These two prelates set off to report the decision to the pope—believing probably, from what they had seen of Rodoald, that at Rome money would effect all that they or their sovereign might desire.^d But in this they found themselves greatly mistaken. Nicolas, in a synod which appears to have been held in the ordinary course,^e annulled the decision of Metz, classing the council with the notorious *Latrocinium* of Ephesus,^f and ordering that, on account of the favour which it had shown to adulterers, it should

^u Pp. 683-7.

^x Gfrörer, i. 352-3.

^y Planck, iii. 41.

^z Nic. Epp. 17, 18, 19, 22, 23. Instructions to the legates, Hard. v. 319-20.

^a Gfrörer thinks that Louis of Germany persuaded Charles the Bald and Charles of Provence not to send their bishops. i. 360.

^b See the next chapter. Gfrörer (i. 363) thinks that Nicolas made use of

him with the intention of turning his notorious venality to account. Hefele says with greater probability that the pope was not fully informed of Rodoald's misconduct until later. iv. 251.

^c Hard. v. 292.

^d Hincm. Annal. 863 (Pertz, i. 460); Planck, iii. 51-2; Gfrörer, i. 361-3.

^e Conc. Rom. A.D. 863; Planck, iii.

55.

^f See vol. i. pp. 463-5.

not be called a synod but a brothel.⁸ He deposed Gunther and Theutgaud, and declared that, if they should attempt to perform any episcopal act, they must not hope for restoration.⁹ He threatened the other Lotharingian bishops with a like sentence in case of their making any resistance;¹ and he announced his judgment to the Frankish sovereigns and archbishops in letters which strongly denounced the conduct of King Lothair—if (it was said) he may be properly styled a king who gives himself up to the government of his passions.² Rodoald was about to be brought to trial for his corruption, when he escaped from Rome by night.³ It was evident from the manner of the pope's proceedings that the indignation which he sincerely felt on account of Theutberga's wrongs was not the only motive which animated him; that he was bent on taking advantage of the case to establish his power over kings and foreign churches.⁴

Gunther and Theutgaud, in extreme surprise and anger, repaired to the emperor Louis II., who was then at Beneventum, and represented to him that the treatment which they had received was an insult not only to their master, but to the whole Frankish church, and to all princes—especially to himself, under whose safe-conduct they had come to Rome.⁵ On this Louis immediately advanced against Rome, and, without attempting any previous negotiation with the pope, entered the city. A.D. 864. Nicolas set on foot solemn prayers, with fasting, for the change of the emperor's heart. Penitents moved about the streets in solemn procession, and offered up their supplications in the churches; but as one of these penitential trains was about to ascend the steps of St. Peter's, it was violently assaulted by some of the imperial soldiers. Crosses and banners were broken in the fray; one large cross of especial sanctity, which was believed to be the gift of the empress Helena to St. Peter's see, and to contain a piece of the wood on which the Redeemer suffered, was thrown down and trodden in the mire, from which the fragments were picked up by some English pilgrims. Nicolas, in fear lest he should be seized, left the Lateran palace, crossed the river in a boat, and took refuge in St. Peter's, where for two days and nights he remained without food.⁶ But in the mean while signs which seemed to declare the wrath of heaven

⁸ "Prostibulum." Hard. v. 573, c. 1; Pertz, i. 375-6; Anastas. 257-8.

⁹ C. 2.

¹ C. 3.

² Ep. ad Archiep. Germ. (Pertz, i. 375); Hincm. Annal. (ib. 460); Nic. Ep. ad Carol. et Ludov. (Hard. v. 244).

³ Hincm. Annal. ap. Pertz, i. 460.

⁴ Planck, iii. 57-60.

⁵ Hincm. A.D. 864, ap. Pertz, i. 462, Regino, A.D. 865, ib. 573.

⁶ Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 463. See Murat. Annali, V. i. 84-6.

began to appear. The soldier who had broken the precious cross died. Louis himself was seized with a fever, and in alarm sent his empress to mediate with the pope. A reconciliation was thus effected, and, after having committed many acts of violence, the troops withdrew from Rome.⁴ The emperor ordered Gunther and Theutgaud to leave his camp and to return home, and it would seem that Nicolas had stipulated for freedom of action in his proceedings as to the case of Lothair.⁵

Gunther had drawn up, in his own name and in that of his brother archbishop, a protest against their deposition, conceived in terms which Hincmar describes as diabolical and altogether unprecedented.⁶ In this document Nicolas is charged with madness and tyrannic fury, with extravagant pride and assumption, with fraud and cunning, with outrageous violation of all the forms of justice and ecclesiastical laws; the archbishops declare that they spurn and defy his accursed sentence—that they are resolved not to admit him into their communion, “being content with the communion and brotherly society of the whole church;” and they conclude by asserting that Waldrada was not a concubine but a wife, inasmuch as she had been contracted to Lothair before his union with Theutberga.⁷ With this paper Gunther now sent his brother Hilduin to the pope, charging him, if it were refused, to lay it on the high altar of St. Peter’s. Hilduin executed the commission, forcing his way into St. Peter’s with a party of Gunther’s adherents, who beat the guardians of the church and killed one of them who resisted.⁸ Gunther also circulated the protest among the German bishops, and sent a copy of it to Photius, of Constantinople, with whom Nicolas was by this time seriously embroiled.⁹ The other Lotharingian bishops, however, were terrified by the pope’s threats, or were gained by his promises, and made submission to him in very abject terms.¹⁰

Gunther had hurried from Rome to Cologne; in defiance of the pope’s sentence he had performed episcopal functions; and he had made a compact with his canons, by which, at a great sacrifice both of power and of revenue, he drew them into concurrence in his proceedings.¹¹ The pusillanimous Lothair—partly influenced by the demonstrations of his uncles against him—now abandoned

⁴ Hincm. ap. Pertz, 463-4.

⁵ Planck, iii. 70.

⁶ Hincmar’s expressions, however, are nothing to those of Baronius, 863. 31.

⁷ The protest is given by Hincm. Annal. 864; also in the Ann. Fuldens. but

without the preface.

⁸ Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 464.

⁹ Planck, iii. 74-5.

¹⁰ See the letters of Adventius of Metz, and others relating to him, in Hard. v. 321-5.

¹¹ Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 465.

the cause of the deposed metropolitans. He gave up Gunther altogether, and expressed horror at his acts, while he entreated that Theutgaud, in consideration of his simple character, and of his obedience to the pope's judgment, might be more leniently dealt with. As for himself, he professed himself willing to go to Rome, and to obey the pope "like one of the meanest of men."^a Gunther, indignant at finding himself thus sacrificed, declared an intention of exposing all the king's proceedings, and set out for Rome, carrying with him as much of the treasures of his see as he could lay hands on, in the hope that by such means he might be able to propitiate the pope. But he was again disappointed; Nicolas in a synod renewed the condemnation which had been passed both on him and on Theutgaud.^b In the mean time Lothair bestowed the archbishoprick of Cologne on Hugh abbot of St. Bertin's, whom Hincmar describes as a subdeacon, but of habits which would have been discreditable to a layman. The preferment was probably a reward for the exertion of the abbot's influence with Charles the Bald, to whom he was maternally related.^c

The meanness of Lothair's behaviour served only to increase the contempt and disgust with which Nicolas had before regarded him. The pope wrote to the other Frankish A.D. 865. princes, desiring them not to interfere in the matter, as it was for his own judgment alone; and it is remarked by Hincmar that in these letters he made no use of such terms of courtesy as had been usual in the letters of Roman bishops to sovereigns.^d He sent Arsenius, bishop of Orba, as his legate, with orders to visit Louis of Germany and Charles; but it was declared that, unless Lothair would give up Waldrada, the legate must hold no communication with him, nor would the king be admitted to an audience if he should repair to Rome. Arsenius received Theutberga from the hands of Charles, and delivered her to Lothair, who, in terror at the pope's threats of excommunication, swore on the Gospels and Aug. 13, 865. a fragment of the true cross, that he would always treat her with the honour due to a queen, imprecating on himself the most fearful judgments, both in this world and in the next, if he should fail. Twelve of his nobles joined in the oath, and the reunion of the royal pair was sealed by a new coronation.^e Waldrada was committed to the care of the legate; but in the

^a Ep. ad Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 336. Letters of Nicolas as to the two archbishops, Nos. 56, 58, in Hard.

^b Hincm. ap. Pertz, i. 465; Gfrörer, i. 397.

^c Hincm. l. c.; Gfrörer, i. 369, 370.

^d Ap. Pertz, i. 468. See Planck, iii. 84; Hefele, iv. 293.

^e Hincm. A.D. 865, pp. 468-7.

course of his return to Rome both she and another royal lady of light character, Ingeltrude,^f wife of count Boso, contrived to make their escape from him, and Waldrada rejoined Lothair, by whom her escape had been planned.^g The king had cast aside all regard for his oath almost immediately after having sworn it. His submissiveness towards the pope was forgotten. He ejected Hugh from Cologne, confirmed Gunther's arrangement with the canons, and put Hilduin into the see as nominal archbishop, while both the power and the revenues were really in the hands of Gunther.^h

Theutberga now again escaped from her husband, and, worn out by the miseries to which she had been subjected, petitioned the pope for a dissolution of the marriage. She went so far as even to own Waldrada to be the rightful wife of Lothair, and she requested leave to repair to Rome and tell all her story. But Nicolas was firm in asserting the rights which the unhappy queen had been wrought on to abandon. He solemnly excommunicated Waldrada, and charged the Frankish bishops to hold Lothair separate from the church until he should repent of his misdeeds. He told Theutberga that he could not comply with a request which was evidently made under constraint; that, if Lothair's marriage were to be dissolved, the precedent would enable any man to get rid of his wife by ill usage; that she must consider herself as under the protection of the Apostolic see; that, instead of travelling to Rome, she should persuade Lothair to send Waldrada thither for trial: and in all his letters he insisted on celibacy on Lothair's part as a necessary condition of any separation.ⁱ Lothair again attempted to pacify the pope by flattery; he assured him that he had not cohabited with Waldrada, or even seen her, since her return from Italy;^k but Nicolas was unmoved, and appeared to be on the point of pronouncing a sentence of excommunication against the king, when he was arrested by death in May, 867.^m

The increase of the papal power under this pontiff was immense. He had gained such a control over princes as was before unknown. He had taken the unexampled steps of deposing foreign metropolitans, and of annulling the decisions of a Frankish national council by the vote of a Roman synod. He had neglected all the old canonical formalities which stood in the way of his exercising an

^f See Baron. 862. 33; 865. 63.

^g Annal. Fuld. 867 (Pertz, t. i.); Regino, ib. p. 574; Hard. v. 270, 274, 279.

^h Hincm. Annal. 866, p. 471.

ⁱ Annal. Fuld. 867; Regino, ap. Pertz,

i. 574-5; Nic. Epp. 48-51.

^k Patrol. cxxi. 374.

^m Planck, iii. 90-2; Gfrörer, i. 425. See Hefele, iv. 294-5.

immediate jurisdiction throughout the western church. And in all this he had been supported by the public feeling of indignation against Lothair and his subservient clergy, which caused men to overlook the novelty and the usurping character of the pope's measures. The other Frank princes had encouraged him in his proceedings against Lothair. The great prelates of Lotharingia, strong in position and in family interest, had rendered themselves powerless before the bishop of Rome by espousing a discreditable and unpopular cause.^a The pope appeared not as an invader of the rights of sovereigns and of churches, but as the champion of justice and innocence against the oppressors of the earth.

Adrian II., the successor of Nicolas, had already twice declined the papacy, and was seventy-five years of age at the time of his election. The partisans of the late pope apprehended a change of policy, by which the recent acquisitions might be lost.^o But in this they were mistaken. Adrian appears to have been urged on by a feeling that he was expected to show want of energy, and by a wish to falsify the expectation. He soon cast aside the air of humility and of deference towards the emperor which he had at first displayed. The losses which the papacy suffered under him arose, not from a reversal of his predecessor's policy, but from the attempt to carry it on in an exaggerated form, without the skill of Nicolas, without understanding the change of circumstances, or the manner of adapting his measures to it.^p

The beginning of Adrian's pontificate was marked by a tragedy among his own nearest connexions. The pope, himself the son of a bishop,^q had been married—a circumstance which contributed to the alarm felt at his election, as Nicolas, like other chief agents in the exaltation of the papacy, had been strenuous for the celibacy of the clergy.^r Adrian's wife and a daughter, the offspring of their marriage, were still alive; but, within a few days after his election, the daughter, who had been betrothed to a nobleman, was carried off by Eleutherius, a son of Arsenius of Orba, who, on being pursued, killed both her and her mother, but was himself taken prisoner. Arsenius, with whose intrigues this affair was connected, did not long survive. It is said that on his deathbed

^a Planck, iii. 94; Gfrörer, i. 365; Milman, ii. 293.

^o Anast. Bibl. Ep. ad Adon. Viennens. ap. Hard. v. 390; Vita Adriani, annexed to Anastasius, ap. Murator. iii. 263.

^p Planck, iii. 149; Giesel. II. i. 198; Gfrörer, ii. 3.

^q Vita, 261.

^r This appears from the letter of Anastasius to Ado, where it is said that all whom Nicolas had rebuked "*pro diverso adulterii genere*," or for other causes, were bent on overthrowing his work. See above, note ^o.

he was heard to discourse with fiends, and that he departed without receiving the Eucharist. At the instance of Adrian, the emperor appointed commissioners for the trial of Eleutherius, who was put to death by their sentence.³

Lothair conceived fresh hopes from the change of popes, and wrote to Adrian in terms expressive of high regard for his predecessor, while he complained that Nicolas had wronged him by listening to idle rumours.⁴ At his request, Adrian released Waldrada from her excommunication, and the king himself was invited to Rome. "Rome," the pope wrote, "is never unjust, and is always willing to receive the penitent. If you are conscious of innocence, come for a blessing; if guilty, come for the remedy of a suitable repentance."⁵ Theutberga was persuaded by Lothair to renew her application for a divorce. She went to Rome in person, and, in addition to the old grounds, alleged that she had ailments which rendered it impossible for her to perform the duties of a wife. But Adrian, like Nicolas, refused her request, on the ground that she was acting under constraint, and desired her to return home.⁶

The absolution of Waldrada had included the condition that she should not keep company with Lothair.⁷ By artfully affecting to obey this order, she goaded his passion to madness, so that he resolved at all risks—even leaving his territories open to the restless ambition of his uncle Charles—to sue in person to the pope

for a dissolution of his union with Theutberga. He was
A.D. 869. made to pay heavily for the means of approach to the pontiff, who, by the intervention of Ingilberga, wife of the emperor Louis, was prevailed on to meet him at Monte Cassino, where it was supposed that Adrian might be more tractable than when surrounded by the partisans of Nicolas at Rome. Adrian refused to dissolve the marriage, but, in consideration of a large sum of money, agreed to administer the Eucharist to the king—a favour which Lothair desired in order to dissipate the popular opinion, which regarded him as virtually excommunicate. "If," said the pope at the solemnity, "thou hast observed the charge of Nicolas, and art firmly resolved never to have intercourse with Waldrada, draw near, and receive unto salvation; but if thy conscience accuse thee, or if thou purpose to return to wallow in thine uncleanness,

³ Hincm. Annal. 868; Murat. Annal. V. i. 101.

⁴ The letter is in Regino, Annal. 868 (Pertz, i. 579).

⁵ Regino, ib.

⁶ Hincm. Annal. 867, p. 476; Schrökh, xxii. 163.

⁷ Hincm. Annal. p. 477; Hard v. 704-5.

refrain, lest that which is ordained as a remedy for the faithful should turn to thy damage." Lothair, in surprise and agitation, received the consecrated symbols. His nobles, after being adjured as to their consent or privy to any breach of his oath, communicated after him; and Gunther, the survivor of the deposed archbishops, who had once more repaired to Italy in the hope of obtaining a release,* was admitted to communicate as a layman, on presenting a written profession of submission, and swearing never again to exercise any spiritual office unless the pope should be pleased to relieve him from his disability.^a

The king followed Adrian to Rome, but a change had come over the pope's disposition towards him. Instead of being received with the honours usually paid to sovereigns, he found no one of the clergy to meet him when he presented himself at St. Peter's, and he was obliged to approach the Apostle's tomb unattended. On retiring to his lodging in the papal palace, he found it unfurnished, and even unswept; and when, on the following day, which was Sunday, he again repaired to the church, no priest appeared to say mass for him. Next day, however, by sending presents to the pope, he obtained an invitation to dinner; Adrian presented him with gifts in return, and they parted on friendly terms.^b

The pope resolved to examine the case of the divorce in a council which was to be held at Rome in the following year. With a view to this investigation, he summoned the bishops of the three Frankish kingdoms to send representatives to the council; and he was about to send commissioners across the Alps for the purpose of inquiry, when he received tidings of Lothair's death.^c The king had left Rome in the middle of July. At Lucca a fatal sickness broke out among his attendants. He himself died at Piacenza, on the 8th of August; and it is said that before the end of the year all who had partaken of the communion at Monte Cassino were dead, while the few who had abstained from it survived.^d Theutberga entered a monastery, and bestowed large

* Hincm. Annal. 867. Theutgaud, on acknowledging the consecration of Adrian, had been admitted to communion. Baron. 867. 147.

^a Hincm. Annal. 869, p. 481; Regino, pp. 581-3. Hincmar (l. c.), Gfrörer (ii. 18), Jaffé (257), and Hefele (iv. 299), place this scene at Monte Cassino; Fleury (li. 23), Pagi (xv. 154), Schröckh (xxii. 167), and Sismondi (iii. 155-8), after the pope's return to Rome. Regino says nothing of the visit to Monte Cassino.

^b Hincm. Annal. p. 482.

^c Ibid.; Gfrörer, ii. 18.

^d Hincm. Ann. p. 482; Regino, p. 581; Sieb. Gembl. ap. Bouquet, vii. 251. Perhaps the circumstances of the mortality may have been accommodated by popular belief to the expectation of a judgment on perjury. But there seems to be no ground whatever for the suspicion of Sismondi, who says that the clergy, regarding the communion as an ordeal, and expecting a miracle, did not cure what they gave the king. iii. 156.

sums for the soul of the husband who had so cruelly injured her. Waldrada also took refuge in a cloister.*

II. In the question of Lothair's divorce, Nicolas and Hincmar were led by the common interests of justice and morality to act in harmony with each other. But in other cases, where the claims of Rome conflicted with the archbishop's attachment either to his sovereign or to the national church of France, the popes found in him a decided and formidable opponent.

One of these cases arose out of the conduct of Ebbo, who, as we have seen,^f had been deprived of the see of Rheims for his acts of rebellion against Louis the Pious. During the contests between that emperor's sons, Rheims for a time fell into the possession of the emperor Lothair, with whom Ebbo had ingratiated himself. The archbishop returned to his see, carrying with him, in addition to the imperial mandate for his restoration, the favourable judgment of a synod held at Ingelheim,^g under Lothair's influence, and under the presidency of Drogo of Metz, who had also presided at his deposition. His penitential professions at Thionville^h were now explained away, by the assertion that, in declaring himself *unworthy* of his see, he had meant nothing more than what was signified by the same word in the ordinary style of bishops;ⁱ he had humbled himself (he said), and therefore had now risen in greater strength than before.^k

After the battle of Fontenailles, Ebbo fled from Rheims in fear of Charles the Bald. He in vain attempted to obtain restitution by means of Sergius II.; but the pope, overruling the ancient canons against the translation of bishops, sanctioned his appointment to Hildesheim, on the nomination of Louis the German, in 844.^m

Hincmar, soon after his promotion to the archbishoprick of Rheims, in 845, found that some clerks, of whom one Wulfad was the most prominent, had been ordained by Ebbo during his second occupation of the see.ⁿ He denied the validity of orders conferred by one whom he regarded as an intruder, and, on the application of the clerks to a synod held at Soissons, in 853, the case was investigated by a commission of bishops, who declared Ebbo's restoration to have been uncanonical, and the orders which he had

* Muratori, Annali, V. ii. 107.

^f P. 263.

^g June, 840; Pertz, Leges, i. 374.

^h See p. 263.

ⁱ Documents not uncommonly began were subscribed "Ego N. indignus

episcopus."

^k Hard. iv. 1447-1552.

^m Flodoard, ii. 20; Annal. Hildesh. in Patrol. cxli. 1241; Hard. v. 49; Hincm. ii. 305.

ⁿ Hincm. ii. 306.

given to be void. Wulfad and his brethren would have been excluded even from lay communion, on the ground that, by charging some members of the synod with having received their consecration from Ebbo, they had incurred the sentence denounced by the council of Elvira against those who should slander bishops ;^o but at the request of Charles the Bald they were released from this penalty.^p Hincmar, as being a party in the case, and as the regularity of his own appointment had been impugned, desired that the synod's judgment might be fortified by the highest authority, and requested Leo IV. to confirm it. The pope refused, on the ground (among other things) that the clerks had appealed to Rome ; but Lothair, hitherto the archbishop's enemy, interceded for him, and Leo sent him the pall by which he was constituted primate of Neustria.^q Benedict III., on Hincmar's appli-
cation, confirmed the privileges thus bestowed on him, A.D. 855.
and declared that there should be no appeal from his judgment, saving the rights of the apostolic see ; he also confirmed the deposition of Wulfad and his companions, provided (as he expressly said) that the facts of the case were as they had been represented to him.^r And Nicolas, in 863, renewed both the grant to Hincmar and the judgment as to the clerks, with the same condition which had been stated by his predecessor.^s

But three years later this pope professed to have discovered great unfairness in the statements on which the applica-
tions to Benedict and to himself had been grounded, and A.D. 866.
ordered that Hincmar should either restore the clerks, or should submit the matter to a council, with leave for them, if its judgment should be unfavourable, to appeal to the apostolic see.^t A second synod was accordingly held at Soissons. Hincmar handed in four tracts,^u in justification of Ebbo's deposition, of his own appointment, and of the proceedings against the clerks—to whose restoration, however, he professed himself willing to consent, provided that it could be granted without prejudice to the laws of the church. The council decided that the deposition had been right in point of justice, but that it might be reversed by the higher law of mercy, according to the precedent of the Nicene judgment as to the Novationists,^v and to the provisions of the African church for the

^o Conc. Iliber. A.D. 305? c. 75.

^p Pertz, *Leges*, i. 416 ; *Hard.* v. 48-52.

^q Leo, Ep. 22 (*Patrol.* cxv.) ; Flo-
doard, iii. 2 (*ib.* cxxxv.). Gfrörer, i.
238-240, who, of course, has his theory
as to the reason of Lothair's conduct.

^r Ep. 1 (*Patrol.* cxv.) ; Hincm. ii.
310, 855.

^s *Hard.* v. 326.

^t Nic. ad. Hincm. ap. *Hard.* v. 601-2.

^u Opera, ii. 265, seqq.

^v See vol. i. p. 121.

reconciliation of the Donatists.⁷ But Nicolas, instead of confirming the acts, strongly censured the council for having omitted to cancel the judgment of that which had been held in 853; he blamed it for having sanctioned the promotion of Wulfad by Charles the Bald to the see of Bourges,⁸ without requesting the papal consent; he told the bishops that they ought to have sent him all the documents relating to Ebbo, and that they must now do so; and, in letters to them, to Charles, and to Hincmar, he charged the archbishop with falsehood, fraud, cunning, and injustice.⁹ At the same time he wrote to Wulfad and his brethren, exhorting them to pay due reverence to Hincmar.^b

The deposition of Ebbo and the appointment of his successor again came into question before a council assembled from six provinces at Troyes in October 867.^c The decision was in favour of Hincmar; but the council did an important service to the papal interest by requesting Nicolas to decree that no archbishop or bishop should be deposed without the consent of the apostolic see.^d Hincmar and Nicolas were at last brought nearer to each other on this question by their respective dangers from other quarters. The archbishop was afraid of the influence which Wulfad had acquired over Charles the Bald, while the pope, who was now engaged in a formidable struggle with the patriarch Photius and the eastern church, was unwilling to tempt the Franks to side with his opponents. On receiving the envoys whom Hincmar had sent to Rome after the synod of Troyes, Nicolas expressed approbation of his proceedings, and wrote to request that he and other learned men of France would assist in the controversy with the Greeks.^e With this request the archbishop complied; and Nicolas was soon after succeeded by Adrian, who confirmed Wulfad in the see of Bourges and bestowed the pall on him, but at the same time behaved with great respect to Hincmar.^f

Thus the dispute ended peacefully. But in the course of it much had been done to infringe on the independence of the Frankish

⁷ Vol. i. p. 406; Hard. v. 626; Hincm. nal. 866, p. 472.

⁸ See Hincm. Annal. p. 472.

^a Nic. Ep. ad Synod. ap. Hard. v. 633-40; ad Hincm. ib. 640; ad Carol. ib. 648; Gfrörer, i. 495-6. He also reproached him for using the pall at other than the times allowed by the Apostolic see; to which the archbishop replied that he hardly used it at all, except at Christmas and Easter, and speaks of it with something like indifference. (Hard. v. 647, 667.) Flodoard says that Leo

had granted him permission to use the pall daily, professing that he never had given, or would give, the like privilege to any other person. iii. 10.

^b Hard. v. 649.

^c Ib. 679, seqq.; Hincm. Annal. p. 475.

^d Hard. v. 675, 681.

^e Nic. Ep. 70, ap. Hard. v. 307, seqq.; Hincm. Annal. 867, pp. 475-6; Schröckh, xxii. 142.

^f Hard. v. 691; Gfrörer, i. 492-502; ii. 1-3.

church. Nicolas claimed that the Frankish synods should be called by order of the pope; that the parties in a cause might appeal from such synods to Rome either before or after judgment; that the synods should report to the pope before pronouncing their sentence; that the bishops who acted as judges should be compelled to go to Rome for the purpose of justifying their decision; that the pope should have the power of annulling all their acts, so that it should be necessary to begin the process anew.^g Hincmar and his party, while they had the ancient laws of the church in their favour, felt themselves unable to struggle against the complication of political interests; the archbishop found himself obliged to concede the principle of an appeal to Rome, according to the canon of Sardica, although Charlemagne had excluded that canon from his collection, and it owed its insertion among the Frank capitularies to the forger Benedict the Levite.^h And the petition of the council of Troyes—suggested, no doubt, by the punishments to which Ebbo and others had been subjected on account of their acts against Louis the Pious—shows how, under the idea of securing themselves against other powers, the Frankish prelates contributed to aggrandise Rome by investing it with universal control in the character of general protector of the church.ⁱ

III. At the same time with the affair as to Ebbo's ordinations another controversy was going on between Nicolas and Hincmar, which exhibited in a yet more striking manner the nature of the new claims set up in behalf of the papacy.

Rothad, bishop of Soissons, in the province of Rheims, had occupied his see thirty years, and had long been on unfriendly terms with the archbishop.^k The accounts which we have of the differences between the bishop and his metropolitan must be received with caution, as they come for the most part from Rothad, or from the Lotharingian bishops, who were hostile to Hincmar on account of his proceedings in the case of Theutberga; while they are in part directly contradicted by Hincmar himself.^m

Rothad, according to his own report, with the consent of thirty-three bishops, deposed a presbyter who had been caught in the act of unchastity. The man carried his complaint to Hincmar, who, after having imposed on him a penance of three years, restored

^g Schröckh, xxii. 143.

^h Bened. Capitul. ii. 64; iii. 133, 412 (Patrol. xcvi.). Giesel. II. i. 63. See above, pp. 149, 286.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 143-7; Giesel. II. i. 197.

^k Schröckh, xxii. 135.

^m Ib. 145.

him to his benefice, excommunicated and imprisoned the clerk whom Rothad had put into it, and persecuted the bishop himself for his share in the affair.ⁿ Even by this account, it would seem that Rothad had ventured to invade the rights of his metropolitan by holding a synod independently of him.^o But in addition to this, Hincmar, while disclaiming all personal malice against the bishop of Soissons, charges him with long insubordination, with notorious laxity of life, and with dilapidating, selling, or pledging the property of his see.^p However their disagreement may have arisen, Hincmar in 861 suspended Rothad from his office until he should become obedient, and threatened him with deposition; whereupon the bishop appealed to Rome.^q

In the following year, Rothad appeared at a synod held at Pistres,^r as if no censure had been passed against him.

A.D. 862. His presence was objected to, on which he again appealed to the pope, and asked leave to go to Rome, which Charles the Bald at first granted. But the case was afterwards, with the concurrence of Charles, examined by a synod at Soissons, in the end of the same year, when Rothad, who had been imprisoned for his contumacy in refusing to appear, was sentenced to deposition, while an abbey was assigned to him for his maintenance, and another person was appointed to his see.^s According to Hincmar, he was content with this arrangement, until some Lotharingian bishops, wishing to use him as a tool against the great opponent of their sovereign's divorce, persuaded him to resume his appeal to the pope.^t Rothad's own statement is, that Hincmar, having got possession of a letter in which he requested a continuance of support from some bishops who had befriended him at Pistres, wrongly represented this as an abandonment of his appeal, and a reference of his cause to those Frankish bishops.^u

Hincmar and the prelates who had met at Soissons, by way of obviating the pope's objections to their proceedings, requested Nicolas to confirm their acts, while, in excuse for their disregard of Rothad's appeal, they alleged that the old imperial laws forbade such cases to be carried out of the kingdom. But Nicolas had

ⁿ Rothad. ap. Hard. v. 581; Nic. Ep. pose the sentence to have been passed by a synod at Senlis, in 863; but this arises from a mistake of *Silvanectensis* for *Suessoniensis* in the heading of Nic. Ep. 32. Hefele, iv. 247.

29, ib. 249.

^o Gfrörer, i. 464.

^p Opera, ii. 248, 251-3.

^q Schröckh, xxii. 144; Planck, iii. 103.

Near Pont de l'Arche, on the Seine.

^r Hincm. Annal. 862-3, Opera, ii. 49. Gfrörer (ii. 465) and others sup-

^s Rothad. Libellus, ap. Hard. v. 580. See Planck, iii. 104.

^t Opera, ii. 249.

received representations of the affair from the bishops of Lotharingia, and replied by censuring the synod very strongly for the insult which it had offered to St. Peter by presuming to judge a matter in which an appeal had been made to Rome.^a In consequence of that appeal, he declared its judgment to be null. Temporal laws, he said, are good against heretics and tyrants, but are of no force when they clash with the rights of the church.⁷ He tells the members of the assembly that they must either restore Rothad to his see, or within thirty days send deputies to assert their cause against him before the apostolical tribunal.^a With his usual skill, he assumes the character of a general guardian of the church by remarking that the same evil which had happened to Rothad might befall any one of themselves, and he points out the chair of St. Peter as the refuge for bishops oppressed by their metropolitans.^a At the same time Nicolas wrote to Hincmar in terms of severe censure.^b He tells him that, if Rothad had not appealed, he must himself have inquired into the matter—a claim of right to interfere which had not before been advanced by Rome.^c He asked with what consistency Hincmar could apply for a confirmation of his privileges as metropolitan to the Roman see, or how he could attach any value to privileges derived from Rome, while he did all that he could to lessen its authority; and, as the first letter received no answer, the pope wrote again, telling the archbishop that within thirty days he must either reinstate Rothad or send him and some representatives of his accusers to Rome, on pain of being interdicted from the celebration of the Eucharist until he should comply.^d He also wrote to Rothad, encouraging him to persevere in his appeal unless he were conscious of having a bad cause;^e and, notwithstanding the importunities of Charles and his queen, who entreated him to let the matter rest, he desired the king to send Rothad to Rome.^f The second letter to Hincmar, and two which followed it, remained unanswered; and Nicolas then wrote a fifth, but in a milder tone, as he was afraid to drive the archbishop to extremities, lest he should join the party of Gunther.^g

In the beginning of 864, Rothad obtained permission to go to Rome. Hincmar also sent two envoys—not, he said, as accusers, but in order to justify his own proceedings.^h They carried with them a

^a Ep. 32, ap. Hard. v. 254, seqq.

⁷ Ib. 256, a.

^a Ib. 257-8.

^a Compare the letters to Charles and Hincmar, Hard. v. 248, 257.

^b Ep. 28.

^c Planck, iii. 114-7.

^d Ep. 29.

^e Epp. 33-4.

^f Epp. 30, 35.

^g Gfrörer, i. 471.

^h Opera, ii. 247.

letter of great length,¹ in which, with profuse expressions of humility and reverence towards the apostolic see, he admits the right of appeal as sanctioned by the Sardican canon, but says that, according to the African canons and to Gregory the Great, Rothad, by referring the case to judges of his own choosing, had foregone the right of carrying it to any other tribunal.² He tells the pope that Rothad had for many years been unruly and had treated all remonstrances with contempt, so that he himself had incurred much obloquy for allowing a man so notoriously unfit and incorrigible to retain the episcopal office.³ He dwells much on the necessity that bishops should obey their metropolitans, and endeavours very earnestly to obtain the pope's confirmation of his past proceedings, assuring him that Rothad shall be well provided for.⁴

Hincmar's envoys were detained on the way by the emperor Louis, but the letter was sent onwards and reached the pope.⁵ Rothad was allowed to proceed to Rome, and, six months after his arrival, presented a statement of his case.⁶ On Christmas-eve, three months later, Nicolas ascended the pulpit of St. Mary Major, and made a speech on the subject. Even if Hincmar's story were true, he said, it was no longer in the power of Rothad, after he had appealed to the apostolic see, to transfer his cause to an inferior tribunal; since Rothad professed himself willing to meet all charges, and since no accuser had appeared against him, the pope declared him to be worthy of restoration;⁷ and, after having waited until the feast of St. Agnes, he publicly invested the bishop with pontifical robes, and desired him to officiate at mass before him.⁸

As Rothad maintained that he had never abandoned his appeal, and as his accusers had suffered judgment to go by default, the proceedings of Nicolas thus far might have been justified by the Sardican canon, which suspended the execution of sentence against a bishop until the pope should have submitted the cause to a fresh examination; and Hincmar had failed in the observance of that canon by appointing another bishop to Soissons.⁹ But, in letters which he wrote on the occasion, the pope gave vent to some startling novelties—that the *decretals* of his predecessors had been

¹ Opera, ii. 244, seqq. Hincmar says that the pope appears to be troubled by his *multiloquium*; but he goes on to allege St. Augustine on behalf of it (247), and he certainly does not correct it.

² Ib. 248, 251.

³ Ib. 248.

⁴ Ib. 258-9; Planck, iii. 117-120.

⁵ Hincm. Annal. 864, ap. Pertz. i. 465.

⁶ Hard. v. 579.

⁷ Ib. 583-4.

⁸ Anastas. 322.

⁹ Planck, iii. 122-5; Gieseler, II. i. 196.

violated; that the deposition of Rothad was invalid, because the council which had pronounced it was held without the apostolic permission, and, further, because the deposition of a bishop was one of those "greater judgments" which belong to the apostolic chair alone.^c He required Hincmar, on pain of perpetual deposition, either at once to restore Rothad unconditionally, or to reinstate him for the time, and to appear at Rome for the further trial of the question.^d

Nicolas had originally stood on the Sardican canon, but he now took very different ground; and the change was the more striking, because the new principles which he advanced were really unnecessary to his cause.^e These principles were derived from the pretended decretals of Isidore, which are for the first time mentioned as being known at Rome in the letter of Nicolas to the French bishops.^f In 860, Lupus of Ferrières, at the instigation of Wenilo, archbishop of Sens,^g had written a letter in which he hinted a reference to them by saying that pope Melchiades, the contemporary of Constantine, was reported to have laid down that no bishop could be deposed without the pope's consent; and the abbot had requested that Nicolas would send a copy of the decretal as preserved at Rome.^h From the pope's silence as to this point in his answer,ⁱ it is inferred that he then knew nothing of the forged collection; and the same was the case in 863, when he spoke of the decretals of Siricius as the oldest that were known.^j But now—only one year later—he is found citing those of the Isidorian collection: and when some of the French bishops expressed a doubt respecting them, on the ground that they were not in the code of Dionysius Exiguus, he answered that on the same ground they might suspect the decretals of Gregory and other popes later than Dionysius, and even the canonical Scriptures; that there were genuine decretals preserved elsewhere; that, as Innocent had ordered all the canonical books to be received, so had Leo ordered the reception of all papal decretals; that they themselves were in the habit of using these epistles when favourable to their own interest, and questioned them only when the object was to injure the rights of the apos-

^c Ad Cler. et Pleb. Eccl. Rom. ap. Hard. v. 534; ad Carol. Calv. ib. 585; ad Hincmar. ib. 588; ad Universos Episcopos Gallie, ib. 590, 593; Planck, iii. 127-8.

^d Hard. v. 588-590.

^e Planck, iii. 130.

^f Schröckh, xxii. 152-4; Gfrörer, i. 478-9. Baronius (865. 7), against all

reason, contends that the decretals on which Nicolas relied were not the forged but the genuine ones. See Pagi in loc., and Planck, iii. 135-7.

^g See p. 286.

^h Ep. 130 (Patrol. cxix.). Mansi dates the letter in 858.

ⁱ Ep. 1, Patrol. cxix.

^j Ep. 32, ib.; Gfrörer, i. 462-3.

tolical see.^d It would seem, therefore, that Nicolas had been made acquainted with the forged decretals during Rothad's stay at Rome—most probably by Rothad himself. That the bishop of Soissons was privy to the forgery, appears likely from the facts that he was already a bishop when it was executed, and that he was connected with the party from which it emanated.^e But we need not suppose that Nicolas knowingly adopted an imposture. The principles of the decretals had been floating in the mind of the age; on receiving the forgeries, the pope recognised in them his own ideal of ecclesiastical polity, and he welcomed them as affording a historical foundation for it. We may therefore, in charity, at least, acquit him of conscious fraud in this matter, although something of criminality will still attach to the care with which he seems to have avoided all examination of their genuineness,^f and to the eagerness with which he welcomed these pretended antiquities, coming from a foreign country, in disregard of the obvious consideration that, if genuine, they must have all along been known in his own city.

Hincmar made no further active opposition, but acquiesced in the restitution of Rothad, although in his chronicle of the time he speaks of it as effected by might in defiance of rule,^g and argues that it was inconsistent with the Sardican canon. The act was performed by Arsenius, during the mission which has been mentioned in connexion with the history of Lothair's marriages,^h and Rothad appears to have died soon after, in the beginning of Adrian's pontificate.ⁱ

IV. If even Nicolas had found Hincmar a dangerous antagonist, Adrian was altogether unequal to contend with him.

On the death of Lothair in 869, Charles the Bald immediately seized his dominions. Adrian felt that, after the part which his predecessor and he himself had taken to make the world regard the papal see as the general vindicator of justice, he was bound to interfere in behalf of the nearer heirs—the emperor Louis, and his uncle the king of Germany.^k He therefore wrote in terms

^d Hard. v. 592-3; Planck, iii. 132-4; Gfrörer, i. 479-480.

^e Gfrörer, i. 483-5.

^f See Planck, iii. 135-7; Giesel. II. i. 185; Gfrörer, i. 483-4; and Dean Milman, ii. 308, who seems to think the pope's share in the matter even worse than that of the forger. I do not see that Walter (187) improves the case by saying that Nicolas knew the decretals only through extracts presented to him

by French bishops, or even that he never of himself referred to them; and Denzinger's attempt to vindicate the pope (Patrol. cxxx., Praef. xii.) seems also a failure.

^g "Non regulariter sed potentialiter." Hincm. Annal. 865, p. 468.

^h P. 327.

ⁱ Anast. 259; Gfrörer, i. 485.

^k Schröckh, xxii. 169; Planck, iii. 153.

of strong remonstrance to Charles, to the nobles of Lotharingia, and to the Neustrian bishops;^m he sent envoys who, during the performance of Divine service at St. Denys, threatened the wrath of St. Peter against the king; he wrote to Hincmar, blaming him for his supineness, desiring him to oppose his sovereign's ambitious projects, and charging him, if Charles should persist in them, to avoid his communion;ⁿ and, as his letters received no answer, he wrote again, threatening, apparently in imitation of Grégoire IV., to go into France in person for the redress of the wrong which had been attempted.^o

In the mean time Hincmar had placed the crown of Lotharingia on the head of Charles,^p who by the partition of Mersen Sept. 9,
869. had made an accommodation with Louis of Germany, and consequently felt himself independent of the pope. The archbishop took no notice of Adrian's first communication; but he returned a remarkable answer to the second.^q He disclaimed all judgment of the political question as to inheritance; his king, he says, had required his obedience, and he had felt himself bound to obey. He complains of it as a novel hardship that he should be required to avoid the communion of Charles: for the Lotharingian bishops had not been obliged to break off communion with their late sovereign, although he lived in adultery; the popes themselves had not broken off communion with princes who were guilty of crimes, or even of heresy; and Charles had not been convicted of any breach of faith which could warrant his bishops in refusing to communicate with him.^r

But the most striking part of the letter was where Hincmar professed to report the language held by the nobles of Lotharingia—a significant hint of his own opinion, and of the reception which the pope might expect if he were to carry out the line of conduct which he had commenced. He tells Adrian that they contrast his tone towards Charles with the submissiveness of former popes towards Pipin and Charlemagne; they recall to mind the indignities which Gregory IV. had brought on himself by his interference in Frankish affairs; they loudly blame the pope for meddling with politics, and pretending to impose a sovereign on them; they wish him to keep to his own affairs as his predecessors

^m Hard. v. 707, seqq.

ⁿ Hadr. Ep. 21; Hincm. Opera, ii. 690.

^o Ep. 22 ad Proceres Regni; Gfrörer, ii. 30, 35.

^p See Hincm. Annal. 869, pp. 483-5; and Pertz, Leges, i. 512-5. It is on this occasion that the first mention occurs of

the chrism sent from heaven for the baptism of Clovis, as used in the unction of Frank sovereigns. See vol. i. p. 497.

^q Opera, ii. 689, seqq. See Baron 870. 21, seqq.

^r Pp. 691, 694.

had done, and to defend them by his prayers and by the prayers of the clergy from the Normans and their other enemies; they declare that a bishop who utters unjust excommunications, instead of excluding the objects of them from eternal life, only forfeits his own power of binding.*

The pope was greatly incensed. He countenanced a rebellion raised against Charles by one of his sons, Carloman, who had been ordained a deacon; he forbade the French bishops to excommunicate the rebel prince when their sovereign required them to do so.¹ But Hincmar and his brethren, in despite of this, pronounced sentence of degradation and excommunication against Carloman,² who, on being taken, was condemned to death, but escaped with the loss of his eyes, and received the abbey of Epternach from the charity of Louis the German.³ And Adrian, after having committed himself by threats and denunciations in a style exaggerated from that of Nicolas, found himself obliged to let these acts of defiance pass without taking any further measures against those who were concerned in them.

V. A yet more remarkable collision arose out of the conduct of Hincmar, bishop of Laon. The archbishop of Rheims had in 858 obtained the see of Laon for his nephew and namesake, who is described as entirely dependent on him for the means of subsistence;⁴ but he soon found reason to repent of this step, which appears, from the younger Hincmar's character, to have been prompted by family or political considerations rather than by a regard for the benefit of the church.⁵ The bishop of Laon received from Charles the Bald a distant abbey and an office at court. For these preferments he neglected his diocese; he made himself odious both to clergy and to laity by his exactions; and he treated his uncle's authority as metropolitan with contempt.⁶ In consequence of a disagreement with the king, he was tried before a secular court in 868; he was deprived of his civil office, and the income of his see was confiscated.⁷ On this occasion, the elder Hincmar, considering that the cause of the church was involved, forgot his private grounds for dissatisfaction with his kinsman's

* Pp. 694-6.

¹ Hadr. Epp. 25-7; Planck, iii. 170.

² Hincm. ii. 353-4; Flodoard, iii. 18.

³ Regino, Ann. 870 (Pertz, i. 583); Planck, iii. 173.

⁴ Pagi, xiv. 210; Hard. v. 1306; Hist. Litt. v. 542.

⁵ The nephew was probably under

the canonical age (Hist. Litt. v. 522). Hincmar attempts to clear himself from a charge of nepotism (Opera, ii. 538). Baronius, in his dislike of the uncle, even ventures to justify the nephew, 871. 90-1; 878. 29.

⁶ Hincm. ii. 393-5, 584, 597-8.

⁷ Hincm. Annal. 868, p. 480.

conduct, and came to the bishop's support. In a letter to Charles^c (in which, among other authorities, he cites some of the forged decretals),^d he declared that bishops were amenable to no other judgment than that of their own order; that the trial of a bishop by a secular tribunal was contrary to the ancient laws of the church, to those of the Roman emperors, and to the example of the king's predecessors; that it was a sign that the end of the world was at hand; that royalty is dependent on the episcopal unction, and is forfeited by violation of the engagements contracted at receiving it.^e At the diet of Pistres, in 868, the archbishop maintained his nephew's interest, and the younger Hincmar, on entreating the king's forgiveness, recovered the revenues of his see.^f

But fresh disagreements very soon broke out between the kinsmen,^g and the bishop of Laon involved himself in further troubles by the violence which he used in ejecting a nobleman who was one of the tenants of his church.^h The king, after citing him to appear, and receiving a refusal, ordered him to be arrested, whereupon he took refuge in a church and placed himself beside the altar.ⁱ In April 869 he appeared before a synod at Verberie; but he declined its judgment, appealed to the pope, and desired leave to proceed to Rome for the prosecution of his appeal. The permission was refused, and he was committed to prison. Before setting out for Verberie, he had charged his clergy, in case of his detention, to suspend the performance of all divine offices, including even baptism, penance, the viaticum of the dying, and the rites of burial, until he should return, or the pope should release them from the injunction.^k The clergy, in great perplexity and distress, now applied to the archbishop of Rheims for direction in the matter. Hincmar by letter desired his nephew to recall the interdict; on his refusal, he cancelled it by his own authority as metropolitan, and produced ancient authorities to assure the clergy that, as their bishop's "excommunication" was irregular and groundless, they were not bound to obey it.^m

About the time of Charles's coronation in Lotharingia, the bishop of Laon was set at liberty, his case being referred to a future synod. He forthwith renewed his assaults on his uncle, whom he denounced as the author of his late imprisonment;ⁿ he espoused

^c Opera, ii. 216-233.

^d P. 227.

^e Pp. 221-3.

^f Hincm. Annal. 868; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 67.

^g Hincm. ii. 334.

^h Ib. 601-3.

ⁱ Hincm. Ann. 869, p. 480.

^k Hincm. ii. 510-4.

^l Ib. 501, 507, 599; Hard. v. 1361, seqq., 1377.

^m Gfrörer, ii. 71.

the cause of the rebel Carloman; and he sent forth a letter in which he asserted for all bishops a right of appealing to Rome—not against a sentence of their brethren (which was the only kind of appeal hitherto claimed), but in bar of the jurisdiction of local synods.^o For this claim he alleged the authority of the forged decretals. The archbishop replied, not by denying the genuineness of these documents—which, however he may have suspected it,^p he was not, after his own use of them, at liberty to impugn—but by maintaining that, as they had been issued on particular occasions, their application was limited to the circumstances which called them forth; that they were only valid in so far as they were agreeable to the ecclesiastical canons, and that some of them had been superseded by the determinations of councils later than their professed date.^q Such a view of the decretals was evidently even more prejudicial to the new Roman claims than an assertion of their spuriousness would have been.

While Charles was engrossed by the affairs of Lotharingia, the case of the younger Hincmar was postponed. But he was brought before synods at Gondreville and Attigny in 870, and pamphlets were exchanged between him and his uncle—one, by the archbishop, extending to great length, and divided into fifty-five chapters.^r At Attigny the bishop of Laon submitted to swear obedience to the authority of his sovereign and of his metropolitan; and, after having in vain renewed his request for leave to go to Rome, he asked for a trial by secular judges, who pronounced a decision in his favour.^s The elder Hincmar was indignant, both because his nephew had abandoned the clerical privileges, in submitting to a lay tribunal, and on account of the result of the trial.

The bishop was again brought before a synod which met at Doucy, near Mousson, on the Maas,^t in August 871, when fresh misdemeanours were laid to his charge—that he had made away with the property of his see, that he had sided with Carloman, had refused to sign the excommunication uttered against the rebel, and had slandered Charles to the pope. It was not until after the third summons that the accused condescended to appear.^u He charged the king with having invaded his dignity; the archbishop of Rheims with having caused his imprisonment: and on these grounds he refused to be judged by them. Charles repelled the charges

^o The letter is in Hincm. ii. 604.

^p That he did so is clear from ii. 477.

^q Opera, ii. 419, 451-2, 482; Giesel.

II. i. 186-8.

^r Opera, ii. 383-595.

^s Opera, ii. 410; Hincm. Annal. 870,

p. 487. On these matters, see De Marca, VII. 22, seqq.

^t A different place from Toucy, mentioned at p. 320. See Hefele, iv. 477.

^u Hard. v. 1301.

against himself, and joined with the nobles who were present in swearing that the imputation against the archbishop was false.^x In reply to his claim of a right to appeal to Rome, the bishop was reminded of the canons which ordered that every cause should be terminated in the country where it arose, and was told that he could not appeal until after a trial by the bishops of his own province. Notwithstanding his persistence in refusing to answer, the synod proceeded to examine the matter; and the elder Hincmar, after collecting the opinions of the members, pronounced sentence of deposition against his nephew, reserving only such a power of appeal as was sanctioned by the council of Sardica.^y The synod then wrote to the pope, stating the grounds of their judgment, and expressing a hope that, in consideration of the bishop's incorrigible misconduct, he would confirm the sentence. They limit the right of appealing agreeably to the Sardican canon, and desire that, if the pope should entertain the appeal which had been made to him, he would commit the further trial of the cause to bishops of their own neighbourhood, or would send envoys to sit with the local bishops for the purpose; and they beg that in any case he would not restore Hincmar to his see without a provincial inquiry, but would proceed according to the canons.^z

Adrian replied in a very lofty tone. He censured the synod for having ventured to depose the accused without regard to his appeal, and ordered them to send him to Rome, with some of their own number, in order to a fresh inquiry.^a The answer of the Frankish bishops was firm and decided. They professed that they could only account for Adrian's letter by supposing that, in the multiplicity of his engagements, he had been unable to read the whole of the documents which they had sent to him; they justified their proceedings, and declared that, if the pope should persist in the course which he had indicated, they were resolved to stand on the rights of their national church.^b

Adrian's letter to the synod had been accompanied by one in a like strain addressed to Charles, who was greatly provoked by it, and employed the elder Hincmar to reply. The archbishop executed his task with hearty zeal.^c Charles, in whose name the letter was written, is made to tell the pope that the language which he had held was improper to be used towards a king, and unbecoming the modesty of a bishop, and desires him to content himself with writing

^x Hard. v. 1308.

^y Hard. v. 1311-7. For the Sardican canon, see vol. i. p. 304.

^z Hard. v. 1318-1323.

^a Ep. 28.

^b Hard. v. 1218-20; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 85.

^c Hincm. ii. 701, seqq.

as his predecessors had written to former sovereigns of France.^d For a pope to speak of "ordering" a king is said to be a new and unexampled audacity.^e It is denied that Adrian was entitled to evoke the case of the younger Hincmar to Rome for trial. The privileges of St. Peter depend on the exercise of justice; the king will not violate the principles of Scripture and of the church by interposing to defeat justice in a case where the offences of the accused are so many and so clear.^f He declines with indignation the office which the pope would impose on him by desiring him to guard the property of the see of Laon; the kings of the Franks had hitherto been reckoned lords of the earth—not deputies^g or bailiffs of bishops. He threatens, if the matter cannot be ended at home, to go to Rome and maintain the rightfulness of his proceedings.^h The pope had spoken of decrees; but any decree which would affect to bind a sovereign must have been vomited forth from hell.ⁱ The letter concludes by declaring the king's willingness to abide by the known rules of Scripture, tradition, and the canons, while he is determined to reject "anything which may have been compiled or forged to the contrary by any person"—the plainest intimation that had as yet been given of Hincmar's opinion as to the Isidorian decretals.^k

Adrian again felt that he had committed a mistake in advancing pretensions which were thus contested; and a league which had just been concluded between Louis the German and his nephew the emperor contributed to alarm the pope as to the consequences which might follow from a breach with the king of Neustria.^m He therefore wrote again to Charles, exchanging his imperious tone for one of soothing and flattery.ⁿ After some slight allusions to the style of the king's letter, he proceeds (as he says) "to pour in the oil of consolation and the ointment of holy love." He begs that he may not be held accountable for any expressions which might have seemed harsh in his former letters;^o and, knowing the intensity of the king's desire for additional territory and power, he volunteers an assurance that, if he should live to see a vacancy in the empire, no other candidate than Charles shall with his consent be raised to it. The case of the bishop of Laon is treated as of inferior moment; the pope still desires that he may be sent to Rome, but

^d Pp. 702-4.

^e Pp. 706-7.

^f Pp. 709-714.

^g "Vicedomini." See p. 200.

^h P. 715. Gfrörer (ii. 87) regards this as a threat of leading an army to

Rome, but the context is against such an interpretation.

ⁱ P. 709.

^k P. 716.

^m Gfrörer, ii. 87.

ⁿ Ep. 33; Hard. v. 726.

^o Ib. 727.

promises that he shall not be restored unless a full inquiry shall have shown the justice of his cause, and that this inquiry shall be held in France.^p Adrian did not live to receive an answer to this letter; and Hincmar the younger was kept in prison until, by taking part in fresh intrigues, he exposed himself to a severer punishment.^q

Adrian's conduct in this affair had been alike imprudent and unfortunate. The French bishops had set aside the false decretals; they had insisted on confining the papal right as to appeals within the limits which had been defined by the council of Sardica; they had denied that the examination of all weightier causes belonged to the pope alone; they had denied that he had the right of evoking a cause to Rome before it had been submitted to the judgment of a national synod, and would only allow him the power of remitting it, after such judgment, to be again examined by the bishops of the country in which it arose; and his lofty pretensions had ended in a humiliating concession.^r Yet the Roman see had gained something. Hincmar, in all his opposition to the Roman claims, carefully mixes up professions of high reverence for the authority of the apostolic chair; his objections to the Isidorian principles, being addressed to his nephew, were not likely to become much known at Rome, while, as he had not openly questioned the genuineness of the decretals, the popes might henceforth cite them with greater confidence; and a feeling that the power of the papacy was useful to the church restrained him in the midst of his opposition to it. Both bishops and princes now saw in the papacy something which they might use to their advantage; and the real benefit of all applications to Rome for aid was sure to redound to the Roman see itself.^s

The circumstances of John VIII.'s election as the successor of Adrian are unknown; but he appears to have belonged to the Frankish party among the Roman clergy, and there is no reason to doubt that the emperor consented to his appointment.^t In 875 the death of the emperor Louis II. without issue opened up to Charles the Bald the great object of his ambition; and the time was now come for the pope to assume the power of disposing of the empire—an assumption countenanced by the fact that his predecessors had long acted as arbiters in the dissensions of the Carolingian princes.^u Setting aside the stronger hereditary

^p Ib. 720.^q Gfrörer, ii. 88-9.^r Planck, iii. 192-4.^s Planck, iii. 199-203.^t Gfrörer, ii. 90.^u Schröckh, xxii. 196-7.

claims of Louis the German, John invited Charles to Rome, and on Christmas-day—seventy-five years after the coronation of Charlemagne—placed the imperial crown on his head. Although the pope afterwards declared that this was done in obedience to a revelation which had been made to his predecessor Nicolas,² it would appear that influences of a less exalted kind had also contributed to the act. The annalist of Fulda, whose tone towards the “tyrant” of France is generally very bitter, tells us that, in order to obtain the empire, Charles had made a prodigal use of bribery among the senators, “after the fashion of Jugurtha;”³ nor did the pope himself fail to benefit on the occasion. A writer of later date⁴ is undoubtedly wrong in saying that Charles ceded to him certain territories which are known to have then belonged to the Greek empire; but there is reason to believe that he gave up the control of elections to the papacy, released the pope from the duty of doing homage, and withdrew his resident commissioners from Rome, leaving the government in the hands of the pope, while the title of Defender still served to connect the emperor with the city, and entitled the Romans and their bishops to look to him for aid.⁵

Charles now professed that he owed the empire to John, and during the remainder of his days he was solicitous to serve the author of his dignity.⁶ Proceeding northwards, he was crowned as king of Italy at Pavia, in February 876, when the estates declared that, as God, through the vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul, had called him to be emperor, so they *chose* him king.⁷ The acts of Pavia were confirmed in an assembly held some months later at Pontyon, when the Neustrian clergy and nobles professed that they *chose* him for their sovereign, as he had been chosen by the pope and by the Lombards.⁸ This change of title from a hereditary to an elective royalty appeared to hold out to the pope a hope of being able to interfere in the future disposal of the Neustrian and Italian kingdoms; but an attempt which was made in his behalf at Pontyon, although

² Hard. vi. 182.

³ Annal. Fuld. 875, ap. Pertz, i. 389. Cf. Regino, ib. 587-9.

⁴ First published by Flaccius Illyricus, in an appendix to Eutropius. By some he has been placed in the tenth century, but the best authorities refer him to the eleventh (see Schröckh, xxii. 194, seqq.; Planck, iii. 210). Even if the grant were genuine, it would have expired with Charles, as the German kings and emperors had no power to

alienate the property of the crown beyond their own lifetime. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. App. 261.

⁵ See the various views of De Marca, Pagi, and Mansi in Baron. xv. 278-281; also Schröckh, xxii. 194; Planck, iii. 218; Gfrörer, ii. 124-5.

⁶ Schröckh, xxii. 198-201; Planck, iii. 218-9.

⁷ Pertz, *Leges*, i. 529.

⁸ Ib. 533.

zealously supported by the emperor, met with a strenuous opposition from the Frankish clergy. The papal legate, John, bishop of Tusculum, read a letter by which Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, was constituted vicar apostolic and primate of Gaul and Germany, with power to assemble synods, to execute the papal orders by the agency of bishops, and to bring all important matters to Rome for decision.^o Hincmar and his brethren requested leave to examine the document; to which the emperor replied by asking them whether they would obey the pope, and telling them that he, as the pope's *vicar* in the council, was resolved to enforce obedience. He ordered a chair to be set for Ansegis beside the legate; and the archbishop of Sens, at his invitation, walked past the metropolitans who had held precedence of him, and took his seat in the place of dignity. But Hincmar and the other bishops behaved with unshaken firmness. They repeated their request that they might be allowed to see the letter and to take a copy of it. They protested against the elevation of Ansegis as uncanonical—as infringing on the primacy granted to the see of Rheims in the person of Remigius, and on the privileges bestowed on Hincmar by Benedict, Nicolas, and Adrian; nor could they be brought to promise obedience to the pope, except such as was agreeable to the canons, and to the example of their predecessors. One bishop only, Frotarius, was disposed to comply, in the hope of obtaining a translation from the diocese of Bordeaux, which had been desolated by the Northmen, to that of Bourges;^f but his brethren objected to the translation as contrary to the laws of the church.^g The emperor, provoked by Hincmar's opposition, required him to take a new oath of fealty in the presence of the assembly, as if his loyalty were suspected—an unworthy return for the archbishop's long, able, and zealous exertions for the rights of the crown and of the national church.^h The council broke up without coming to any satisfactory determination, and Hincmar soon after produced a strong defenceⁱ of the rights of metropolitans against the new principles on which the commission to Ansegis was grounded. Charles was induced by political reasons to act in a spirit of conciliation,^k and the pope got over the difficulty as to Ansegis by conferring the primacy of Gaul on the see of Arles, to which it had been attached before the Frankish conquest.

^o Joh. Ep. 134, ap. Hard. vi. 105. The dignity was to be personal, not attached to the see of Sens. Thomassin, l. i. 33-4.

^f See p. 294.

^g Hincm. ii. 732-5; Annal. 876, pp.

499, seqq.; Pertz, Leges, i. 533; Hard. vi. 166; Planck, iii. 233.

^h Hincm. ii. 834; Hard. vi. 177.

ⁱ Opera, ii. 719, seqq.

^k Gfrörer, ii. 130.

But amid the commotions of the time this arrangement had no practical effect.^m

In the mean time the pope was greatly disquieted at home by the factions of his city, by the petty princes and nobles of the neighbourhood, and by the Saracens, who, since the death of Louis II., carried on their ravages without any effectual check.ⁿ Sometimes the nobles made alliance with the enemies of Christendom. Naples, Gaeta, Amalfi, and Sorrento, after having suffered much at their hands, entered into a league with them, and united with them in the work of devastation and plunder.^o Sergius, duke of Naples, made frequent incursions into the papal territory, and John, after having in vain employed gentler means, uttered an anathema against him.^p On this, the duke's brother, Athanasius,

Nov. 877. bishop of Naples, took on himself the execution of the sentence, seized Sergius, put out his eyes, and sent him to the pope, who requited the bishop with a profusion of thanks and commendations—quoting the texts of Scripture which enjoin a preference of the Saviour over the dearest natural affections.^q Athanasius now annexed the dukedom to his spiritual office. But he soon discovered that he was unable to cope with the Saracens, whereupon he allied himself with them, harassed the pope after the same fashion as his brother, and obliged John to buy him off with a large sum of money, in consideration of which he promised to break off his connexion with the infidels. But the promise was not fulfilled, and the pope with a Roman synod, in 881, uttered an anathema against the duke-bishop.^r Beset and continually annoyed as he was by such enemies, John implored the emperor to come to his assistance, and Charles was disposed to comply with the entreaty; but the unwillingness of the Frank chiefs to consent to such an expedition may be inferred from the heavy price which the emperor paid for their concurrence, by allowing the office of his counts to be converted into an hereditary dignity at the council of Quiercy in Aug. 877. 877.^s The pope, on being informed of his protector's approach, set out to meet him, and on the way held a council at Ravenna, where he passed some canons by which, in accord-

^m Hard. vi. 30-2; De Marca, VI. xxix. 5; Planck, iii. 233-40.

ⁿ Baron. 876. 33; Milman, ii. 322-6.

^o Gfrörer, ii. 139. See Joh. VIII. Epp. 187-8, 279 (Patrol. cxxvi.).

^p Chron. Casin. i. 40, ap. Pertz, vii.

^q Ep. 96 (Patrol. cxxvi.); Baron. 877.

3. The cardinal's justification of the pope for praising this "indecoris episcopo factum" is curious.

^r Joh. VIII. Epp. 101-3, 187-8, 191; Frchempert ap. Pertz, iii. 254-5; Chron. Salern. ib. 536, seqq.; Baron. 881. 1-4. He afterwards absolved Athanasius, provided that he had separated from the infidels, and had taken or slain their chiefs. A.D. 881-2. (Ep. 352.) Athanasius is supposed by Muratori to have lived to the year 900. Annali, V. i. 325.

^s C. 9. See above, p. 297.

ance with the pseudoisidorian principles, the power of bishops was exalted, while that of metropolitans was depressed.[†] He met the emperor at Vercelli, and proceeded in his company to Tortona, where Richildis, the wife of Charles, was crowned as empress.[‡] But the emperor, instead of prosecuting his expedition, retired before the advancing force of Carloman, the son and successor of Louis the German; and he died in a hut on the pass of Mont Cenis.[§] The concessions which this prince had made both to Rome and to his nobles had greatly weakened the power of the Frankish crown, and the policy which he had lately followed in ecclesiastical affairs was very dangerous to the rights of the national church. Yet although, for the sake of his private objects, he had in his latter days behaved with much obsequiousness to the pope, it is clear that he had no intention of allowing the principles of the decretals to be established in their fullness within his dominions north of the Alps.[¶]

After the death of Charles, the empire was vacant until 884. The pope, finding himself continually annoyed by Lambert, marquis of Spoleto, and other partisans of the German Carolingians,[‡] declared his intention of seeking aid in France,[§] and, after some forcible detention, which he avenged by anathemas against Lambert and Adalbert of Tuscany,^b he embarked on board ship, and landed at Genoa.^c The reception which he at first A.D. 878. met with in France was not encouraging. He had offended the clergy by his attempts against the national church, and especially by the commission to Ansegis; while all classes were irritated on account of the costly and fruitless expedition which he had induced their late sovereign to undertake.^d John wrote letters to all the Frankish princes,^e urgently summoning them and their bishops to attend a council at Troyes; but the bishops of Gaul only appeared, and the only sovereign present was the king of France, Sept. 14. Louis the Stammerer, who was crowned anew by the pope, although, in consequence of an irregularity in his marriage, he was unable to obtain that the queen should be included in the coronation.^f At Troyes, as at Ravenna, John proposed and passed some canons which raised the episcopal privileges to a height before

[†] Hard. vi. 185, seqq.

[‡] Hincm. Ann. 877, p. 503.

[§] Ib. p. 504; Regino, p. 589.

[¶] See Giesel. II. i. 207-8.

^a Ep. ad Lud. Bav. regis filium. Hard. vi. 27.

^b Ad Lud. Balbum, ib. 25.

^b Ib. 29.

^c Baron. 878. 14.

^d Gfrörer, ii. 185.

^e Hard. vi. 36, seqq.

^f Hincm. Annal. pp. 506-7; Conc. Tricass. II. ap. Hard. vi. 191, seqq.

unknown, and he dealt about anathemas with his usual profusion.^κ The bishops joined with him in condemning Adalbert, Lambert, and his other Italian enemies, and in return obtained from him a sentence against the invaders of their own property.^λ But they resolutely stood out for their national rights, insisting on the Sardican canon which limited the power of the Roman see as to appeals, and on those ancient laws of the church which forbade translations such as that of Frotarius.¹ And when the pope produced a grant of Charles the Bald, bestowing the abbey of St. Denys on the Roman see, they met him with a positive denial that the king could alienate the possessions of the crown.^κ

John was greatly provoked by Hincmar's steady resistance to the pretensions of Rome; and some of the archbishop's enemies now took advantage of this feeling to annoy him by bringing forward his nephew, who, after having been imprisoned and banished, had at last been blinded by order of Charles on account of his connexion with an invasion from the side of Germany.^μ The unfortunate man was led into the place of assembly, and petitioned for a restoration to his see. But the pope, besides that he may have been afraid to venture on a step so offensive to the metropolitan of Rheims, was restrained by the circumstance that he had confirmed the deposition of the younger Hincmar, and had consecrated his successor, Hildenulf.^ν He therefore only in so far favoured the petition as to give the deposed bishop leave to sing mass, and to assign him a pension out of the revenues of Laon, while he refused to accept the resignation of Hildenulf, who alleged that his health disqualified him for the performance of his duties. The enemies of the elder Hincmar, however, were resolved to make the most of the matter as a triumph over him; they arrayed the blind man in episcopal robes, and, after having with great ceremony presented him to the pope, led him into the cathedral, where he bestowed his benediction on the people.^ο It does not appear what answer the pope obtained to his request for assistance; but it is certain that no assistance was sent.^ρ

John had conceived the idea of carrying his claim to the power of bestowing the empire yet further by choosing a person whose elevation should be manifestly due to the papal favour alone—Boso, viceroy of Provence, who had gained his friendship on

^κ See as to his fondness for this, Schmidt, i. 683-4; Milman, ii. 328.

^λ Hincm. Annal. pp. 506-7.

¹ Ib. 507.

^κ Ib. 508.

^μ Gfrörer, ii. 189.

^ν Schröckh, xxii. 190.

^ο Hincm. Annal. p. 508.

^ρ Gfrörer, ii. 187.

occasion of his visit to France. The project, however, was found impossible, nor was the pope more successful in an attempt to secure the kingdom of Italy for his candidate.¹ But, on the death of Louis the Stammerer, Boso was chosen by a party of bishops and nobles as king of Provence, which was then revived as a distinct sovereignty; and it would seem that a belief of the pope's support contributed to his election, although John soon after wrote to the archbishop of Vienne, reproving him for having used the authority of Rome in behalf of Boso, whom the pope denounces as a disturber of the kingdom.² John died in December 882; it is said that some of his own relations administered poison to him, and, finding that it did not work speedily, knocked out his brains with a mallet.³ Oct. 879.

In the same month died the great champion of the Frankish church. Towards the end of his life Hincmar had had a serious dispute with Louis III. as to the appointment of a bishop to Beauvais.⁴ In answer to the king's profession of contempt for a subject who attempted to interfere with his honour, the archbishop used very strong language as to the relations of the episcopal and the royal powers. He tells him that bishops may ordain kings, but kings cannot consecrate bishops; and that the successors of the Apostles must not be spoken of as *subjects*. "As the Lord said, 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you,' so may I say in my degree, 'You have not chosen me to the prelaty of the church, but I, with my colleagues and the other faithful ones of God, have chosen you to be governor of the kingdom, under the condition of duly keeping the laws.'"⁵ Hincmar was at length compelled to leave his city by the approach of a devastating force of Northmen. He set out in a litter, carrying with him the relics of St. Remigius,⁶ and died at Epernay, on the 21st of December. The Annals of St. Bertin, which are the most valuable record of the period, are supposed to have been written by him from the year 861 to within a month of his death.⁷

The first and second successors of John in the papacy, Marinus (A.D. 882) and Adrian III. (A.D. 884), appear to have been chosen without the imperial licence, and by means of the German interest.⁸

¹ Murat. Ann. V. i. 185-6; Sismondi, iii. 238-9.

² Joh. Ep. 306 (Patrol. cxxvi.); Pertz, Leges, i. 547; Hefele, iv. 521.

³ Annal. Fuld. A.D. 882; Milman, ii. 333.

⁴ See his excommunication of the king's nominee, Opera, ii. 811.

⁵ Opera, ii. 198-9.

⁶ Hincm. Annal. p. 515; Flodoard, iii. 30.

⁷ Pertz, i. 420-1; Gfrörer, i. 243-4.

⁸ Schröckh, xxii. 221-2; Gfrörer, ii. 252. On a story that Adrian obtained the removal of the imperial control in elections to the papacy, and an engage-

On the death of Adrian, which took place as he was on his way to Germany in 885,^a Stephen V. was consecrated without any application for the consent of the emperor, Charles the Fat ; but Charles expressed great indignation at the omission, and had already taken measures for deposing the pope, when a Roman legate arrived at the imperial court, and succeeded in appeasing him by exhibiting a long list of bishops, clergy, and nobles who had taken part in the election.^b

Charles the Fat, a younger son of Louis the German, had received the imperial crown from John VIII. in 881,^c and, by the deaths of other princes, had gradually become master of the whole Carolingian empire. But his reign was disastrous ; in 887 he was deposed by Arnulf, an illegitimate son of his brother Carloman ; and, after having been supported for some months by alms, he died in the following year—whether of disease or by violence is uncertain.^d The popular feeling as to this unfortunate prince, the last legitimate descendant of Charlemagne, may be inferred from the tone in which he is spoken of by the annalists of the time. They tenderly dwell on his virtues and amiable qualities ; they express a trust that the sufferings which he patiently bore in this world may be found to have prepared his way to a better inheritance ; it is even said that at his death heaven was seen to open, and to receive his soul.^e

ment that no one but an Italian should
thenceforth be king of Italy, see
Schröckh, 222 ; Gfrörer, ii. 271-2.

^a Annal. Fuld. 885, ap. Pertz, i. 402.

^b Ibid.

^c Herm. Contract. ap. Pertz, v. 108 ;

Murat. Ann. V. i. 199-201.

^d See Annal. Vedast. 887, ap. Pertz, i. 525 ; Pagi, in Baron. xv. 534 ; Mansi, ib.

^e Annal. Fuld. ap. Pertz, i. 405 ; Annal. Vedast. ib. 525 ; Regino, ib. 597-8.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEK CHURCH—PHOTIUS.

A.D. 842-898.

MICHAEL III., the son of Theophilus and Theodora, grew up under evil influences. His maternal uncle Bardas founded schemes of ambition on the corruption of the young prince's character. He removed one of the male guardians by death, and another by compelling him to retire into a monastery; and by means of a worthless tutor, as well as by his own discourse, he instilled into the emperor a jealous impatience of the control of his mother and sister.^a At the age of eighteen Michael threw off this yoke. Theodora called together the senate, showed them the treasures which her economy had amassed,^b in order that she might not be afterwards suspected of having left her son without ample provision, resigned her share in the regency, and withdrew from the palace.^c

Michael now gave the loose to his depraved tastes and appetites. His chosen associates were athletes, charioteers, musicians, buffoons, and dancing-girls. He himself entered the lists in the public chariot races, and insisted on receiving his prizes from the hand of a consecrated image. He joined in the feasts and drinking bouts of his companions; he became sponsor for their children, and on such occasions bestowed lavish presents; he rewarded acts of disgusting buffoonery with costly gifts, and even encouraged his vile favourites to practise their gross and brutal jests on his mother. The wealth which he had inherited was soon dissipated; and after having endeavoured to supply his necessities by plundering churches of their ornaments, he was reduced to melt down his plate, and even the golden tissues of the imperial robes.^d

The most outrageous of Michael's extravagances was his profane mimicry of religion. He organised a mock hierarchy, of which one Theophilus, who was known by the name of Gryllus,^e was the chief.

^a Schlosser, 555, 568-71.

542-4.

^b Constant. Porphyrog. v. 27. Mr. Finlay reckons them at 4,250,000*l.* ii. 203.^d Const. Porph. iv. 21, v. 20-27; Cedren. 544, 552-4; Schlosser, 574-7.^e Γρύλλος, or γρύλος, a sucking-pig.^c Const. Porph. iv. 20; Cedrenus,

Under this patriarch were twelve metropolitans, the emperor himself being one of the number. They went through a farcical ordination; they were arrayed in costly robes imitated from those of the church; they sang obscene songs to music composed in ridicule of the ecclesiastical chant; they burlesqued the trials, condemnations, and depositions of bishops; they had jewelled altar-vessels, with which they administered an eucharist of mustard and vinegar.^f On one occasion this ribald crew encountered the venerable patriarch Ignatius at the head of a solemn procession, when Gryllus, who was mounted on an ass, rudely jostled him, and the attendant mummers twanged their harps in derision, insulted the patriarch with filthy language, and beat the clergy of his train.^g After the death of their patron, some of the wretches who had shared in these abominations were called to account before the great council of 869, when they pleaded that they had acted through fear of the emperor, and expressed contrition for their offences.^h

During the course of ages, a change had come over the characters which had formerly distinguished the Greek and the Latin churches respectively. Among the Greeks the fondness for speculation had been succeeded by a settled formalism, while the rigidity of the Latins had yielded to the new life infused by the accession of the barbarian nations to the church.ⁱ But, although different from that of earlier times, a marked distinction still existed. The influence of Augustine, which had so largely moulded the western mind, and had given prominence to the doctrines of grace above all others, had not extended to the east. From the time of the Trullan council, the churches had been divided by a difference of usages, especially as to the marriage of the clergy; and, although the question as to the procession of the Holy Ghost had been laid to rest in the days of Charlemagne, it still remained as a doctrinal centre around which other causes of discord might array themselves. The see of Rome had gradually risen to a height far above its ancient rival; and, while Constantinople could not but be dissatisfied with this change, there was on the Roman side a wish to make the superiority felt. Political jealousies also contributed to feed the smouldering ill-feeling which any accident might fan into a flame.^k And now a personal question produced a rupture which tended far towards the eventual separation of the churches.

^f Conc. Cpol. IV. ap. Hard. v. 893, 906; Vita Ignatii, ib. 973; Const. Porph. iv. 38, v. 21; Cedren. 553-4.

^g Const. Porph. iv. 38, v. 22; Cedren. 554.

^h Hard. v. 893, 905-6.

ⁱ Neand. vi. 293; Giesel. II. i. 139-140; Döllinger, i. 380.

^k Schröckh, xxiv. 127; Neand. vi. 294.

Nicetas, a son of Michael Rhangabe, had, on his father's deposition, been thrust into a cloister at the age of fourteen.^m He assumed the name of Ignatius, became a priest, and, having acquired a high character for piety, was, in 846, promoted by Theodora to the see of Constantinople, on the recommendation of a famous hermit.ⁿ The late patriarch, Methodius, had been engaged in differences with Gregory bishop of Syracuse, who usually lived at Constantinople, and had uttered an anathema against him. In Ignatius the feeling of religious antagonism could hardly fail to be stimulated by the fact that Gregory was a son of Leo the Armenian, by whom his own father, Michael, had been dethroned.^o He refused Gregory's assistance at his consecration; in 851 he deposed and excommunicated him for having uncanonically ordained a person of another diocese; and at the patriarch's request the sentence was confirmed by a Roman synod under Benedict III.^p The inhabitants of the capital were divided between Ignatius and Gregory; but, although the opposition to the patriarch was strong, he earned high and deserved credit by his conduct as a pastor.^q

His conscientious zeal for the duties of his office induced him to remonstrate with Bardas on the subject of a scandalous imputation—that the minister, after having divorced his wife on some trivial pretext, lived in an incestuous intercourse with the widow of his son; and finding remonstrance ineffectual, the patriarch proceeded so far as to refuse the holy eucharist to him at Epiphany 857.^r Bardas, whose influence over his nephew was continually increasing, resolved on vengeance. He persuaded Michael that, in order to the security of his power, it would be expedient to compel Theodora and her daughters to become nuns, and Ignatius was summoned to officiate at their profession. The patriarch refused, on the ground that it would be a violation of his duty towards the empress and one of her daughters, who had been appointed regents by the will of Theophilus. On this Bardas accused him of treason, adding a charge of connexion with the interest of a crazy pretender to the throne, named Gebon; and Ignatius was banished to the island of Terebinthus.^s

^m Vita Ignatii by Nicetas David, in Hardouin, v. 945; Const. Porph. i. 10. On this part of the history there is much valuable information in some papers contributed to the British Magazine by the Rev. J. G. Dowling, but unfortunately left incomplete at his death.

ⁿ Vita, 949-953; Cedren. 551; Pagi, xiv. 357.

^o Finlay, ii. 208.

^p Vita Ign. 961; Nicol. Ep. vii. col. 139; Baron. 854. 7, and the notes; Dowling in Brit. Mag. xvii. 604-5. See, however, Hefele, iv. 222-4, who does not think that the pope went so far.

^q Brit. Mag. xvii. 605.

^r Const. Porph. iv. 30; G. Hamart. Contin. p. 735; Vita Ign. 956; Schröckh, xxiv. 129.

^s Ignat. Ep. ad Nicol. ap. Hard. v.

Bardas resolved to fill the vacant throne with a man whose brilliant reputation might overpower the murmurs excited by the deprivation of Ignatius. Photius was a member of a distinguished Byzantine family, a great-nephew of the patriarch Tarasius, and connected with the imperial house by the marriage of his uncle to a sister of Theodora. He had lived in the enjoyment of wealth and splendour, he had been ambassador to the caliph of Bagdad, and was now secretary of state and captain of the guards; and in the midst of his occupations he had acquired an amount of learning so far surpassing that of his contemporaries that his enemies even referred it to unhallowed sources.¹ He had been accustomed to carry on a part of his studies in company with his brother Tarasius, and, on taking leave of him when about to set out on the embassy to Bagdad, presented him with another companion, in the shape of a summary of books which Photius had read by himself.² This work—the *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*—contains notices of two hundred and eighty books in classical and ecclesiastical literature, with abridgments, extracts, and comments; and, in addition to its value as a treasury of much which would otherwise have perished, it is remarkable in the history of literature as the prototype of our modern critical reviews.³ Among his other writings are a Dictionary; a book of discussions on questions from Scripture; a considerable number of letters; and a collection of ecclesiastical laws.⁴

With the exception of such information as may be gathered from his own works, our knowledge of Photius comes almost exclusively from his adversaries.⁵ The enmity of these in his own time was bitter; and his name has since been pursued by writers in the

1013; Vita, ib. 956-7; Anastas. ad Hadrian. ib. 770; Pagi, xiv. 490; Schlosser, 606. Schlosser, Neander, and Mr. Finlay (ii. 207) place the affair as to Theodora before the quarrel with Bardas; but I have followed Mr. Dowling, Brit. Mag. xvii. 606. (Hefele has the same order, iv. 219.)

¹ Vita Ignat. 960; Const. Porph. iv. 22; Sym. Magister de Michaele, 31, 34; Cedren. 545.

² Bibliotheca, p. 1, ed. Hoeschel, Rothomag. 1653. Mr. Dowling (Brit. Mag. xvii. 267) exposes the mistake of Dupin (vii. 103) and Gibbon (v. 267), who suppose the work to have been written during the embassy, and marvel how Photius could, in such circumstances, have procured the books. But the story told by Photius himself—that

he hastily dictated the 'Bibliotheca' to an amanuensis amidst the bustle of preparation for his departure—takes our belief very severely. It seems more probable that the notes were before made, and only required arrangement; or perhaps the whole account of the origin of the book may be merely an example of a common literary artifice.

³ Schröckh, xxi. 196; Fabric. Bibl. Gr. xi. 679.

⁴ Schröckh, xxi. 196-8. The first attempt at a collected edition of Photius' works is that in the Patrol. Gr. ci.-civ. In this the letters are re-arranged, with additions to those published by Bp. Mountagu (London, 1651). But my references in general apply to the old edition.

⁵ Dowling in B. M. xvii. 9.

papal interest with a rancour which can perhaps only be paralleled by their treatment of the Protestant reformers. The biographer of Ignatius tells us that the intruding patriarch took part in Michael's drinking bouts, and made no scruple of associating with Gryllus and his gang;^a and another Greek writer states that on one occasion, when the emperor was overcome by fifty cups, Photius drank sixty without any appearance of intoxication.^b The second of these charges, however, is accompanied by fables so gross as altogether to destroy the credit of the author's evidence against Photius;^c and such tales are utterly inconsistent with the admission of his enemies, that he had succeeded (although, as they think, undeservedly) in gaining a character for sanctity.^d Nor was his orthodoxy as yet impeached, although he was afterwards called in question for having taught that man has a reasonable and also a spiritual soul—an opinion countenanced by the authority of many among the earlier fathers.^e Like Ignatius, he was a supporter of the cause of images, for which he states that his parents had suffered in the times of persecution.^f

Attempts were made to induce Ignatius to resign his dignity; but, as such a step would have involved an acknowledgment of guilt, he steadfastly withstood both entreaties and severities.^g At length, however, he was drawn into something which the court could regard as a compliance; and Photius, after having been ordained by Gregory of Syracuse through all the degrees of the ministry on six successive days, was enthroned as patriarch on Christmas-day.^h He repeatedly declares, even in letters to Bardas

^a Hard. v. 976.

^b Sym. Magist. 19.

^c E. g. cc. 29, 30, 33, 34, 36. See Dowling, xvii. 261.

^d This is admitted in the encyclical letter of the Council which condemned him (Hard. v. 1108). See Dowling, xvii. 607.

^e Sym. Mag. 38; Anast. Bibl. in Patrol. cxxix. 14; Schlosser, 608; Neander, vi. 301. It was condemned by the Council of 869-70. Can. 10 in the Greek, or 11 in the Latin. Hard. v. 903, 1101.

^f It has been said that he speaks of his parents as having been martyrs for the sake of images; but this seems to have arisen from a confusion of two passages, in one of which he speaks of their sufferings in that cause (Ep. 113), while in the other he says that they died early, and were adorned with "the martyr's crown of patience" (Ep. 234, p. 349). There is a remarkable letter (c4)

in which he answers an objection made by the iconomachists of his time—that, since every nation had a different representation of the Saviour, there could be no genuine one. Photius replies that it might as well be argued from the variety of translations that there was no original Gospel; or from the different representations of the cross, that there was no true cross; or, from ritual and liturgical varieties, an objection might be taken to the Eucharist altogether; or, as every nation supposed the Saviour to have been incarnate in its own likeness, the story of the Incarnation might be rejected. Thus, as Neander remarks (vi. 288), he did not believe in the existence of any authentic original likeness, but regarded the unity of ideal which lay under the various representations.

^g Vita, 957; Schlosser, 594.

^h Vita Ign. 961; Dowling, xvii. 606.

himself, that the promotion was forced on him, and tells the pope that he was imprisoned before he would accept it.¹ Nor need we suppose his reluctance insincere; for even an ambitious man (as Photius certainly was) might well have hesitated to encounter the difficulties of a position which was to be held to the exclusion of such a prelate as Ignatius, and by the favour of such patrons as Bardas and Michael; while, in mitigation of the unseemliness of intruding into the place of a patriarch who was still alive, and whose resignation was only constructive, it is to be considered that Photius had belonged to the party of Gregory, and therefore could have had little personal scruple as to the rights of Ignatius.^k

It is said that he was required by the metropolitans of his patriarchate to swear that he would honour the deprived patriarch as a father,^m and that he obtained from Bardas a promise that Ignatius should be kindly treated.ⁿ But he very soon had the mortification of finding that this promise was disregarded. Ignatius, in the hope of forcing him to a more explicit resignation, was exposed to cold and nakedness, was scourged, chained in a gloomy dungeon, and deprived of the consolation which he might have received from the visits of his friends, while many of his partisans were beaten, imprisoned, and mutilated with the usual Byzantine cruelty;^o and Photius had to bear the odium of outrages committed in violation of the pledge which he had required, and in contempt of his earnest remonstrances and entreaties.^p

The adherents of Ignatius were zealous and resolute. They held a synod, at which Photius was excommunicated; whereupon the patriarch, who appears from the bitterness of his letters A.D. 859. to have been a man of very irritable temper, retaliated by assembling another synod, and uttering a like sentence against Ignatius.^q In order to strengthen his position, he now sent a notice of his consecration to Rome, with a request that the pope would depute legates to a council which was to be held at Constantinople for the suppression of the iconoclast party, which had again attempted to make head. His letter was accompanied by one from the emperor, with splendid gifts to the apostolic see. The application for aid

¹ *Ep.* 3, 6, ad Bardam; *Ep.* ad Nicol. ap. Baron. 861. 36 (= *Ep.* 2, ed. Migne); *Hard.* vi. 253. See Schröckh, *xxi.* 194; Dowling, *xvii.* 609.

^k See Schröckh, *xxiv.* 132; Fleury, *l.* 3; Neand. *vi.* 302; Dowling *xvii.* 609.

^m *Vita Ign.* 961.

ⁿ *Brit. Mag.* *xvii.* 609.

^o *Ign.* ad Nicol. ap. *Hard.* v. 1013; *Vita*, *ib.* 964.

^p *Phot.* *Ep.* 3, 6, ad Bardam.

^q *Vita Ign.* 964. The acts are lost, but the sentence was probably rested on the ground of uncanonical election and political offences. Schlosser, 603; Dowling, *xviii.* 243-5.

against the iconoclasts appears to have been merely a pretext^r —the real object being to draw the pope into the interest of Photius. In the mean time renewed attempts were made to obtain the resignation of Ignatius, at first by an increase of severity against him and his party, and afterwards by allowing him to return to Constantinople, and offering the restoration of his property.^s

Nicolas, who had just been raised to the papal chair, was no doubt better informed as to the late events at Constantinople than the patriarch or the emperor imagined ;^t he saw in their application to him an opportunity of extending his influence, and affected to regard it as a reference of the case to his A.D. 860. decision. He wrote to the emperor in the style of an independent sovereign, and, as a hint of the price which he set on his co-operation,^u he insisted on the restoration of the provinces which had been withdrawn from his jurisdiction, and of the patrimony of the church in Calabria and Sicily.^v He expressed surprise that the case of Ignatius should have been decided without the concurrence of Rome, and on evidence of a kind which was forbidden by the laws of the church ;^w nor did he fail to remark on the inconsistency, that, while Photius represented his predecessor as having resigned from age and infirmity,^x the emperor spoke of him as having been deposed. Two bishops, Rodoald of Portus, and Zacharias of Anagni, were sent to Constantinople as legates, with instructions to inquire into the matter, and not to admit Photius to communion except as a layman.^y They were charged with a short letter to the patriarch, in which the pope remarked on his hasty ordination, but told him that, if the legates should make a favourable report, he would gladly own him as a brother.^b

Michael, provoked by the tone of the pope's reply, received the legates with dishonour. They were detained at Constantinople for months, and were plied with threats and with bribery, which did

^r The biographer of Ignatius speaks of it as such (964). Symeon Magister (45) relates that the tombs of Constantine Cepronimus and John the Grammarian were violated, and their bodies burnt, by Michael's orders. Cf. G. Hamart. Contin. p. 746.

^s Vita, 964; Schlosser, 608-4. Mr. Dowling thinks that, as Ignatius was already deposed, the renewed severities were not meant to extort a resignation, but the withdrawal of his protest against Photius (Brit. Mag. xviii. 243). But it seems more likely that the resignation was desired in order that the opposite

party might be cleared *elsewhere*.

^t Milman, ii. 280.

^u Dowling, xviii. 373.

^v Ep. 2, ap. Hard. v. 339.

^w The pope's objections might seem to be founded on the false decretals; but, as we have seen, it would appear that he was as yet (A.D. 860) unacquainted with these, except by the hint in a letter of Servatus Lupus (p. 339); and the quotations which he makes are from Cælestine and other popes later than Siricius.

^x Vita Ign. 964.

^y Nic. Ep. 1.

^b Ep. 3.

not fail of their effect.^c At length a synod, styled by the Greeks "the First and Second,"^d and consisting, like the Nicene council, of three hundred and eighteen bishops, met in 861. By this assembly Photius was acknowledged as patriarch. The letter from the pope was read, but with the omission of such parts as were likely to give offence^e—whether it were that the legates had consented to the suppression, or that advantage was taken of their ignorance of Greek. Ignatius was brought before the assembly, and was required to subscribe his own condemnation. He behaved with inflexible spirit, desired the legates to remove the "adulterer," if they wished to appear as judges, and told them to their faces that they had been bribed.^f Seventy-two witnesses—a few of them senators and patricians, but for the most part persons of low condition, farriers, ostlers, needle-makers, and the like, while some are described as heretics^g—were brought forward to sign a paper asserting that he had been promoted by imperial favour, and without canonical election.^h He was stripped of the patriarchal robes, in which, as the matter was left to his own judgment, he had thought it his duty to appear;ⁱ he was beaten, and, at last, when exhausted by ill treatment for more than a fortnight, was made, by forcibly holding his hand, to sign with a cross a confession that he had obtained his office irregularly and had administered it tyrannically.^k It was then announced to him that he must read this document publicly at Whitsuntide, and threats of losing his eyes and his hands were uttered; but he contrived to escape in the disguise of a slave, and found a refuge among the monks of the islands from the search which Bardas caused to be made for him.^m An earthquake was interpreted as a witness from heaven in his favour, while Photius, by offering another explanation of it, drew on himself a charge of impiety.ⁿ Bardas, in deference to the general feeling, now permitted the deposed patriarch to return to a monastery in the capital,^o while Michael jested on the state of affairs by saying that Gryllus was his own patriarch,

^c Nic. Ep. 10.

^d One explanation of the name is, that, having been obliged by an outbreak of the iconoclasts to break off its sessions, it afterwards resumed them. (Zonaras, ap. Hard. v. 1196; Schröckh, xxiv. 136.) Mr. Dowling prefers the explanation proposed by Hody, that, having been employed on two distinct subjects—the iconoclastic question, and that between Photius and Ignatius—its proceedings were recorded in two separate tomes. xviii. 376.

^e Anastas. ap. Hard. v. 751; Schlosser, 606; Dowling, xviii. 374.

^f Hard. v. 1016; Vita, 965.

^g Vita, 965; Hard. v. 891, 1096.

^h His biographer says that he had been duly chosen by the people and the bishops, and that the charge might more fitly have been brought against Photius. 968.

ⁱ Vita, 965.

^k Ib. 969.

^m Ib. 672; Schlosser, 607.

ⁿ Vita, 972; Syn. Mag. de Mich. 35; Schlosser, 608.

^o Vita, 972.

Ignatius the patriarch of the Christians, and Photius the patriarch of Bardas.^p

The acts of the council were sent to Nicolas, with a request from the emperor that he would confirm them, and at the same time Photius addressed to the pope a letter which, by the skill displayed in its composition, has extorted the unwilling admiration of Baronius.^q He professes to deplore in a pathetic strain the elevation which he represents as having been forced on him; the pope, he says, ought rather to pity than to blame him for having exchanged a life of peace, content, and general esteem, for a post of danger, anxiety, unpopularity, and envy.^r As for the ecclesiastical laws which Nicolas had spoken of in his letters, they were not known at Constantinople.^s The rule which forbade such ordinations as his was not binding, inasmuch as it had not been sanctioned by a general council; he defends his ordination by the parallel cases of his predecessors Nicephorus and Tarasius, who had been promoted from among the laity, and by the stronger cases of Ambrose in the west and of Nectarius in the east, who had been chosen to the episcopate while yet unbaptised.^t He had, he says, sanctioned in the late synod a canon against the elevation of a layman to a bishoprick except by regular degrees; and he expresses a wish that the church of Constantinople had before observed the rule, as in that case he would have escaped the troubles which had come on him.^u The patriarch's tone throughout, although respectful, is that of an equal. In conclusion he reflects with bitter irony on the morals of the Romans, and prays that Rome may no longer continue to be a harbour for worthless persons such as those whom it had lately received without letters of communion—adulterers, thieves, drunkards, oppressors, murderers, and votaries of all uncleanness, who had run away from Constantinople in fear of the punishment for their vices.^v By this description were intended the refugees of the Ignatian party.

But the Ignatians had also conveyed to the pope their version of the late events, and Nicolas wrote in a lofty strain both to the emperor and to the patriarch.^w The Roman church, he says, is the head of all, and on it all depend.^x He sets aside the parallels which Photius had alleged for his consecration, on the ground that

^p Vita, 973.

^q 861. 33, 55. He gives it in a translation, 34-54. The Greek is not in Mountagu's edition, but is Ep. 2 in Migne's (Patrol. Gr. cii.).

^r Bar. 861. 36-9.

^s This need not imply that the false

decretals are meant, but only that the laws in question were western.

^t §§ 42-47.

^u §§ 48-49.

^v § 54.

^w Epp. 5-6.

^x Hard. v. 133.

the persons in question had not intruded into the room of wrongfully ejected orthodox bishops,^a and tells Photius that, if he did not know the laws of the church, it was because they made against his cause.^b At a synod held in 863, the pope deposed and excommunicated Zacharias for misconduct in his legation, reserving the case of Rodoald, who was then employed on a mission in France;^c he declared Photius to be deprived of all spiritual office and dignity, and threatened that, in case of his disobedience, he should be excommunicated without hope of restoration until on his deathbed; he annulled all orders conferred by him, and threatened his consecrators and abettors with excommunication. All proceedings against Ignatius were declared to be void, and it was required that he should be acknowledged as patriarch. The pope embodied the resolutions of this council in a letter to the emperor;^d and he desired the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem to make it known that the Roman church in no way consented to the usurpation of Photius.^e

Michael replied in violent indignation, that by his application to the pope he had not intended to acknowledge him as a judge, or to imply that his own clergy were not sufficient for the decision of the case; he scoffed at Rome as antiquated, and at the Latin language as a barbarous jargon.^f Nicolas, who was elated by his recent triumph over Lothair, met the emperor with no less haughtiness.^g He taxes him with disrespect towards God's priests, and, as Michael had spoken of having "ordered" him to send legates to the council, he tells him that such language is not to be used to the successors of St. Peter.^h To the reflections on the Latin tongue, he answers that such words, uttered in the "excess of madness," were injurious to Him who made all languages, and were ridiculous as coming from one who styled himself emperor of the Romans.ⁱ He insists at great length on the privileges of the Roman see, derived not from councils, but from the chief of the Apostles.^k He utters many threats against all who shall take part

^a Hard. v. 130-1, 133, 135.

^b Ib. 135.

^c Ep. 7; ib. 137. See p. 324.

^d Ep. 7.

^e Ep. 4.

^f Nicol. ap. Hard. v. 161. The emperor's own letter is lost.

^g Ep. 8, 9 (May, 865; Nov. 866).

^h Hard. v. 147-8.

ⁱ Ib. 148-9.

^k Ib. 162-3. In one of the letters to Michael (Ep. 8, col. 159), the ninth

canon of Chalcedon, which in earlier times had been regarded as an offence against Rome, is, by an extraordinary interpretation, pressed into the Roman interest. The canon had directed that a bishop or a clerk, having a complaint against his metropolitan, should apply to the primate (ἐπίσκοπος) of the diocese or to the see of Constantinople. The appeal to the primate, says Nicolas, is the rule; the recourse to Constantinople is only allowed as secondary.

against Ignatius.^m He proposes that the rival patriarchs, or their representatives, should appear at Rome for a trial of the cause.ⁿ He warns the emperor to abstain from interfering with spiritual things,^o and desires him to burn his late letter, threatening that otherwise he will himself suspend it to a stake, and, to the disgrace of the writer, will burn it in the sight of all the nations which are at Rome;^p and he invokes curses on the person who is to read his letters to the emperor, if he should in any respect mutilate or mistranslate them.^q He sent the acts of the Roman council to the clergy of Constantinople, with a long detail of the affair;^r and at the same time wrote to Photius, Ignatius, Bardas, Theodora, and the empress Eudoxia. Nov. 866.

Michael, provoked by the opposition of Nicolas, and by the manner in which it was carried on, looked out for some means of annoying the pope. Although Charlemagne's imperial title had been acknowledged at Constantinople, it was as emperor of the Franks, not of Rome; and his successors had not obtained from the east any higher title than that of king.^a Michael now offered to recognise Louis II. as emperor, on condition of his acknowledging the council which was so offensive to the pope; and Louis appeared willing to accept the terms.^b But events soon occurred which rendered this negotiation abortive.

A new question arose to complicate the differences between the Greek and the Latin churches. The Bulgarians, who are supposed to have been a people of Asiatic origin, of the same stock with the Huns, and at one time seated near the sea of Azov, had, about the year 680, occupied a territory in Mœsia and Dardania, where, in consequence of intermarriages with the native Slaves, they had gradually exchanged their original language for a dialect of the Slavonic.^c They had been engaged in continual hostilities with the Byzantine empire; Nicephorus had lost his life in war with them, and they had endangered the throne of Michael Rhangabe. In the early part of the ninth century, Christianity had been introduced among them by some captives, but with little effect. During the regency of Theodora, however, circumstances occurred

And by the primate of the diocese the council could mean no other than the vicar of the chief apostle: "ipse est enim primas, qui et primus habetur et summus." Gieseler, after quoting the passage (II. i. 371), very reasonably adds "(11)." Nicolas had already turned this canon to use in a somewhat different way. Ep. ad Car. Calv. ap. Hard. v. 585.

^m Ib. 182-4, 192-3.

ⁿ Ib. 168.

^o Ib. 171.

^p Ib. 193.

^q Ib. 172.

^r Ep. 10.

^a Παῖ, not Βασιλεὺς. See Pagi, xiii. 65; Gibbon, iv. 510.

^b Vita Ign. 981; Schlosser, 614-5.

^c See Schröckh, xxi. 399; Gibbon, v. 290-1; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 430; Thierry, Hist. d'Attila, i. 304.

which gave a new impulse to the progress of the Gospel among the Bulgarians. A monk named Cupharas, in whom the empress took an interest, fell into the hands of their prince Bogoris; and the empress proposed that he should be exchanged for a sister of Bogoris, who was then a captive at Constantinople. The Bulgarian princess, who had been converted to the Gospel during her captivity, zealously attempted, after returning to her own country, to carry on the work which Cupharas had begun. Bogoris himself held out, until, during a famine, after having in vain addressed himself to other deities, he had recourse to the God of the Christians; the success of his prayer resulted in his conversion; and he was baptised by the patriarch of Constantinople, changing his name for that of the emperor Michael, who by proxy acted as his godfather.* The convert requested Michael to supply him with a painter for the decoration of his palace; and a monk named Methodius (for art was then confined to the monasteries) was sent into Bulgaria. Bogoris employed him to paint a hall with *terrible* subjects, intending that these should be taken from the perils of hunting; whereupon the monk depicted the Last Judgment, as being the most terrible of all scenes. The representation of hell, which was explained as setting forth the future lot of the heathen, alarmed the prince into abandoning the idols which he had until then retained; and many of his subjects were moved by the sight of the picture to seek admission into the church.⁷ A rebellion, which soon after broke out in consequence of the prince's conversion, was put down by him with a cruelty which accorded ill with his new profession.⁸

Photius was probably the patriarch who had gone into Bulgaria for the baptism of Bogoris; and he had addressed to him a long letter, or rather treatise,⁹ on Christian doctrine and practice, and particularly on the duties of a sovereign. But soon after this we find that the Bulgarian prince made an application to Nicolas, accompanied by valuable presents, for the purpose of obtaining the pope's counsel and assistance towards the conversion of his people.^b It would seem that he had been perplexed between the claims of rival forms of Christianity—Greek, Roman, and Armenian;^c and

* Const. Porph. iv. 14; Cedrenus, 539-40. The date of the baptism is variously given—from 845 to 864; but the later time appears to be the more correct. Pagi (xv. 53) and Gieseler (II. i. 372) place it in 861. See Schröckh, xxi. 404. According to another account, Bogoris invaded the

empire, and, having been reduced to straits, offered to become Christian as a condition of peace. Schlosser, 629.

⁷ Const. Porph. iv. 15; Cedren. 540-1.

⁸ Nicol. Resp. ad Consulta Bulgar. c. 17, ap. Hard. v.

^a Phot. Ep. 1. ^b Anastas. 260.

^c Nic. Resp. c. 106.

he may very naturally have wished for some instruction better adapted to the state of his knowledge than the somewhat too refined treatise which he had received from the patriarch of Constantinople.^d But in addition to this, it is most likely that Bogoris was actuated by a jealous dread of the empire which bordered so closely on him, and by an apprehension of the consequences which might result from a religious connexion with his ancient enemies.^e Nicolas replied by sending into Bulgaria two bishops, Paul of Populonia, and Formosus of Portus, with a letter in which the questions proposed to him were answered under 106 heads.^f This document, while it displays the usual lofty pretensions of Rome, is in other respects highly creditable to the good sense and to the Christian feeling of the writer. He sets aside many frivolous questions, and answers others with a wise treatment of their indifference, and with care to abstain from laying down minutely rigid rules. He rebukes the harshness which had been shown to a Greek who had pretended to the character of a priest;^g he censures the king for the cruelty which he had used in the suppression of the late rebellion, but tells him that, as he had acted in zeal for the faith, and had erred rather from ignorance than from wickedness, he may hope for forgiveness if he repent;^h and he exhorts him to refrain from the use of force against those who continue in their idolatry—to hold no communion with them, but to deal with them by the weapons of reason only.ⁱ He advises that torture should no longer be used to discover the guilt of criminals,^k and that such persons should be treated with a gentleness becoming the faith which the Bulgarians had adopted.^m The cross is to be substituted for the horse's tail which had hitherto been the national standard.ⁿ Idolatrous practices, charms, and arts of divination are to be forsaken.^o Those who, as heathens, had married two wives must put away the second, and do penance—polygamy being no less contrary to the original condition of man than to the law of Christ.^p In answer to the request that a patriarch might be appointed for the country, the pope says that he must wait for the report of his envoys as to the number of Christians; in the mean time he sends a bishop, and undertakes to send more if required; and he promises that, when the church is organised, one with the title of archbishop, if

^d Neand. v. 424.^e Schröckh, xxiv. 149-151.^f Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum, Hard. 353-386. (Aug. 866.)^g Cc. 14-16.^h C. 17.ⁱ Cc. 41, 102.^k C. 86.^m Cc. 19-32.ⁿ C. 33.^o Cc. 35, 62, 67, 77, 79.^p C. 37.

not of patriarch, shall be placed at its head.¹ There are, he says, properly only three patriarchal sees—those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, although so styled, being of inferior honour, because they were not of apostolical foundation;² and he concludes by exhorting the Bulgarians, amidst the claims of conflicting teachers, to cleave to the holy Roman church, which had always been without spot or wrinkle.³

Bogoris had also applied to Louis of Germany, who sent him a bishop; but it is said that this bishop, on arriving in Bulgaria, found the country sufficiently provided with clergy from Rome, and returned home without having attempted to aid or to disturb their labours.⁴

But at Constantinople the pope's intervention aroused great indignation. Nicolas claimed Bulgaria on the ground that it had belonged to the Roman jurisdiction while it was a province of the empire—that the people had voluntarily placed themselves under him, and that he had provided them with churches and clergy; while Photius insisted on his own right as derived from the conversion of the nation.⁵ The patriarch summoned a council to meet at Constantinople, and, in a letter addressed to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem,⁶ denounced the invasion of Bulgaria. Within the last two years, he says, men from the west, the region of darkness, had intruded into this portion of his fold, corrupting the Gospel with pernicious novelties.⁷ They taught a difference of usages as to fasting; they forbade the clergy to marry; they denied the right of presbyters to confirm; and their bishops, in opposition to apostles, fathers, and councils, administered a second unction to persons who had already been confirmed according to the Greek rite.⁸ But above all, they adulterated the creed with spurious additions, affirming that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. Photius reprobates this

¹ C. 72.

² C. 92.

³ C. 106.

⁴ *Annal. Fuld.* 867, ap. *Pertz*, i. 380. The western writers in general speak as if the conversion of Bulgaria had been entirely the work of the Latin church (*Schröckh*, xxiv. 149-151). *Regino* (*Ann.* 868, ap. *Pertz*, i. 580) relates that the king, after having for a time combined the strictest asceticism in private with the outward pomp of royalty, withdrew into a monastery; that his son, who succeeded to the throne, gave himself up to profligacy, and attempted to restore paganism; that the old king

thereupon left his retreat, made war on his son, blinded and imprisoned him, and bestowed the crown on a younger son, whom he threatened to treat in the same manner if he should not be faithful to his duty. He then returned to his cloister.

⁵ *Schröckh*, xxiv. 154.

⁶ *Ep.* 2. Baronius is very abusive in his comments on this epistle, some of which rest on the assumption that Photius was an eunuch (e.g. 867. 67; 868. 45)—which *Pagi* (xv. 149) and *Fabricius* (xi. 671-2) show to be untrue.

⁷ P. 49.

⁸ P. 50.

doctrine with all his force, as a denial of the unity of principle in the Godhead, unheard of by Athanasius, Gregory, and Basil—as a blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, or rather against the whole Trinity, such as cannot be exceeded, and is deserving of ten thousand anathemas.^a He denounces the Romans as apostate and servants of Antichrist;^b and he invites the oriental patriarchs to send envoys to Constantinople for the purpose of combining with him in resistance to them.^c Although Photius had great reason to complain both of the interference with his converts, and of the manner in which the pope had set aside all but the Roman customs, he appears to be open to the charge of swelling his personal quarrel with Rome into a schism between the churches;^d and the tone in which he now enlarged on the difference of usages was very unlike that in which he had some years before adverted to them in his elaborate letter to Nicolas.^e The synod summoned by Photius was held in 867. It replied to the Roman anathemas by pronouncing a like sentence against Nicolas himself; and the patriarch, in the hope of drawing the western emperor into his interest, contrived that acclamations in honour of Louis II. and Ingilberga should be mixed with those in honour of the Byzantine rulers.^f

In the mean time important political changes were in progress. Bardas had gradually acquired a more and more complete ascendancy over his nephew, while the emperor sank continually deeper into degrading pleasures.^g In 862 Bardas was advanced to the dignity of Cæsar; and, although his rule was oppressive and unpopular, it is acknowledged that he exhibited much talent for government,^h and that he exerted himself for the revival of learning, which had long been neglected at Constantinople.ⁱ But in no long time his influence was disturbed by that of a rival, Basil the Macedonian. Basil, although his pedigree was afterwards deduced by flatterers from the Persian Arsacidæ, from Alexander the Great, and from Constantine,^k was really of Slavonic race. His birth was humble, and his first appearance at Constantinople was as a needy adventurer, seeking shelter for a night in the porch of a monastery,

^a Pp. 50, 52-3, 56-7. A treatise by Photius, 'De Spiritus Sancti Mystagogia,' was published by Prof. Hergenröther, of Würzburg (Ratisbon, 1857), and is reprinted in the *Patrol. Gr. cii.*

^b P. 55.

^c P. 57.

^d Schröckh, xxiv. 160.

^e Phot. Ep. 2, ed. Migne; or in Baron. 861. 42-4.

^f Schröckh, xx. 153; Hefele, iv. 342-3. ^g Cedren. 547.

^h Vita Ign. 955; Cedren. 550-1; Finlay, ii. 336.

ⁱ Cedren. 547. See the remarkable history of the philosopher Leo, bishop of Thessalonica, in Const. Porph. iv. 27-9; or Cedrenus, 548-550.

^k Const. Porph. v. 2-3; Cedren. 557. See Gibbon, iv. 425; Finlay, ii. 272.

where the abbot, it is said, was thrice warned in visions by the patron, St. Diomedes, to open the gate and admit him.^m Basil found employment as servant to a kinsman of the emperor, and after a time was introduced to the notice of Michael, who, in reward of his accomplishments as a wrestler, a jockey, and a toper,ⁿ raised him to the dignity of the patriciate, and bestowed on him one of his own mistresses in marriage.^o Bardas began to take alarm at the rapid rise of the new favourite; but Michael and Basil gave him a solemn assurance of safety, signed by the emperor's own hand.^p Soon after, however, the murder of the Cæsar was concerted while he was engaged with the emperor on a military expedition. The assassins, to whom the signal was given by the sign of the cross, hesitated to strike him in the imperial presence; but Basil gave the first blow from behind, and the victim was despatched while embracing the emperor's feet.^q After a short interval, during which the vigour of Bardas was missed in the government, and complaints of the general discontent reached even the ears of Michael, Basil was nominated Cæsar, and on Whitsunday 867 was crowned by the emperor's hands with a diadem which had been blessed by Photius.^r He immediately began to display talents of a different order from those which had won for him the imperial favour, and endeavoured to put some restraint on the increasing grossness of his patron's debaucheries; but the attempt provoked Michael to such a degree that he is said in his drunken frenzy to have given orders for the Cæsar's death, and to have announced an intention of promoting a boatman in his room.^s Basil felt that he must sacrifice the emperor's life or his own, and by his command Michael, after having stupefied himself with wine at supper, in the Cæsar's company, was murdered on the 24th of September, 867.^t The Greek historians can discover no other redeeming fact in the life of this wretched prince than that he bestowed a chalice and a splendid chandelier on the church of St. Sophia.^u Basil found an exhausted treasury, but exerted himself with vigour and success to replenish it and to restore the empire.^x

^m Const. Porph. v. 9; G. Hamartol. Contin. pp. 725-8; Cedren. 560.

ⁿ Const. Porph. v. 12; Cedren. 563-4.

^o Const. Porph. v. 16; Sym. Magist. de Mich. 40; Schlosser, 630-1.

^p Cedren. 566; Schlosser, 634-8.

^q Const. Porph. v. 18; Cedren. 555-6; Schlosser, 639. Baronius traces the fate of Bardas to his guilt in opposing the pope. 867. 75, seqq.

^r Const. Porph. iv. 43; Cedren. 567; Schlosser, 644.

^s Const. Porph. iv. 44, v. 24-6; Sym. Mag. 47.

^t G. Hamart. Contin. pp. 749, 750; Const. Porph. iv. 44, v. 27; Cedren. 567; Pagi, xv. 115; Schlosser, 653-8; Finlay, ii. 232. The continuator of Hamartolus relates that all Basil's agents in the murder came to bad ends. 752-3.

^u Const. Porph. iv. 45; Cedren. 557.

^x Const. Porph. v. 29, seqq.; Cedren. 567-8, 570, 577-8.

Two days after the death of Michael, Photius was deposed.⁷ He had formerly been on friendly terms with Basil, and contradictory accounts are given of the reason for his deposition. By some it is explained in a manner discreditable to him, while others say that he provoked the emperor by refusing the eucharist to him as a murderer and an usurper.⁸

Nicolas had written to Hincmar, detailing the history of the Bulgarian affair, and requesting the assistance of the Frankish clergy, whose character stood highest for learning among the clergy of the west, to combat the attacks which had been made by the Greeks on the Christianity of the Latins.⁹ In consequence of this invitation, Hincmar desired Odo bishop of Beauvais, and other divines, to collect materials for a general defence;¹⁰ and the result was the production of treatises by Odo, Æneas of Paris, and Ratramn.¹¹ Of these, the work of Ratramn is regarded as the most valuable.¹² The first three books of it are devoted to the question of the Holy Spirit's procession, while the fourth and last discusses the controversy as to rites and discipline. It is remarkable that, in opposition to the line usually taken by Nicolas, the monk of Corbie dwells on the sufficiency of uniting in faith, and censures the Greeks, not for varying from the Roman usages, but for insisting on their own as exclusively correct and necessary.¹³ The Greek doctrine as to the Holy Spirit was also condemned by a synod of bishops from the dominions of Louis of Germany, which met at Worms in 868.¹⁴

Basil reinstated Ignatius in the patriarchate with great pomp,¹⁵ and sent a member of each party to Rome, accompanied by one of his own officers, for the purpose of representing the state of affairs;

⁷ Vita Ign. 981. Mr. Finlay says that he remained in office two years. ii. 274.

⁸ G. Hamart. Contin. 754; Zonaras, ap. Baron. 867. 101; Schröckh, xxiv. 161-2. The refusal of communion seems hardly agreeable to the character of Photius, who had not scrupled to associate with Michael and Bardas, notwithstanding their vices (Neand. vi. 315). Nor is it probable that, if such a refusal had been given, he would, in reminding Basil of their former friendship, have said in particular, "You have received at my hands the awful and immaculate mysteries" (Ep. 97, init.). Baronius solves the question in his own way, by saying that the patriarch was deposed in consequence of the condemnation by Nicolas. 867. 101.

⁹ Nic. Ep. 70; Hincm. ii. 809. Some of the charges which the pope mentions

as calumnious were not without foundation in the practice of some among the Latins. See Giesel. II. i. 375. Dr. Floss supposes that Scotus, as might have been expected from his general character, took the Greek side in the controversy between the churches, and that this was the reason why Nicolas endeavoured to procure his dismissal from the court of Charles the Bald. (Patrol. cxxii. Praef. xxiii.; see above, p. 314.) But the date assigned to the pope's letter, A.D. 861-2, seems hardly consistent with this.

¹⁰ Opera, ii. 610.

¹¹ Patrol. cxix. cxxi. See pp. 187, n. 2, 334.

¹² Mabill. VI. lxxxii.; Schröckh, xxiv. 178-183; Neand. vi. 313.

¹³ Ratr. contra Græcorum Opposita, iv. 1. ¹⁴ See Hefele, iv. 352.

¹⁵ Vita Ign. 985.

but the envoy of Photius was shipwrecked and died on the journey,^h so that his cause was left without an advocate. The representative of Ignatius was charged with a letter from the patriarch, in which the authority of St. Peter's successors was acknowledged in terms such as had not been usual at Constantinople.ⁱ Adrian, who had now succeeded Nicolas, assembled a synod which renewed the former sentence against Photius.^k It was ordered that the copy of the Byzantine synod's acts which had been transmitted to Rome should be burnt, and that those at Constantinople should share the same fate.^m

A council, which is regarded in the Roman church as the eighth General Council,ⁿ met at Constantinople in October 869. It was attended by two bishops and a deacon from Rome; Antioch was represented by the metropolitan of Tyre, Jerusalem by a presbyter;^o and to these a representative of the Alexandrian see was added at the ninth session.^p Some high civil officers were present, but the number of bishops was at first exceedingly small;^q and, although afterwards gradually increased, it did not rise beyond 60 at the ninth session, and 102 or 109 at the tenth and last.^r

On the first day the sentence of the late Roman council against Photius was adopted, and all bishops who afterwards joined the assembly were required to sign it.^s The second, third, and fourth sessions were chiefly occupied in dealing with bishops and clergy who, after having been ordained by Ignatius or his predecessor, had submitted to Photius. These presented a confession of their offences, alleging that they had been forced or deceived into them;

^h Vita Ign. 985. Anastasius the Librarian makes an edifying use of the shipwreck,—“Qui navim Christi, hoc est ecclesiam, sciderat, navis suæ scissionem non inconvenienter incurrit.” Hard. v. 754.

ⁱ The letters of the emperor and of the patriarch are in Hard. v. 790-3.

^k Hard. v. 862-871, = Ib. 874.

^m See Baron. 869. 61-4; Pagi, xv. 180; Palmer on the Church, ii. 215.

^o Hard. v. 764, 771.

^p Hard. v. 884, 1092. There are two reports of this council—the one in Latin, by Anastasius the Librarian, who was then at Constantinople for the purpose of negotiating a marriage between the families of Louis II. and Basil (Hard. v. 755); the other Greek: and they vary very considerably. In the Latin acts there are 27 canons (Hard. v.

899, seqq.); in the Greek, only 14 (ib. 1097, seqq.): the reason being, perhaps, that the Latins prepared the larger number, while the Greeks inserted in their report such only as related to the main subject (Schröckh, xxiv. 170-1). Among those which are found in Latin only are some which lay down pseudoisidorian doctrines as to the position of metropolitans, and the trial of bishops (cc. 17, 26). One, directed against the iconoclasts, is found in both versions (c. 3 Gr.; c. 7 Lat.); and a Frank writer, the continuator of Aimoin, speaks of this as contrary to the orthodox doctrine of the fathers. Giesel. II. i. 377.

^q Ib. 764-5; 1025-7.

^r Held on the last day of February, 870. See Pagi, xv. 163; Schröckh, xxiv. 164-5; Hefele, iv. 409.

^s Hard. v. 773, 817.

and they were admitted to communion on condition of performing some penitential exercises. At the fourth session there was a sharp discussion with a bishop named Theophilus, who was firm in his adherence to Photius.¹ The patriarch himself was brought forward on the fifth day, and met the questions addressed to him by a dignified silence. When urged to speak, he replied that God would hear him although he said nothing. "You will not," said the Roman legates, "by your silence escape a greater condemnation." "Neither," he replied, "did Jesus by holding his peace escape condemnation;" and he resumed his former silence.² When the lay president of the council, Baanes, who treated him with a courtesy unlike the behaviour of the ecclesiastics, afterwards asked him what he could allege in his justification, Photius answered, "My justifications are not in this world."³

The emperor appeared at the sixth session, and told the council that he had absented himself from its earlier meetings lest he should be supposed to influence its decision as to Photius.⁴ But the affair of the patriarch was not yet concluded. He was cited before the council on the seventh day, and entered leaning on a staff;—"Take away his staff," said the Roman legate Marinus, "it is an ensign of pastoral dignity."⁵ The bishops of his party in vain appealed to the canons.⁶ Anathemas were pronounced against Photius and his adherents, the most odious epithets being attached to their names;⁷ the writings and documents on his side were burnt;⁸ and, in token of the exasperation by which the council was animated, it is said that the condemnation of the patriarch was subscribed in the wine of the eucharistic cup.⁹

In the course of the council's proceedings, however, it appeared that the personal question as to the patriarchate was not the only subject of difference between Rome and Constantinople. The Romans complained that the pope's letter had been mutilated in the reading; the Greeks told Ignatius that his church had been made the servant of Rome; and Ignatius himself was as resolute as Photius to assert the jurisdiction of his see over Bulgaria.¹⁰ Some ambassadors from that country were at Constantinople, and their

¹ Hard. v. 782, seqq.

² Ib. 819, 1051.

³ Ib. 822, 1054.

⁴ Ib. 835, 1064.

⁵ Ib. 839, 1065.

⁶ Ib. 841.

⁷ Ib. 873.

⁸ Ib. 875, 1086.

⁹ Vita Ign. 988. The biographer, however, thinks that Photius was too

gently treated, and cites prodigies which soon after happened in favour of this opinion (988-9). In the subscriptions to the acts of the council, the Roman legates stand first, while Basil and his sons do not sign until after the representatives of all the patriarchates. (Hard. v. 922-3.) See Hefele, i. 25-7.

¹⁰ Schröckh, xxiv. 173.

master—by what influence is unknown—had been again induced to waver in his religious allegiance. The ambassadors, on being summoned into the emperor's presence, with Ignatius, the Roman legates, and the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, inquired to which church they must consider their country to belong. The orientals asked to which church it had belonged while a province of the empire, and whether the clergy at the time of the Bulgarian conquest had been Greeks or Latins. It was answered that the province had been subject to Constantinople, and that the clergy found in it were Greeks; and on these grounds it was adjudged that Bulgaria ought to belong to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Roman legates, however, disputed the alleged facts, and handed to Ignatius a paper from the pope, charging him not to interfere, which the patriarch received in a respectful manner, but did not further regard. The emperor dismissed the legates with coolness.^f Ignatius in the same year consecrated an archbishop for Bulgaria, and within a short time all the Latin clergy were ejected from that country.^g

John VIII. wrote to the Bulgarians, exhorting them to return to the communion of his church, which they had formerly
 A.D. 878. chosen, and warning them as to the danger of a connexion with the Greeks, who, he said, were always in one heresy or another.^h He wrote to Ignatius, telling him that, as he was indebted to the apostolic see for his dignity, so he should lose it if he kept possession of Bulgaria. The Greek clergy, who were already excommunicate for introducing their errors into a church planted by the holy see, must be withdrawn within thirty days; and Ignatius is threatened with excommunication and deposition if he should neglect the order.ⁱ Letters in a like tone were written to the Bulgarian king, and to the Greek clergy in that country;^k and a violent collision would probably have ensued, but for the death of Ignatius, which took place in 878.

Photius, after his deprivation, had at first been treated with extreme severity. He complains in his letters that he is strictly guarded by soldiers; that he is deprived of all intercourse with relations, friends, monks, and clergy; that his property is confiscated, that he is allowed no attendance of servants, and in his sickness can obtain no medicines.^m He suffers from hunger, and yet more from

^f Vita Hadriani ap. Murator. v. 267-8; Schröckh, xxiv. 173-5.

^g Vita Hadr. 344; Pagi, xv. 218. It was to this archbishop that Peter of Sicily addressed his account of the

Paulicians. See p. 185.

^h Hard. vi. 16, 19.

ⁱ Ib. 20.

^k Ib. 22, 50, 56, 59, &c.

^m Ep. 97, p. 137.

"a famine of the word of God;" he is separated from all books—a cruelty unexampled in the persecutions of the orthodox by heretics or by pagans; and in the mean time his adherents are cruelly treated, churches are destroyed, holy things are profaned, the poor, whom he had tended for the benefit of his soul, are left friendless and helpless.ⁿ He inveighs against the synod of 869 as having neglected all the forms of justice in its dealings with him — as worse than anything that had been known among the most lawless and savage heathens.^o

But after a time he found means to recover the favour of Basil. According to the biographer of Ignatius, he drew up an imaginary pedigree, tracing the emperor's ancestry to the Persian kings; this was written in antique letters on parchment of corresponding appearance; it was bound in the cover of an old manuscript, and was introduced into the library of the palace by the keeper, who took an opportunity of showing it to Basil, and suggested that Photius was the only man capable of explaining it.^p A still more unlikely tale asserts that the emperor's love was won by charms administered in his food and drink.^q But it would seem that in truth Basil, out of regard for the unequalled learning of Photius, and perhaps also from a wish to conciliate his partisans, whose constancy to the ejected patriarch may have raised some apprehensions, recalled him from banishment, and appointed him tutor to Leo, the heir apparent of the crown.^r While thus employed, he was reconciled with Ignatius, and from that time lived on good terms with him, steadily refusing to become the head of a party in opposition to the aged patriarch.^s

Photius was now raised to the see as successor of Ignatius, and announced his promotion to John VIII., with a request that the pope would send legates to a new synod which was to be held at Constantinople.^t The chief object of this application was to secure the assistance of Rome for the purpose of quieting the Ignatian party;^u but John seized on it as an acknowledgment that the title of Photius to the patriarchal throne depended on the papal

Oct. 878.

ⁿ Epp. 97, pp. 137-8; 174, pp. 240, 247-8, 250.

^o Epp. 117-8.

^p Vita Ign. 1004. Comp. Sym. Magist. de Basil. 7, and a story told by the same writer as to the emperor Theophilus and the patriarch Methodius. De Theoph. 24.

^q Hard. v. 1149.

^r Const. Porph. v. 44; Schröckh, xxiv. 186; Hefele, iv. 427.

^s So Photius himself said in the synod of 879. (Hard. vi. 256.) His opponents, however, tell a different story. See Hefele, iv. 430.

^t Hard. vi. 1152. Gregory of Syracuse, who had shared the misfortunes of Photius, now received the bishoprick of Nicæa, in which he died soon after. Vita Ign. 1008.

^u Neander, vi. 322-3.

judgment, and supposed that the Byzantines would be willing to bear anything for the sake of obtaining his countenance. Two Aug. 16, bishops and a priest were sent as legates, with letters 879. and instructions in which it was said that Photius might be restored if he would make satisfaction for his offences and would ask mercy of the synod; and it was insisted on that he should resign all pretensions to Bulgaria.^x The ensigns of the patriarchal dignity were transmitted in the same manner which had been usual in bestowing the pall on metropolitans.^y

The synod—the eighth General Council according to the Greek reckoning—was imposing as to numbers, consisting of 380 bishops from the empire, with the three Roman legates, and three deputies from the oriental patriarchs.^z The precedent set by the second council of Nicæa, of having representatives from the oriental thrones, had been followed in the council under Photius in 861, and in that under Ignatius in 869. But at the latter of these, the representatives of the east had declared that the orientals who had taken part in the synod under Photius were impostors, with forged credentials.^a Photius, however, asserted that those who made that declaration were themselves not only impostors, but agents of the Saracens;^b and letters were now produced from Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, in which the patriarchs disavowed the persons who had acted in their names, and disowned all connexion with the proceedings against Photius.^c

The Roman legates found that matters were conducted in a very different way from what the courteous behaviour of Photius had led them to expect. Instead of submitting himself to their judgment, he assumed the presidency of the council from the beginning, declaring that both his first and his second elevation had been forced on him—that he had committed no wrong, and did not need any mercy.^d The pope's letters were read, but with omissions of the more violent pretensions, and with insertions to the honour of the patriarch.^e The demand of Bulgaria was, with great professions

^x Hard. v. 1165, 1185; vi. 207, 1085-9, 1100.
1168-9.

^y Hard. vi. 228. See Neand. vi. 323.

^z Schröckh, xxiv. 188-9. The Greeks disallowed the council of 869.

^a The synod discovered the persons who had taken on themselves the character of envoys. These said that, having come to Constantinople on other business, they had been induced by Photius to appear in his synod, and on this ground he was anathematised in the 9th canon. Hard. v. 874-7, 901, or

^b Ep. 116, p. 159. The explanation offered by the opposite party is, that the patriarch of Jerusalem, in order to avert the suspicions of the Saracens, had given the envoys instructions to negotiate for the redemption of Saracen captives at Constantinople. Hard vi. 1160; Hefele, iv. 423.

^c Hard. vi. 300, 301, 325.

^d Ib. 253-7.

^e See Hard. v. 1165, seqq.; vi. 63-72, 231, seqq.; 246, seqq.; 277, seqq.; 1152.

of respect for Rome, evaded as being foreign to the question in hand.^f The Greek bishops all supported the patriarch, and acted as if in entire independence of Rome;^g yet the legates allowed all to pass without a protest, and joined in anathematising the council of 869, by which Photius had been deposed.

It was only by degrees that John became acquainted with the result of the council. At first, he declared himself willing to confirm its restoration of Photius, if he should find that the legates had not disobeyed their instructions. Misconstruing the polite phrases of the Greeks, he supposed that Bulgaria had been given up to him, and wrote to thank the emperor for the concession; while in a letter to Photius he expressed surprise that in some respects his directions had not been followed by the council.^h

Aug. 13,
880.

When, however, he discovered the real state of the matter, his exasperation was unbounded. He ascended the pulpit of a church, and, holding the book of the Gospels in his hand, threatened to anathematise all who should not regard Photius as one condemned by God's judgment, according to the sentences of Nicolas and Adrian;ⁱ and he sent Marinus, one of the legates who had attended the council under Ignatius, to insist that matters should be restored to the state which had been established by that council. But the legate was treated with indignity, was imprisoned for a month at Constantinople, and returned without any success.^k On the death of John, Marinus was raised to the papacy; and the sentence against Photius was renewed by him,^m by Adrian III., and by Stephen V.,

^f Hard. vi. 252, 309.

^g Ib. 312, seqq.; Schröckh, xxiv. 192; Hefele, iv. 462-3. Although this synod answers all the conditions usually laid down for a general council, the Romanists speak of it as a Photian convention, and censure John for consenting to it in any degree. Baronius supposes the fable of Pope Joan to have taken its origin from the pope's weakness in yielding to the wishes of Basil (879. 4-6)—a supposition very inconsistent with the general character of John. The same historian ventures to conjecture that the acts of the council were forged by Photius (879. 73); and the extravagant idea has been more confidently repeated by others, as by Rohrbacher, who speaks in his index of the "Fourberie de Photius, peut-être unique dans l'histoire." (See also vol. xii. 237, and Schröckh, xxiv. 193-5; Giesel. II. i. 380.) This charge may have originated

in the story told by the biographer of Ignatius, that Photius forged the acts of a synod against his rival, and sent them to Louis II. (see above, p. 365). Baronius says that the synod of 879 is "una cum auctore in imis inferis obruenda" (879. 63). Döllinger more reasonably contents himself with comparing it to the "Latrocinium" of Ephesus, with the exception that what was there done by violence was here done by craft (i. 396). A marginal note on the council (Hard. vi. 331) asserts that the sixth and seventh sessions were invented by Photius; but Hardouin regards this as the trick of some "Græculus," in order to bespeak credit for the earlier sessions! See Hefele, iv. 463.

^h Ep. 108 ad Phot.; Ep. 109 ad Imperatores, Hard. vi.

ⁱ Hard v. 1161; Baron. 880. 11.

^k Stephan. V. ap. Hard. vi. 367.

^m Baron. 882. 12.

who held an angry correspondence on the subject with Basil and his son Leo VI.^a

Leo, formerly the pupil of Photius, on his accession in 886, deposed the patriarch, confined him in a monastery, and filled the see with his own brother Stephen, a boy of sixteen.^o The reasons of this step are unknown; the Greek writers in general trace it to a suspicion that Photius was implicated with a monk named Theodore Santabarenius, who is said to have gained an influence over the late emperor by magical arts, and had endeavoured by a double treachery to alienate him from his son.^p An inquiry into the conduct of Photius took place, and no evidence could be found against him; yet he did not recover his see, and he died in exile in the year 891.^q The two parties which had divided the church of

Constantinople were reconciled within a few years; but
A.D. 898.

Pope John IX. made difficulties as to recognising the clergy who had been ordained by Photius.^r At length, however, the churches resumed communion, and the name of Photius himself was among those of the patriarchs acknowledged by Rome.^s But political jealousies, and the retention of Bulgaria by the Byzantine patriarchate,^t together with the difference as to rites and doctrine, continued to keep up a coolness between the sees, until at a later time they again broke out into open discord.

^a See Hard. v. 1116, seqq.; vi. 365, seqq.

^o G. Hamart. Contin. p. 762.

^p Const. Porph. v. 101; vi. 2; G. Hamart. Contin. 768-770; Cedren. 593; Schröckh, xxiv. 198. The continuator of Hamartolus says that when, in consequence of Theodore's charges, Basil was about to blind his son, Photius successfully interceded for Leo (763). An unknown Greek writer, cited by Baronius (886. 16), ascribes the deposition to the emperor's regard for the pope. Gfrörer conjectures that Photius had a scheme for rendering the church independent, and that the emperor meant to defeat this by getting the patriarchate into his own family—Basil having already shown a like intention by bringing

up Stephen as an ecclesiastic. (Kircheng. iii. 301.) Symeon Magister describes Santabarenius as a Manichean and a magician. De Basil. 17-18, 21.

^q Const. Porph. vi. 5; Cedren. 594-5; Pagi, xv. 424.

^r Hard. vi. 479; Baron. 905. 9; Pagi, xv. 539; Schröckh, xxiv. 198-207.

^s See Baron. 905. 11-12, and Pagi's notes; Schröckh, xxiv. 201.

^t In 923, the Bulgarian king Symeon, in dictating terms of peace to the emperor Romanus I., required that the chief bishop of Bulgaria should be acknowledged by Constantinople as an independent patriarch; and this lasted until John Tzimiscees put an end to the Bulgarian kingdom, A.D. 972. Finlay, ii. 81.

CHAPTER IV.

SPAIN — ENGLAND — MISSIONS OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

I. THE Christians of Spain after the Mahometan conquest, who were known by the name of *Mustaraba* or *Mozarabes*,^a enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, although on condition of paying a heavy monthly poll-tax.^b They generally lived on friendly terms with their Mussulman masters; many of them held office under the caliphs, and monks and clergy who understood both the Arabic and the Latin languages were employed in diplomatic correspondence.^c

But, notwithstanding these relations, the difference of religion was a continual source of trouble. The Mahometan mobs often abused Christians in the streets; they shouted out blasphemies against the Christian name, while all retaliation was forbidden by law under very severe penalties. If a marriage took place between persons professing the two religions, the general law against apostasy from Islam made it death for the Mahometan party to embrace Christianity; and the questions which in such marriages naturally arose as to the religion of the issue produced very serious difficulties. Moreover, the hostility of the Mussulmans towards the Christians who dwelt among them was excited by the persevering efforts of those who in other parts of the peninsula carried on a war of independence; while these efforts served also to raise among the Christians under the Mahometan rule a desire to do something for the more public assertion of their faith.^d

The Christians were divided into two parties. The one of these was bent on preserving peace with their rulers, as far as possible, and enjoying the toleration which was allowed them. The other party regarded this acquiescence as unworthy; they thought that their brethren had been corrupted by intercourse with the Moslems into a blameable laxity of opinions. They declared that the offices of Mahometan courts could not be held without compliances

^a The name does not mean (as has been mistakenly said) *mixti Arabibus*, but *Arabes insititi*—grafted on the stock of the *Arabi Arabi*, or pure Arabs. Giesel. II. i. 147.

^b *Eulogii Memoriale Sanctorum*, in *Bibl. Patr.* xv. 249, b. (or in *Patrol.* cxv.).

^c *Neand.* v. 462-3.

^d Giesel. II. i. 147.

unbecoming a Christian; that those who occupied such offices were obliged to refrain from openly signing themselves with the cross, and from other outward manifestations of their faith; that they were obliged to speak of the Saviour in such terms as might not be offensive to the unbelievers. They complained that the Christian youth preferred the cultivation of "Chaldean" to that of ecclesiastical literature; that they were more familiar with Arabic than with Latin.*

About the middle of the ninth century a persecution of the Christians broke out at Cordova under the reign of

A.D. 850.

Abderrahman II. The first sufferer was a monk named Perfectus, who, having fallen in with some Mahometans in the neighbourhood of the city, was questioned by them as to the opinion which Christians entertained of the Prophet. He attempted to evade the question, on the ground that he was unwilling to offend them; but, as they continued to urge him, and assured him that no offence would be taken, he said that Mahomet was regarded by Christians as one of the false prophets foretold in Scripture; and he remarked on some parts of his history, as scandalous, and as proving the falsehood of his pretensions. The Arabs, in consideration of the promise which they had given, restrained their anger for the time; but when Perfectus next appeared in public, he was seized, was dragged before a judge, on a charge of blasphemy against the Prophet, and was executed.^f The next victim was a merchant, who had given no provocation;^g but the third, a young monk named Isaac, courted his fate. He went before the judge of the city, professing an inclination to embrace the religion of the Koran, and begging for some instruction in its doctrines; and when these were explained to him, he denounced their falsehood with great vehemence.^h The execution of Isaac was followed by an outburst

of fanatical zeal. Clergymen, monks, nuns, and laity
A.D. 851. rushed to the Mahometan tribunals, reviling the Prophet as an impostor, an adulterer, a sorcerer, and declaring that his followers were in the way to perdition.ⁱ And, besides those who voluntarily thrust themselves on death, many children of mixed marriages were delated by their Mahometan relations as apostates, although they had probably been brought up from the first in the religion of the Christian parent.^k

* Alvari Indicul. Luminosus, c. 9, in Flores, España Sagrada, xi. Madr. 1792 (or in Patrol. cxxi.).

^f Alvar. 3; Eulog. ii. 1.

^g Eulog. col. 246, f.; Alvar. 5.

^h Eulog. Praef. 243; Alvar. 12.

ⁱ Eulog. ad Willesind. (Bibl. Patr. xv. 300, c.) Details of the martyrdoms in Mem. SS. ii. 3, seqq.

^k See Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 8.

The wild zeal of the Christians naturally exasperated the Moslems. Public outrages against Christians increased; any one who showed himself in the street was insulted, pelted with filth, or stoned: the Mahometans shrank from touching the very garments of Christians, as if it were pollution.^m The sound of church-bells excited them to a tempest of cursing and blasphemies; and at funerals of Christians the populace followed the corpse with outcries, begging that God would have no mercy on the deceased.ⁿ

Abderrahman now enacted new laws, of increased severity. The bodies of those who were executed were to be burnt, lest their brethren should convert them into relics. Yet the caliph, wishing, if possible, to quell the excitement by peaceable means, requested the co-operation of the primate Recanfrid, archbishop of Toledo, who issued an order that no Christian should present himself before a Mahometan judge unless he were cited to do so. This order was received with indignation and defiance by the more zealous party, headed by Saul, bishop of Cordova; and Recanfrid, in pursuance of his policy, proceeded to imprison some refractory ecclesiastics—among them a monk and priest of Toledo named Eulogius, who had been very conspicuous in his opposition. From prison Eulogius wrote letters, intended to animate the resolution of his friends; with the fervour of a Tertullian he exhorts all who have any worldly ties to cast them aside and boldly confess the faith, in the assurance of rejoining their martyred brethren in bliss.^o A council was held under the archbishops of Toledo and Seville, and determined that no one ought voluntarily to provoke death by his religion.^p By those who agreed with the spirit of this council the evils which had happened were charged on Eulogius and his associates. They ascribed the conduct of the sufferers to pride, and questioned their right to the name of martyrs—citing against them texts of Scripture, with the canons and practice of the early church.^q Some went so far as to declare that there was no opportunity of martyrdom at the hands of the Arabs, since these were not idolaters, but worshipped the one true God and acknowledged his laws.^r

Eulogius and Peter Alvar were the leading spirits of their party.^s

^m Eulog. col. 249, d.

ⁿ Alvar. 6.

^o Alvar. Vita Eulogii, 4-7 (Patrol. cxv.); Eulog. ad Floram et Mariam (ib. 821, seqq.); Neand. v. 468-9.

^p Hard. v. 37-8, who calls it *concilia-bulum*. Baronius is loud against it. 852.

10.

^q Alvar. 14; Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 14; col. 248, c.

^r Eulog. 288, d.

^s Flores supposes Eulogius to have written in 851, and Alvar in 854. España Sagrada, xi. 43.

They both (and more especially Alvar, who was an ecclesiastic of Cordova) write in an exalted strain of enthusiasm. Eulogius sets aside the distinction which had been drawn between heathens and Mahometans by saying that the Mahometans deny the Son of God and persecute the faithful.¹ Alvar argues from the prophecies that Mahomet is the forerunner of Antichrist.² The sufferings of the Christians, he says, had not been drawn down on them by the violence of zealots—for the first victims had done nothing to provoke their fate—but by the sins of the whole community.³ He will allow no compliance with circumstances, no forbearance to force the Christian profession on the notice of the infidels.⁴ He maintains that our Lord's charge to His disciples, "when persecuted in one city to flee into another," is inapplicable in the present case, since the object of the charge was that the disciples should spread the Gospel more widely—not that they should hide it.⁵ He would have Christians to press the truth on the Moslems for the purpose of rendering them "debtors to the faith"—not (as it would seem) out of love for them, but in order to render their unbelief inexcusable.⁶

Abderrahman was succeeded in 852 by his son Mohammed, who carried the proceedings against the Christians further.⁷ On the first day of his reign the new king dismissed all who held any offices about the court or in the public service.⁸ He ordered that all churches which had been lately built should be destroyed, and prohibited all display in the ritual or in the furniture of the older churches which were allowed to stand.⁹ The persecution continued for many years. Eulogius himself, who had been elected to the see of Toledo, was arrested in 859¹⁰ in consequence of having aided a young female convert, named Leocritia, to escape from her parents, who were bigoted Mahometans; and, after having firmly resisted the importunities of some Arabs who, out of respect for his sanctity and learning, endeavoured to persuade him to save his life by slight concessions, he was put to death.¹¹

During this long persecution many of the more lukewarm Christians openly apostatised to the religion of Islam.¹² The heats on both sides at length died away, and the old relations of the

¹ P. 288, ^d.

² C. 21.

³ Cc. 3, 18.

⁴ Cc. 16, 17.

⁵ C. 2, p. 223.

⁶ C. 10, p. 234. See Neander, v. 474.

⁷ Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 16; Pagi,

xiv. 396.

⁸ Eulog. Mem. SS. ii. 16; iii. 1.

⁹ Ib. iii. 3.

¹⁰ Vita, 10.

¹¹ Ib. 13-16; Pagi, xiv. 498. Leocritia

was put to death four days after him.

¹² Giesel. II. i. 151-2.

parties were restored. A German abbot, who went on an embassy to Cordova in 954, represents the Christians as living peaceably with their masters, and as thankful for the toleration which they enjoyed; nay, if the information which he received may be trusted, it would appear that they had carried their compliance so far as to submit to the rite of circumcision.^h

II. England, like France, was harassed and desolated by the ravages of the Northmen. Their first appearance on the coasts was in the year 767;ⁱ the first descent which was severely felt was in 832;^k and from that time their invasions were incessant. Devon and Wales felt their fury as well as the eastern coasts; when the attention of the English was concentrated on one point, a fresh band of enemies appeared in an opposite quarter; and they penetrated into the very heart of the country.^m And here, as in France, the wealth and the defencelessness of the monasteries pointed these out as the chief objects of attack. The chronicles of the time abound in frightful details of their wasting with fire and sword the sanctuaries of Croyland, Medeshamstede (Peterborough), Bardsey, and Ely; of Repton and Coldingham; of Lindisfarne, from which a little band of monks carried off the relics of St. Cuthbert over the mountains of Northumbria, in continual fear of the ravagers by whom they were surrounded on every side.ⁿ At length, in 878, after the victory gained by Alfred over Guthrun at Ethandune, a large territory in the east of England, north of the Thames, was ceded to the Danes, on condition of their professing Christianity, and living under equal laws with the native inhabitants;^o but the peace thus obtained was only for a time.

Of the lustre of Alfred's reign it is needless to speak to readers who may be presumed to know in any degree the history of their country. Alfred succeeded his father in 871, at the age of twenty-two,^p and his reign lasted thirty years. His character may have been idealised in some respects, that it might fulfil the conception of a perfect sovereign; and institutions have been ascribed to him which are in truth derived from other sources.^q Yet historical reality exhibits to us this "darling of the English"—"Alfred the Truth-

^h Vita Johannis Abbat. Gorziensis, cc. 123-4 (Pertz. iv.).

ⁱ Chron. Ang.-Sax. A.D. 787.

^k Lingard, Hist. Eug. i. 171.

^m The Danish ravages are very fully related, after the old chroniclers, in Mr. McCabe's 'Catholic History of England,' vol. ii. A more condensed ac-

count is given by Lingard, A. S. C. ii. c. 12.

ⁿ Sym. Dunelm., Hist. Dunelm. ii. 6, 10.

^o Spelman, Life of Alfred, ed. Hearne, Oxon. 1709, pp. 65-7. ^p Ib. 44.

^q Hallam, M. A. ii. 74-8; Lappenb. i. 332.

teller"—as the deliverer, the lawgiver, and the wise ruler of his country, as a hero, and as a saint. It sets before us his efforts to revive the public spirit which had become all but extinct during the long calamities of the Danish invasions; * his zealous and successful labours to repair in mature years the defects of his early education; † his exertions for the restoration of learning among the clergy, which had fallen into melancholy decay, and for the general instruction of the people; ‡ his encouragement of learned men, whether natives,—as his biographer Asser, § Plegmund, Werfrith, and Neot,—or foreigners whom he invited to impart to the English a culture which was not to be found at home—as Grimbald of Rheims, and John of Old Saxony; ¶ his care to enrich the vernacular literature by executing or encouraging versions and paraphrases of religious and instructive works—portions of Scripture, writings of Boëthius, Gregory the Great, Orosius, and Bede. † It shows us that these labours were carried on under the continual tortures of disease, * and amidst the necessities of providing for the national defence; † it dwells on his habits of devotion, and on the comprehensive interest in the affairs of Christendom which induced him even to send a mission to the shrine of St. Thomas in India. † Small as his kingdom was, he raised it to a high place among the nations; and among great sovereigns no character shines brighter or purer than his. Alfred died in 900 or 901. °

III. The conversion of Bulgaria, which has been related in the history of the dissensions between the Greek and Latin churches, led to that of the Slavonic inhabitants of Greece and of the Mainotes. † The Croats were evangelised by missionaries from Rome; while the victories of Basil, about the year 870, were followed by the labours of Greek missionaries in Servia. °

Christianity had been introduced into Moravia by the arms of Charlemagne, who, in 801, according to his usual system, compelled the king to receive baptism. † Since that time, attempts had been

* Asser (?) in Mon. Hist. Brit. 498.

† Asser, passim. † lb. 474, 486.

‡ Ib. 485-6, &c.; Turner, Hist. Anglo-Sax. ii. 144.

§ Asser, 487. Against some doubts which have been raised as to Asser, see Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 420; Pauli, König Aelfred, 4-14; Hardy, Pref. to Mon. Hist. Brit. 80-1.

¶ Asser, 486-7, 493. This John has been confounded by many writers with John Scotus. See above, p. 314.

° See Milman, ii. 368. For his addi-

tions to Boëthius, see Turner, ii. 22. Orosius has also important additions. See the edition of Alfred lately published by Dr. Bosworth and others.

* Asser, 484-5, 492.

† Chron. Ang.-Sax. A.D. 883; Turner, ii. 145; Lappenb. i. 338.

‡ Spelman, 216.

§ Giesel. II. i. 399.

¶ Hardwick, 'Manual of Ch. Hist., Middle Age' (Camb. 1853), 135-6.

° Conversio Bagoariorum, &c. (Patrol. cxxix. 1271); Schröckh, xxi. 406.

made to extend the knowledge of the Gospel among the Moravians under the auspices of the archbishops of Salzburg and the bishops of Passau, who employed a regionary bishop for the purpose.⁸ But these attempts had little effect; the princes of the country had relapsed into heathenism, the Christians were few, and their religion was very rude.^h A new and more effectual movement arose out of an embassy which Radislav, king of Moravia, sent into Bulgaria, for the purpose of obtaining aid against Louis of Germany. His nephew Swatopluk or Zwentibold, who was employed on this mission, became a convert to the new faith of the Bulgarians; and on his return he was joined by the queen, who was herself a Christian, in urging it on her husband's attention.ⁱ An application for Christian teachers was made to the emperor Michael; and two missionaries, Constantine and his brother Methodius—perhaps the same whose skill as an artist had produced so great an effect at the Bulgarian court^k—were sent from Constantinople into Moravia.^m

Constantine—better known under the name of Cyril, which he is said to have assumed towards the end of his life, in obedience to a visionⁿ—was a priest and monk, and is designated as a philosopher. He was a native of Thessalonica, and, from the mixture of the Greek and Slave populations in his own country, had probably been acquainted from his early years with a dialect of the Slavonic.^o He had preached among the Chazars of the Ukraine and the Crimea, who in 843 had applied for instructors from Constantinople, on the ground that they were distracted between the rival pretensions of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Christianity^p—a mixture of religions which was found in the same regions by a Mussulman traveller seventy years later.^q The success of his labours among the Chazars is described as complete, and the impression of them was strengthened by his refusal of all recompense except the release

⁸ Ginzel, 31. See a letter of Eugenius II., A.D. 826 (Patrol. cv. 641). Jaffé includes this among the genuine epistles, and Rettberg (ii. 56) quotes it without suspicion; but Palacky (i. 108) and Ginzel (31) regard it as spurious.

^h Döllinger, i. 330-2; Giesel. II. i. 350-1; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 449.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxi. 409.

^k See p. 366; Neaud. v. 423.

^m Transl. S. Clementis, c. 7, in Ginzel's Supplement. (Ginzel's History of Cyril and Methodius is valuable for the industry with which the materials have

been collected, and for the appendix of documents; but the author's judgment is strangely warped by his zealous Romanism.)

ⁿ Translatio S. Clementis, c. 10, ap. Ginzel.

^o Ib. 1; Legenda Pannon. 5; Palacky, i. 119; Ginzel, 22.

^p Transl. S. Clement. 1; Schröckh, xxi. 400-1. It was in 848 that Cyril went on his mission, according to Assemani and others; but Ginzel (25) dates it in 861.

^q Gfrörer, Karol. i. 452.

of such Christians as were captives in the country ;^r but some of his biographers appear to regard as more important his discovery of a body supposed to be that of St. Clement of Rome, who was said to have been banished by Trajan to the Chersonese, and to have been there martyred.^s The fame of the mission to the Chazars had reached the Moravian king, who especially requested that Cyril might be sent to him ;^t and in 863^u the brothers proceeded into Moravia, taking with them the relics of St. Clement. Their preaching was marked by a striking difference from the ordinary practice of the time—that, whereas the Greek and Latin missionaries usually introduced their own tongues as the ecclesiastical language among barbarian nations, Cyril and Methodius mastered the language of the country, and not only used it in their addresses to the people, but translated the liturgy and portions of the Scriptures into it—Cyril, after the example of Ulfilas, having either invented a Slavonic alphabet, or improved that which before existed.^x By this innovation the success of the mission was greatly forwarded. Radislav

^r *Legenda Morav.* 3.

^s Transl. S. Clem. 2-5; Giesel. II. i. 353-4. See Tillemont, ii. 161. It need hardly be said that there were rival relics of St. Clement elsewhere. See e. g. Rostangnus, in *Patrol.* ccix. 905, seqq.; Alban Butler, Nov. 23.

^t Transl. 7.

^u Ginzl, 38.

^x "Locī indigenae . . . valde gavisi sunt, quia et reliquias B. Clementis secum ferre audierant, et evangelium in eorum linguam a philosopho praedicto translatum." (Transl. S. Clem. 7; cf. *Legend. Morav.* 5; *Leg. Bohem.* 2.; *Leg. Pannon.* 5.) Ginzl infers that the translation of the "Evangelium" had been made at Constantinople, before the missionaries set out, and that the word means those portions only of the Gospel which were read in the church-service (37). . . He supposes that the other Scripture lessons, &c., were afterwards translated by Cyril and Methodius, and says that there was no complete Slavonic Bible until the fifteenth century (42-3). The statement of the Pannonian legend (15), that Methodius translated all the Scriptures, except the books of the Macabees, in six months, is evidently fabulous—the exception being probably adopted from the story as to Ulfilas and the books of Kings. (See vol. i. p. 293.) Palacky says that the translations were in the Macedonian dialect of the Slavonic (i. 45), while Ginzl is for the Moravian dialect (153). But if some

part was executed before the missionaries entered Moravia, could this part have been in the dialect of that country? (See other opinions stated in Ginzl, 132.) As to the alphabet, there has been much controversy. Slavonic writers maintain that the other alphabet of their language, which is known by the name of *Glagolitic* (from *glagol*, a word or letter, Ginzl, 124), was invented by the Illyrian St. Jerome, or, at least, was as old as his time; while the Germans, with some eminent exceptions, say that it was derived from that of Cyril. (See Schröckh, xxi. 411-3; Giesel. II. i. 353; Schleicher, 'Formenlehre der Kirchengeschichte der Slawischen Sprache,' 31-2, Bonn, 1852; Ginzl, 36.) Krasinski refers to Kopitar as having shown that the Glagolitic alphabet is at least as old as Cyril's (Lectures on the Religious Hist. of the Slavonic Nations, p. 23, Edinb. 1849). As the Glagolitic has more of a Latin, and the Cyrillic of a Greek character, Ginzl, in accordance with his fancy that Cyril was from the first strictly subordinate to Rome, supposes that *he* was the inventor of the Glagolitic, and that the so-called Cyrillic was invented by his disciples who were afterwards driven into Bulgaria! (112, 129). The Glagolitic alphabet has long been disused, except for books of church-service, the latest of which is a Breviary printed in 1791 (Ginzl, 156-165); the Cyrillic (which Schafarik, ii. 473, describes as based on the Greek, with additions

received baptism,⁷ his subjects were rapidly converted, churches were built for Christian worship, and the reverence in which the missionaries were held appears from the fact that in Moravia the clergy were styled by a name which signifies *princes*.

After a time a report of these proceedings reached pope Nicolas, who thereupon summoned Cyril and Methodius to appear before him.⁸ The Moravians were now more closely connected with the west than with the east; in the difference between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, Cyril, who had formerly been an opponent of Photius,⁹ was not inclined to side with the patriarch, whose deprivation probably took place about the time when the papal letter was written; and a refusal of compliance would have thrown the pope on the side of the Germans, from whom Radislav was in imminent danger.¹⁰ The brethren, therefore, resolved to continue their work under such conditions as were possible, rather than to abandon it, and obeyed the summons to Rome, where they arrived shortly after the death of Nicolas. The body of St. Clement, which is said to have wrought many miracles, produced a great sensation among the Romans,¹¹ and the orthodoxy of the missionaries was proved to the satisfaction of Adrian II., who gratified Radislav's desire for the independence of the Moravian church by consecrating Methodius as archbishop of the Moravians. Cyril is said to have been also consecrated to the episcopate, but died at Rome, where he was buried in the basilica of St. Clement.¹²

A.D. 868.

Radislav, after a struggle of many years against Louis of Germany, was at length betrayed by his nephew Swatopluk into the hands of his enemy, by whom he was dethroned and blinded in 870.¹³ Swatopluk succeeded to the crown, and greatly extended the

derived in part from the Armenian and other oriental characters) has, since the sixteenth century, been superseded in Moravia by the Roman; but it is still used in Servia and Bulgaria, and from it the Russian alphabet is chiefly formed (see Schröckh and Gieseler, as above). For the references to Schafarik and Schleicher, I am indebted to my friend Dr. Rost, professor of Sanscrit in St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.

⁷ Leg. Morav. 5.

⁸ Transl. S. Clem. 8. Ginzl very extravagantly fancies that the brothers from the first regarded themselves as subject to the pope and to the bishop of Passau; that, although they translated the liturgy, they did not venture to use it until they had received the

papal approbation of it on their visit to Rome; and that the pope's citation was in answer to a letter in which they had reported themselves to him. 42-4.

⁹ This opposition related to the opinion which Photius is said to have held as to the human soul (see p. 359). Anastas. in Patrol. cxxix. 14.

¹⁰ Neand. v. 434; Gieseler. II. i. 353; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 454; Ginzl, 44.

¹¹ Leo Ostiens. ap. Baron. 867. 132; Transl. 9.

¹² Transl. 9-12; Leg. Morav. 6; Gieseler. II. i. 353. On the contradictions between the biographers of Cyril and Methodius, see Schröckh, xxi. 415-6.

¹³ Palacky, i. 127-130.

bounds of the Moravian kingdom, which now included a large portion of modern Austria and Hungary.^f Over all this territory Methodius exercised authority, after some differences with Swatopluk, whom it is said that he once found it necessary to excommunicate;^g and, as his sphere extended, many Christians who had received the Gospel from the Latin church placèd themselves under him. This excited the jealousy of the Germans,^h who appear to have obtained in 873 a mandate from John VIII., forbidding him to employ a barbarous tongue in the service of the church.ⁱ Methodius, however, persisted,^k and, in consequence of a renewed complaint, to which it was now added that he taught some erroneous doctrines, he was cited to Rome in 879. The pope in his letter forbade the use of the Slavonic in the liturgy, although he allowed that until further order it might be used in preaching, forasmuch as the Psalmist charges all people to praise the Lord, and that St. Paul says, "Let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."^m

Methodius repaired to Rome, where he succeeded in justifying his orthodoxy before a synod—perhaps not without some concession as to the points of difference between his native

^f Schröckh, xxi. 418; Ginzel, 78.

^g Leg. Morav. 11; Schröckh, xxi. 417.

^h The 'Conversio Bagoariorum,' which Ginzel supposes to have been drawn up about this time, in the interest of Salzburg (60), states that an arch-priest named Rihbald laboured effectually "usque dum quidam Graecus, Methodius nomine, noviter inventis Sclavinis litteris, linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam, atque litteras auctorales Latinas philosophice superducens, vilescere fecit cuncto populo ex parte missas et evangelium ecclesiasticumque officium illorum qui hoc Latine celebraverunt" (ap. Ginzel, Anhang, 55). Was the Slavonic liturgy a translation from the Greek, or from the Roman? or was it a new composition? Ginzel, arguing on his assumption that Cyril and Methodius from the first regarded themselves as clergy of the Latin church, supposes it to have been Roman; and in behalf of this view it may be pleaded that the objection of John VIII. related to the language only (Ginz. 107-110). But the pope expressly allows of Greek as well as of Latin service (Ep. 239); nor had the time yet come when Rome attempted to enforce liturgical uniformity everywhere. On other grounds, too, it seems

probable that the Cyrillian liturgy—whether translated, or in some de-

gree original—was of the Greek type. And with this accords the fact which is stated by Dr. Ginzel himself (140), that the extant fragments of the liturgy formerly used in the Bohemian monastery of Sazawa (see below, Chap. VII. sect. vi.) are of the Greek rite.

ⁱ This is inferred from John's words in the letter of 879—"Jam litteris nostris per Paulum episcopum Anconitanum tibi directis prohibuimus" (Ep. 129, Patrol. cxxvi.)—the mission of Paul into Germany and Pannonia having been in 873 or 874. Joh. Ep. 6; Ginzel, 60.

^k Ginzel supposes that he answered the pope's letter, and, being satisfied with his own arguments, thought himself justified in continuing the use of the vernacular service (62), which the pope tacitly allowed (80). But the surprise expressed by John in his letters of 879 to Swatopluk and Methodius (Epp. 128-9) seems hardly consistent with this.

^m Ep. 239. That the question of language had not occurred under Nicolas or Adrian II., see Schröckh, xxi. 416. A letter in the name of Adrian, giving the same sanction to the vernacular which was afterwards given by John, has been published by Schafarik in a Slavonic version, but is spurious. See Ginzel, 8, who gives it in a Latin translation, 44-5.

church and that of the west. And his arguments in favour of the Slavonic tongue were so successful that, on returning to Moravia, he bore a letter from John to Swatopluk, in which the pope approves of the alphabet invented by Cyril,ⁿ and sanctions the use of the Slavonic liturgy, on the ground that the Scriptural command, "Praise the Lord, all ye nations," shows that the praises of God are not to be confined to three languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin),^o but that He who formed these languages formed all others also, for His own glory. It is, however, ordered that, as a mark of greater honour, the Gospel shall be read in Latin before being read in the vernacular, and also that the king or any nobleman may, if he think fit, have the service of his private chapel in Latin.^p

In the same letter it was stated that Methodius was confirmed in his archbishoprick, with exclusive jurisdiction over the Moravian church. The pope adds that he has consecrated as bishop an ecclesiastic named Wiching, who had been recommended to him by Swatopluk, and begs the king to send another presbyter who may be raised to the same degree, in order that the primate, having two bishops under him, may be able to perform his functions without external help. By this arrangement it was intended that the Moravian church should be rendered entirely independent of Germany.^q

From Moravia the Gospel was introduced among the neighbouring and kindred people of Bohemia. Fourteen Bohemian chiefs had appeared before Louis of Germany at Ratisbon in 845, and had been baptised by their own desire.^r But of this conversion, which was most likely a mere political artifice, no effects are recorded; and Bohemia was heathen many years later, when the duke, Borziwoi, visited the Moravian court.^s Swatopluk received him with honour, but at dinner assigned him and his followers a

ⁿ "A Constantino quodam philosopho." It has been argued that John could not have spoken so vaguely of Constantine if he had supposed him to have been the brother of Methodius, and to have died at Rome not many years before (Neand. v. 438). But Pagi (xv. 370) and Gieseler (II. i. 356) conjecture *quondam*, and so Ginzler reads. Anh. 61.

^o See above, p. 224.

^p Ep. 293. Some writers of the Roman church have argued that the sanction of the vernacular in this case was given merely out of special regard for Cyril and Methodius (see Schröckh,

xxi. 420). But the grounds on which it is rested are quite general. "Il y a," says M. Rohrbacher, "des hommes qui pensent que si le pape Jean VIII. avait tenu plus ferme à l'usage du Latin dans la liturgie sacrée, il aurait rendu moins facile le schisme et la perversion des nations Slaves." xii. 354.

^q Col. 86; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 238.

^r Annales Fuldenses, A.D. 845, in Freher, i. or Pertz, i.; Palacky, i. 110.

^s This is placed in 894 by Assemanini (quoted by Schröckh, xxi. 429) and Pagi (xiv. 474); in 871, by Gieseler (II. i. 360), Palacky, and Pertz (ix. 39); in 878-9, by Ginzler, 18.

place on the floor, as being heathens.^t Methodius, who sat at the king's table, addressed Borziwoi, expressing regret that so powerful a prince should be obliged to feed like a swineherd. The duke asked what he might expect to gain by becoming a Christian; and, on being told that the change would exalt him above all kings and princes, he was baptised with his thirty companions.^u His wife, Ludmilla, embraced the Gospel on worthier motives, and earned the title of saint.^x

Methodius continued to be much annoyed by the Germans, who saw in the sanction of the Slavonic tongue an insuperable barrier against their influence in Moravia. It would seem also that Swatopluk became unfavourable to him,^y and that Wiching, who was a German by birth, and a man of intriguing character, instead of co-operating with the archbishop, and rendering him the obedience which had been enjoined in the pope's letter to the king, set up claims to independence of all but the papal authority.^z The last certain notice of Methodius is a letter of the year 881, in which John VIII. encourages him, and assures him that he had given no such privileges as were pretended to Wiching (whose name, however, is not mentioned).^a The death of Methodius has been said to have taken place at Rome, and has been variously dated, from 881 to 910; but it seems more probable that he died in Moravia about the year 885.^b

Wiching, after the death of Methodius, persecuted the clergy who maintained the Slavonic liturgy, and, with the aid of Swatopluk's soldiery, compelled them in 886 to seek a refuge in Bulgaria, where it is presumed that they must have adhered to the Greek communion.^c On the death of Swatopluk, in 894, the kingdom was distracted by a war between his sons, while Arnulf of Germany pressed on it from without. Wiching had in 892 gone over to Arnulf, who appointed him his chancellor, and bestowed on him the bishoprick of Passau; but from this dignity he was deposed on his patron's death.^d In 900, the German

^t See p. 141, for Ingo's treatment of heathens.

^u Vit. SS. Cyrill. et Method. ap. Pagi, xv. 474; Ginzel, Anh. 18. Palacky (i. 137) and Ginzel (69) deny the truth of the story.

^y Milman, ii. 353.

^z The provision as to Latin service in the king's chapel seems to hint that he had fallen under the German influence. Ginzel, 84.

^a Giesel. II. i. 356; Gfrörer, Karol. ii. 239. See the Bulgarian legend,

Ginzel, Anh. 38-40.

^b Ep. 319 (Patrol. cxxvi.). A letter in which Stephen V. (A.D. 890) is made to denounce Methodius, and utterly to disallow the Slavonic liturgy, although admitted as genuine by Jaffé (297), is probably a forgery of Wiching. See Ginzel, 20, 87, and Anh. 63.

^c Giesel. II. i. 357; Palacky, i. 139; Ginzel, 91.

^d Ginzel, 94.

^e Palacky, i. 150; Ginzel, 98.

jealousy was provoked afresh by the measures which pope John IX. took for providing Moravia with a localised hierarchy instead of its former missionary establishment. Hatto, archbishop of Mentz, and Theotmar of Salzburg, with their suffragans, loudly remonstrated against the change ;^c but the strife was ended by the fall of the Moravian kingdom in 908.^d

IV. The conquests of Charlemagne had brought the Franks into close neighbourhood with the northern nations, which were now so formidable to the more civilised inhabitants of other countries. Charlemagne, it is said, refrained from placing his territory beyond the Elbe under any of the bishoprics which he erected, because he intended to establish in those parts an archiepiscopal see which should serve as a centre for the evangelisation of the north. He built a church at Hamburg, and committed it to a priest who was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction ; but the prosecution of the scheme was broken off by the emperor's death.^e The attention of his son, however, was soon drawn by other circumstances towards Nordalbingia. Policy, as well as religion, recommended the conversion of the Northmen ; for, so long as the Saxons were only separated by the Elbe from those who adhered to the religion of their forefathers, there was a continual temptation for them to renounce the Christianity which had been forced on them, and with it the subjection of which it was the token.^f

Disputes as to the throne of Denmark between Harold and Godfrid led both parties to seek the countenance of Louis the Pious. The emperor was struck with the importance of using this circumstance as an opening for the introduction of Christianity among the Danes ; and Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, was willing to withdraw for a time from the enjoyment of his dignity, that he might extend the faith among these barbarians.^g With the consent of Louis, the archbishop went to Rome, where he obtained a commission from Paschal, authorising himself and Halitgar, afterwards bishop of Cambray, to preach the Gospel to the northern nations, and directing them to refer all difficult questions to the apostolic see.^h The mission was resolved on by the diet of Attigny (the

^c Hard. vi. 482-6 ; Ginzcl, 99.

^d Schröckh, xxi. 421 ; Giesel. II. i. 357.

^e Ludov. Pius, in Patrol. cxviii. 1033 ; Rimbert, Vita S. Anskarii, 12, ap. Pertz, ii. ; Adam. Bremens. i. 15, 17, ib. vii.

^h Münter, i. 239.

ⁱ Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 502-3 ; Flodoard. ii. 19 (Patrol. cxxxv. 131).

^k Rimbert, 13. The letter, which is neither in Harduin nor in the 'Patrologia,' is given in the original by Münter, i. 244.

same diet which witnessed the penance of Louis)^m in 822; and in that year Ebbo and his companions set out in company with some ambassadors of Harold,ⁿ Welanao (now Münschdorf, near Itzehoe) being assigned by the emperor for their head-quarters.^o Little is known of their proceedings, but it appears that they preached with much success,^p and that Ebbo represented the spiritual and the temporal benefits of Christianity to Harold so effectually as to induce him to appear in 826 at Ingelheim, with his queen and a large train of attendants, and to express a desire for baptism, which they received in the church of St. Alban at Mentz. Louis was sponsor for Harold, Judith for the queen, Lothair for their son, and the members of their train found sponsors of suitable rank among the Franks.^q The emperor now resolved to send a fresh mission to the Danes; but the barbarism of the Northmen, their strong hostility to Christianity, and the savage character of their paganism, with its sacrifices of human victims, deterred all from venturing on the hazards of such an expedition, until Wala of Corbie named Anskar, one of his monks, as a person suited for the work.^r

Anskar, "the Apostle of the North," was born about the year 801, and at an early age entered the monastery of Corbie, where he studied under Adelhard and Paschasius Radbert. He became himself a teacher in the monastery, and, after having for a time held a like office in the German Corbey, resumed his position in the parent society.^s From childhood he had been remarkable for a devout and enthusiastic character. He saw visions, and it is said by his biographer that all the important events of his life were foreshown to him either in this manner or by an inward illumination, so that he even waited for such direction as to the course which he should take.^t The death of his mother, when he

^m See p. 255.

ⁿ Münter, i. 248.

^o Rimbart, 13.

^p Münter, i. 256-8.

^q Astron. 40; Einhard. Ann. 826; Thegan, 33; Ermold. Nigell. ap. Pertz, ii. 508. For Ermold's embellishments and inaccuracies, see Dahlmann, *Gesch. v. Dänemark*, i. 29. In illustration of the motives by which such converts were often actuated, the monk of St. Gall relates that on one occasion, when the unusual number of candidates for baptism had exhausted the supply of the ordinary baptismal garments, a Northman neophyte openly expressed to Louis his indignation at receiving one

of coarser materials. "I have been washed here twenty times already," he said, "and always got dresses of the best and whitest stuff; but such a sack as this is fit for a swineherd, not for a warrior; and were it not for the shame of going naked, I would leave your dress and your Christ together." *L. ii. c. 19.*

^r The Life of St. Anskar, by his pupil and successor Rimbart and another, is in Mabillon, vi.; Pertz, ii.; and the *'Patrologia,'* cxviii.

^s Rimbart, 6; Dahlmann, n. on c. 7, in Pertz.

^t C. 36. It may be remarked that in the recorded visions there is nothing of

was five years old, affected him deeply, and he was weaned from the love of childish sports by a vision in which she appeared in company with some bright female forms. He felt himself entangled in mire, and unable to reach them, when the chief of the band, whom he knew to be the Blessed Virgin, asked him whether he wished to rejoin his mother, and told him that, if so, he must forsake such vanities as are offensive to the saints.^x His worldly affections were afterwards further subdued by the tidings of Charlemagne's death, which deeply impressed on him the instability of all earthly greatness.^y In another vision, he fancied that his spirit was led out of the body by two venerable persons, whom he recognised as St. Peter and St. John. They first plunged him into purgatory, where he remained for three days in misery which seemed to last a thousand years. He was then conducted into a region where the Divine glory, displayed in the east, streamed forth on multitudes of adoring saints in transcendent brightness, which was yet not dazzling but delightful to the eye; and from the source of inaccessible majesty, in which he could discern no shape, he heard a voice of blended power and sweetness—"Go, and thou shalt return to Me with the crown of martyrdom."^z At a later time, the Saviour appeared to him, exhorted him to a full confession of his sins, and assured him that they were forgiven.^a The assurance was afterwards repeated to him, and in answer to his inquiry, "Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do?" he was told, "Go, and preach to the Gentiles the word of God."^b

When the northern mission was proposed to Anskar, he at once declared his readiness to undertake it. He adhered to his resolution, although many endeavoured to dissuade him, while Wala disclaimed the intention of enforcing the task on him by his monastic obligation to obedience; and his behaviour while preparing himself for the work by retirement and devotion had such an effect on Autbert, a monk of noble birth and steward of the monastery, that he offered himself as a companion.^b

The missionaries could not prevail on any servant to attend them. On joining Harold they were treated with neglect by him and his companions, who, as Anskar's biographer says,^c did not yet know how the ministers of God ought to be honoured. But when they had sailed down the Rhine as far as Cologne, the bishop of that city, Hadebold, out of compassion, bestowed on them

what would usually be considered a supernatural kind.

^x Rimb. 2.

^y Ib. 3.

^z Ib. 4.

^b Ib. 7.

^y Ib.

^a Ib. 9.

^c C. 8.

vessel with two cabins, and as Harold found it convenient to take possession of one of these, he was brought into closer intercourse with the missionaries, who soon succeeded in inspiring him with a new interest in their undertaking. They fixed the centre of their operations at Hadeby, on the opposite bank of the Schley to Sleswick,^d and laboured among both the Christians and the heathens of the Danish border. Anskar established a school for boys—the pupils being partly given to him, and partly bought for the purpose of training them up in the Christian faith. But Harold had offended many of his adherents by doing homage to Louis and by his change of religion; they were further alienated when, in his zeal for the advancement of his new faith, he destroyed temples and even resorted to persecution; and the opposite party took advantage of the feeling. Harold was expelled, and retired to a county in Frisia which the emperor had bestowed on him; and Anskar was obliged to leave Hadeby. Autbert had already been compelled by severe illness to relinquish the mission, and died at Corbie in 829.^e

A new opening soon presented itself to Anskar. It would appear that some knowledge of the Gospel had already reached Sweden—partly, it is said, by means of intercourse which the inhabitants of that remote country had carried on with the Byzantine empire.^f In 829 the court of Louis was visited by ambassadors from Sweden, who, in addition to their secular business, stated that their countrymen were favourably disposed towards Christianity, and requested the emperor to supply them with teachers. Louis bethought himself of Anskar, who agreed to undertake the work—regarding it as a fulfilment of his visions. His place with Harold was supplied by another; and Wala assigned him a monk named Witmar as a companion. The vessel in which the missionaries embarked was attacked by pirates, who plundered them of almost everything, including the presents designed by Louis for the Swedish king. But they were determined to persevere, and, after many hardships, made their way to the northern capital, Birka or Sigtuna, on the lake Mälär.^g The king, Biorn, received them graciously, and, with the consent of the national assembly, gave them permission to preach freely. Their ministrations were welcomed with delight by a number of Christian captives, who had

^d See Bosworth, note in Alfred's Works, ii. 47-8.

^e Rimb. 8; Münter, i. 261. Harold afterwards apostatised. Dahlmann, i. 44.

^f Schröckh, xxi. 320. Kruse, 'St. Anschar,' Anh. E., Altona, 1823.

^g Rimb. 10; Münter, i. 279. See Kruse, Anh. NN. *Birka* seems to mean a *landing-place*.

long been deprived of the offices of religion; and among their converts was Herigar, governor of the district, who built a church on his estate.^b After having laboured for a year and a half, Anskar and his companion returned with a letter from Biorn to Louis, who was greatly pleased with their success, and resolved to place the northern mission on a new footing, agreeably to his father's intentions. An archiepiscopal see was to be established at Hamburg, and Anskar was consecrated A.D. 831. for it at Ingelheim by Drogo of Metz, with the assistance of Ebbo and many other bishops.^c He then repaired to Rome, where Gregory IV. bestowed on him the pall, with a bull authorising him to labour for the conversion of the northern nations, in conjunction with Ebbo, whose commission from Paschal was still in force.^k Louis conferred on him the monastery of Turholt (Thouroult, between Bruges and Ypres), to serve at once as a source of maintenance and as a resting-place more secure than the northern archbishoprick.^m

Ebbo, although diverted from missionary work by his other (and in part far less creditable) occupations, had continued to take an interest in the conversion of the north, and appears at this time to have made a second expedition to the scene of his old labours.ⁿ But as neither he nor Anskar could give undivided attention to the Swedish mission, it was now agreed that this should be committed to a relation of Ebbo named Gauzbert, who was consecrated to the episcopate and assumed the name of Simon. To him Ebbo transferred the settlement at Welanao, with the intention that it should serve the same purposes for which Turholt had been given to Anskar.^o

Anskar entered with his usual zeal on the new sphere which had been assigned to him. He built at Hamburg a church, a monastery, and a college. According to the system which he had followed at Hadeby, he bought a number of boys with a view to educating them as Christians; some of them were sent to Turholt, while others remained with him.^p But after a time^q Hamburg

^b Rimb. 11.^c Rimb. 12.

^k The document, as given in Münter's Appendix, includes in Anskar's jurisdiction Iceland and Greenland—the latter country then undiscovered, the former known only to the Irish. But these interpolations, which have brought on it the (apparently undeserved) suspicion of forgery (see Dahlm. n. on Rimb. c. 13, ed. Pertz; Münter, i. 282; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 124; Rafn, *Antiquitates Americanæ*, 13),

do not appear in the '*Patrologia*,' cxviii. 1035, or in the renewal of the grant by Sergius II., A.D. 846 (*ib.* cxxix. 997).

^m Ludov. Praelatum, *Patrol.* cxviii. 1033; Rimb. 12.

ⁿ Schröckh, xxi. 324-5. ^o Rimb. 14.

^p *Ib.* 15; Münter, i. 290.

^q Dahlmann (n. on Rimb. c. 17) places this in 837; Gfrörer (*Karol.* i. 125-6), in 842; Schröckh (xxi. 325), Münter (i. 293), and Neander (v. 382), in 845.

was attacked by a great force of Northmen, under Eric, king of Jutland. The archbishop exerted himself in encouraging the inhabitants to hold out until relief should arrive; but the assailants were too strong to be long resisted; the city was sacked and burnt, and Anskar was obliged to flee. He had lost his church, his monastery, and his library, among the treasures of which was a magnificent bible,^r the gift of the emperor; some relics bestowed on the church by Ebbo were all that he was able to rescue. Yet, reduced as he was to necessity, he repeated Job's words of resignation—"The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!" Leutbert bishop of Bremen, who had before looked on the new archbishoprick with jealousy, refused to entertain him, and he was indebted for a refuge to the charity of a widow named Ikia, of Ramsloh, where he gradually collected some of his scattered followers.^s About the same time Gauzbert was expelled from Sweden by a popular rising, in which his nephew Notbert was killed.^t

To add to Anskar's distress, his monastery of Turholt, being within that portion of the empire which fell to Charles
A.D. 842. the Bald on the death of Louis, was bestowed by the new sovereign on a layman.^u His monks, finding no means of subsistence, were obliged to leave him;^x but he found a patron in Louis of Germany, who founded a monastic establishment for him at Ramsloh, and resolved to bestow on him the bishoprick of Bremen, which fell vacant by the death of Leutbert.^y Anskar was himself unwilling to take any active part in the matter, lest he should be exposed to charges of rapacity,^z and some canonical objections arose; but these were overcome with the consent of the bishops who were interested. The union of the dioceses was sanctioned by the council of Mentz (the same at which Gottschalk was condemned) in 848; and, sixteen years after it had virtually taken effect, it was confirmed by Nicolas I., who renewed
A.D. 864. the gift of the pall to Anskar, and appointed him legate for the evangelisation of the Swedes, the Danes, the Slavons, and other nations of the north.^a

* "Bibliotheca." For this sense of the word, see Ducange.

^r Rimb. 16; Münter, i. 299.

^s Rimb. 17.

^t Dahlmann, note on Rimb.

^u Rimb. 21.

^y Dahlmann (on Rimb. 22) places this in 847; Gfrörer (Karol. i. 149) in 845-6; Mabillon (vi. 95) in 849.

^z Rimb. 22.

^a Nic. Ep. 62 (Patrol. cxix.); Rimb. 23. This was the first commission in which absolute obedience to papal decrees was required (col. 879; Hardwick, 152). Mansi (in Baron. xiv. 480) and Jaffé (245) date it in 864; Münter (i. 303) and others, in 858.

In the mean time Anskar had been actively employed. Repeated political missions from Louis of Germany had made him known to the Danish king Horic or Eric, who had long been one of the most formidable chiefs of the northern devastators, and had led the force which burnt and plundered Hamburg. Anskar gained a powerful influence over the king, who, although it does A.D. 848-853. not appear that he was himself baptised, granted the missionaries leave to preach throughout his dominions, and to build a church at Sleswick.^b The work of conversion went on rapidly. Danish traders who had received baptism at Hamburg or Dorstadt now openly professed Christianity, and Christian merchants from other countries ventured more freely into Denmark, so that Eric found the wealth of his kingdom increased by the toleration which he had granted. Many of the converts, however, put off their baptism until they felt the approach of death; while it is said that some heathens, after their life had been despaired of, and after they had invoked their own gods in vain, on entreating the aid of Christ were restored to perfect health.^c

After the withdrawal of Gauzbert, Sweden remained for seven years without any Christian teacher, until Anskar sent into the country a priest and hermit named Ardgar, who preached with great effect—his efforts, it is said, being powerfully seconded by judgments which befell all who had been concerned in the expulsion of Gauzbert.^d Herigar had throughout remained faithful, notwithstanding all that he had to endure from his unbelieving countrymen; and on his deathbed he was comforted by the ministrations of Ardgar.^e But Ardgar longed to return to his hermitage, and after a time relinquished the mission.^f Gauzbert, now bishop of Osnaburg, whom Anskar requested to resume his labours in Sweden, declined, on the ground that another preacher would be more likely to make a favourable impression on the people, than one whom they had already ejected from their country. Anskar himself, therefore, resolved to undertake the work—being encouraged by a vision in which his old superior Adelhard appeared to him.^g He was accompanied by envoys from Eric to king Olof, of Sweden, and bore a letter of warm recommendation from the Danish king. But on landing in Sweden he found the state of things very unpromising. A short time before this a Swede had arisen in the national assembly, declaring that he was charged with a communication from the gods, who

^b Rimb. 24; Schröckh, xxi. 328-333.^c Ib. 19.^f Ib. 20.^e Rimb. 24.^d Ib. 17, 19.^g Ib. 25.

continuance of prosperity, they must revive with increased zeal the ancient worship, and must exclude all other religions. "If," the celestial message graciously concluded, "you are not content with us, and wish to have more gods, we all agree to admit your late king Eric into our number." A great effect had followed on this: a temple had been built to Eric, and was crowded with worshippers; and such was the excitement of the people that Anskar's friends advised him to desist from his enterprise, as it could not but be fruitless and might probably cost him his life. He was, however, resolved to persevere. He invited the king to dine with him, and, having propitiated him by gifts, requested permission to preach. Olof replied that, as some former preachers of Christianity had been forcibly driven out of the country, he could not give the required licence without consulting the gods and obtaining the sanction of the popular assembly; "for," says Anskar's biographer, "in that nation public affairs are determined less by the king's power than by the general consent of the people."^h A lot was cast in an open field, and was favourable to the admission of the Christian teachers. The assembly was swayed by the speech of an aged member, who said that the power of the Christians' God had often been experienced, especially in dangers at sea; that many of his countrymen had formerly been baptised at Dorstadt; why then, he asked, should they refuse, now that it was brought to their own doors, that which they had before sought from a distance?ⁱ The assembly of another district also decided for the admission of Christianity; and the feeling in favour of the new religion was strengthened by miracles performed on an expedition which Olof undertook to Courland. Converts flocked in, churches were built, and Anskar found himself at liberty to return to Denmark, leaving Gumbert, a nephew of Gauzbert, at the head of the Swedish mission.^k

During the archbishop's absence, Eric had fallen in a bloody battle with a pagan faction, which had used his encouragement of Christianity as a pretext for attacking him. The most powerful of Anskar's other friends had shared the fate of their king; the greater part of Denmark was now in the hands of the enemy; and Eric II., who had succeeded to a part of his father's territory, was under the influence of Hovi, earl of Jutland, who persuaded him that all the late misfortunes were due to the abandonment of the

^h Rimb. 26. Cf. Ad. Brem. Descr. Insul. Aquil. c. 22, ap. Pertz, vii.

ⁱ Rimb. 27.
^k Ib. 28, 30.

old national religion. The church at Sleswick was shut up, its priest was expelled, and the Christians were cruelly persecuted.^m Anskar could only betake himself to prayer for a change from this unhappy state of things, when he unexpectedly received a letter from the young king, professing as warm an interest in the Gospel as that which his father had felt, and inviting the missionaries to resume their labours. Hovi had fallen into disgrace, and was banished. The progress of Christianity was now more rapid than ever. The church at Sleswick was for the first time allowed to have a bell; another church was founded at Ripe, the second city of Denmark, on the coast opposite to Britain, and Rimbart, a native of the neighbourhood of Turholt, who had grown up under Anskar's tuition, was appointed its pastor.ⁿ

Anskar's labours were continued until the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his episcopate. Although the progress of the Swedish mission was retarded by the death or the withdrawal of some who were employed in it, he was able to provide for its continuance, chiefly by means of clergy of Danish birth, whom he had trained up in the seminary at Ramsloh.^o Amidst his trials and disappointments he frequently consoled himself by remembering the assurance which Ebbo, when bishop of Hildesheim, had expressed to him, that God would not fail in His own time to crown the work with success.^p The biographer Rimbart dwells with delight on his master's strict adherence to the monastic customs, which he maintained to the last; on his mortifications, which he carried to an extreme in youth, until he became aware that such excesses were a temptation to vainglory, and how, when no longer able to bear them, he endeavoured to supply the defect by alms and prayers; on his frequent and fervent devotion; on his charitable labours, his building of hospitals, redemption of captives, and other works of mercy.^q Among the results of his exertions, it deserves to be remembered that in 856 he persuaded the leading men of Nordalbingia to give up the trade which they had carried on in slaves.^r In addition to works of a devotional kind, he wrote a Life of Willehad, the first bishop of Bremen,^s and a journal of his own missions, which is known to have been sent to Rome in the thirteenth century, and, although often sought for in vain, may possibly still exist there.^t He is said to have performed some miraculous cures, but to have shunned the publication of them,

^m Rimb. 31; Münter, i. 310-1.

ⁿ Rimb. 32; Münter, i. 313-4.

^o Rimb. 33.

^p Ib. 34.

^q C. 35.

^r Münter, i. 315.

^s Printed in Pertz, ii., and Patrol.

cxviii.

^t Münter, i. 319.

except among his most intimate friends ; and when they were once spoken of in his hearing, he exclaimed, " If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask Him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man ! " ^a

In his last illness Anskar was greatly distressed by the apprehension that his sins had frustrated the promise which had been made to him of the martyr's crown. Rimbert endeavoured to comfort him by saying that violent death is not the only kind of martyrdom ; by reminding him of his long and severe labours for the Gospel, and of the patience with which he had endured much sickness—especially the protracted sufferings of his deathbed. At length, as he was at mass, the archbishop, although fully awake, had a vision in which he was reproved for having doubted, and was assured that all that had been promised should be fulfilled. His death took place on the festival of the Purification, in the year 865. ^x

When asked to name a successor, Anskar declined to do so, on the ground that he was unwilling by preferring one before others to add to the offence which he might probably have given to many during his lifetime. But on being questioned as to his opinion of Rimbert, he answered—" I am assured that he is more worthy to be an archbishop than I to be a subdeacon. " ^y To Rimbert, therefore, the see of Hamburg was committed on Anskar's death ; and for nearly a quarter of a century he carried on the work in the spirit of his master, for the knowledge of whose life we are chiefly indebted to his reverential and affectionate biography. Rimbert died in 888. ^z

^a Vita, 39.

^x Ib. 40-1.

^y Vita S. Rimberti, c. 10, ap. Pertz, ii.

^z Münter, i. 341.

HISTORY
OF
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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A HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEPOSITION
OF POPE GREGORY VI., A.D. 814-1046—*continued*.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE DEATH OF
POPE SYLVESTER II.

A.D. 887-1003.

WE now for the first time meet with a long period—including the whole of the tenth century—undisturbed by theological controversy. But we must not on this account suppose that it was an era of prosperity or happiness for the church. Never, perhaps, was there a time of greater misery for most of the European nations ; never was there one so sad and so discreditable for religion. The immediate necessities which pressed on men diverted their minds from study and speculation. The clergy in general sank into the grossest ignorance and disorder ;^a the papacy was disgraced by infamies of which there had been no example in former days.

Soon after the beginning of this period the Byzantine church was agitated by a question which also tended to increase its differences with Rome. Leo the Philosopher, the pupil of Photius, after having had three wives who had left him without offspring, married Zoe, with whom he had for some time cohabited.^b According to the Greek historians, the union was celebrated by one of the imperial chaplains before the birth of a child ; and, when Leo had

^a Hist. Litt. vi. 2 ; Giesel. II. i. 264.

^b Cedren. 600.

become father of an heir, he raised Zoe to the rank of empress.

The marriage would, in any circumstances, have been
A.D. 905. scandalous, for even second marriages had been discountenanced by the church, and a fourth marriage was hitherto unknown in the east. The patriarch Nicolas, therefore, deposed the priest who had blessed the nuptials; he refused to admit the imperial pair into the church, so that they were obliged to perform their devotions elsewhere; and he refused to administer the Eucharist to Leo, who thereupon banished him to the island of Hiereia.^c The account given by the patriarch himself is somewhat different—that the son of Leo and Zoe was born before their marriage; that he consented to baptise the child only on condition of a separation between the parents; that Leo swore to comply, but within three days^d after introduced Zoe into the palace with great pomp, went through the ceremony of marriage without the intervention of any priest, and followed it up by the coronation of his wife. Nicolas adds that he entreated the emperor to consent to a separation until the other chief sees should be consulted, but that some legates from Rome, who soon after arrived at Constantinople, countenanced the marriage, and that thus Leo was emboldened to deprive and to banish him.^d Euthymius, an ecclesiastic of high character, who was raised to the patriarchate, restored the emperor to communion, but resisted his wish to obtain a general sanction of fourth marriages,^e although it

was supported by many persons of consideration.^e On
A.D. 911. the death of Leo, his brother Alexander, who succeeded together with the young son of Zoe, Constantine Porphyrogenitus,^f not only restored Nicolas, but gave him an important share in the government, while Euthymius on his deposition was treated with barbarous outrage by the clergy of the opposite party, and soon after died.^g Alexander himself died within a year, when Zoe became powerful in the regency, and urged her son to insist on the recognition of her marriage.^h But she was shut up in a convent

^c See the Continuation of Theophanes, pp. 370-1, ed. Bonn; Sym. Magist. de Leone, 18; Cedrenus, 600-2, and the other writers quoted by Baronius, 901. 2, seqq., and by Pagi in his notes.

^d Nic. Ep. ad Anastas. Roman. A.D. 912, ap. Baron. 912. 6. Mr. Finlay follows this account, ii. 312.

^e Ἐαλογίμων. Cedren. 602. Symeon Magister's word is λογικωτέρων, which

is rendered *eruditissimi* (c. 19). He says that the lawfulness of "tetragamy" was believed to have been revealed to Euthymius. *ib.*

^f This epithet seems inconsistent with the statement that the prince was born before the marriage.

^g Theoph. Contin. 378; Cedren. 607.

^h Cedren. 611.

by Romanus Lecapenus, who assumed the government as the colleague of Constantine, and in 920 the rival parties in the church were reconciled. An edict was published by which, for the future, third marriages were allowed on certain conditions, but such unions as that of which the emperor himself was the offspring were prohibited on pain of excommunication.¹ At Rome, however, fourth marriages were allowed,² and on this account an additional coolness arose between the churches, so that for a time the names of the popes appear to have been omitted from the diptychs of Constantinople.³

The Greek church continued to rest on the doctrines and practices established by the councils of former times. The worship of images was undisturbed. The empire underwent frequent revolutions, marked by the perfidy, the cruelty, the ambition regardless of the ties of nature, with which its history has already made us too familiar ;⁴ but the only events which need be here mentioned are the victories gained over the Saracens by Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 963—969) and by his murderer and successor John Tzimisce (A.D. 969—976). By these princes Crete and Cyprus were recovered, and the arms of the Greeks were carried even as far as Bagdad. And, although their more distant triumphs had no lasting effect, the empire retained some recompence for its long and bloody warfare in the possession of Antioch, with Tarsus, Mopsuestia, and other cities in Cilicia.⁵

In the west, the age was full of complicated movements, which it is for the most part difficult to trace, and impossible to remember. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the only representatives of the Carolingian line were illegitimate—Arnulf, a son of the Bavarian Carloman, and Charles, styled the Simple, the offspring of Louis the Stammerer by a marriage to which the church refused its sanction. Arnulf assumed the government of Germany, which he held from 887 to 899. He ruled with vigour, carried on successful wars with the Obotrites and other Slavonic nations of the north, and broke the terror of the Northmen by a great overthrow on the Dyle, near Louvain, in 891.⁶ He also weakened

¹ Theoph. Contin. 397; Cedren. 607; Pagi, xv. 602; Schröckh, xxi. 436; Gibbon, iv. 428-9.

² A Roman penitential of the ninth century prescribes a fast of three weeks for third marriage, and of twenty-one for fourth or fifth marriage. Patrol. cv.

725.

³ Schröckh, xxii. 209.

⁴ G. Hamart. Contin. 861, 865. See Gibbon, c. 48.

⁵ Gibbon, iv. 224-8.

⁶ Schmidt, i. 525-533; Luden, vi. 239.

the power of the Moravians; but in order to this he called in the aid of the Hungarians or Magyars, and opened a way into Germany to these formidable barbarians.^a No such savage enemy of Christendom had yet appeared.^r They were a people of Asiatic origin, whose language, of the same stock with the Finnish,^s bore no likeness to that of any civilised or Christian nation. The writers of the time, partly borrowing from the old descriptions of Attila's Huns,^t with whom the Magyars were fancifully connected, speak of them as monstrous and hardly human in form, as living after the manner of beasts, as eating the flesh and drinking the blood of men, the heart being particularly esteemed as a delicacy. Light in figure and accoutrements, and mounted on small, active horses, they defied the pursuit of the Frankish cavalry, while even in retreat their showers of arrows were terrible.^u They had already established themselves in the territory on the Danube which for some centuries had been occupied by the Avars. They had threatened Constantinople, and had laid both the eastern empire and the Bulgarians under contribution.^x They now passed into Germany in seemingly inexhaustible multitudes, overran Thuringia and Franconia, and advanced as far as the Rhine. Almost at the same moment the northern city of Bremen^y was sacked by one division of their forces, and the Swiss monastery of St. Gall^z by another. A swarm of them laid Provence desolate, and penetrated to the Spanish frontier, although a sickness which broke out among them enabled Raymond, marquis of Gothia, to repel them.^a Crossing the Alps, they rushed down on Italy. Pavia, the Lombard capital, and then the second city of the peninsula, was given to the flames, with its forty-four churches, while the Magyars glutted their cruelty and love of plunder on the persons and on the property of the inhabitants.^b The invaders made their way even to the extremity of Calabria, while the

^a Liutprand, 'Antapodosis,' i. 13, ap. Pertz, iii.; Schmidt, i. 526; Am. Thierry, 'Hist. d'Attila,' ii. 218-221. Luden disbelieves this (vi. 248); but see Palacky, i. 148.

^r Luden, vi. 298-9; Milman, ii. 369.

^s Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 296. This seems, however, to be disputed. See Mrs. Busk, i. 395-6.

^t See Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 2; Jornandes, c. 24. (Patrol. lxi.)

^u Regino, A.D. 889 (Pertz i., or Patrol. cxxxii.). See Gibbon, v. 294-8; Schmidt, i. 526; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 25; Lu-

den, vi. 295; Mailáth, i. 15. There is a curious letter about the Hungarians in D'Achery, Spicil. iii. 368-370.

^x Gibbon, v. 301.

^y Adam. Brem. i. 54.

^z Annal. Wirzburg. A.D. 938 (Pertz, ii.). Cf. Ekkehard jun. ib. 105, seqq.

^a Liutprand, Antapod. ii. 15; Chron. Augiense, ap. Baluz. Miscell. i. 499-500; Gibbon, v. 298-9; Sismondi, iii. 367; Mailáth, i. 9, and Append. 2-4.

^b Flodoard. Annal. 924 ap. Pertz. iii.; Mailáth, i. 13.

Italians, regarding them as a scourge of God, submitted without any other attempt at defence than the prayers with which their churches resounded for deliverance "from the arrows of the Hungarians."^c

The Saracens also continued to afflict Italy. A force of them from Africa established itself on the Garigliano (the ancient Liris), and from its fortified camp continually menaced Rome.^d In another quarter, a vessel with about twenty Saracens from Spain was carried out of its course by winds, and compelled to put to land near Fraxinetum.^e They fortified themselves against the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and, after having subsisted for a time on plunder, they invited others from Spain to join them, so that the handful of shipwrecked strangers was gradually recruited until it became a formidable band. They carried on their ravages far and wide, seized on pilgrims, stripped them of all that they had, and compelled those who were able to raise large sums by way of ransom.^f Some of them even crossed the Mount of Jupiter (now the Great St. Bernard) and established another settlement at St. Maurice.^g But the garrison of Fraxinetum was at length surrounded and exterminated by William duke of Aquitaine.^h

After the death of Arnulf, the Germans were broken up into five principal nations—the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, the Bavarians, and the Lotharingians of the debatable land between France and Germany, which was sometimes attached to the one country and sometimes to the other—being either transferred by its inhabitants, or annexed by force or by intrigue. These nations were generally under the government of dukes;ⁱ the fear of the

^c *Annal. Fuld.* A.D. 897, 900, &c. (*Pertz.* i.); *Gibbon*, v. 300-1; *Mailáth*, i. 17.

^d *Liutprand*, ii. 44; *Sismondi*, *Rép.* Ital. i. 243.

^e This place is generally identified with Frainet, near Fréjus (*Chron. Novaliciense*, ap. *Pertz*, vii. 108; *Pagi*, xv. 608; *Bouquet*; *Pertz*, iii. 275). But some writers think that it was in the peninsula of S. Ospizio, near Nice. See *Gallenga's Hist. of Piedmont*, Lond. 1855, i. 149. *Spruner*, in his second map of Italy, gives the name in both places, but distinguishes that near Nice as "Fraxinetum Saracenorum."

^f See the account of their taking Majolus, abbot of Cluny. *Radulph. Glaber*, i. i. A.D. 972, ap. *Bouquet*, x.; *Vita S. Majoli*, ap. *Mabill.* vii. 778.

^g *Liutprand*, i. 2-4; ii. 43; v. 9, seqq.; *Pagi*, xv. 608; *Sismondi*, *Hist. des Fr.* iii. 415. The chronicle of Vézelay, written by Hugh of Poitiers in the latter half of the twelfth century, states that the monastery founded by Count Gerard, in the reign of Charles the Bald, was removed by him to the hill of Vézelay, in consequence of the "infestations of Saracens" (*Patrol.* xciv. 1592). But is there any evidence of their having penetrated so far into France? Or is not the word "Saracen" here, as in many other places, used in the general sense of *heathens*, to denote the Northmen?

^h *Rad. Glaber*, i. i. A.D. 972; *Pagi*, xvi. 216.

ⁱ *Schmidt*, i. 524; ii. 8-11.

Magyars and of the Slaves was the bond which united them in one common interest. Otho of Saxony was regarded as their leader; and on his death, in 912, they chose Conrad of Franconia as king of Germany. Conrad found Henry, the son of Otho and duke of Saxony, his chief opponent; but on his deathbed, in 919, a desire to prevent discord among the Germans prevailed over all other feelings, and he desired his brother Eberhard, who himself might fairly have claimed the succession, to carry to Henry the ensigns of royalty—the holy lance, the crown and mantle, the golden bracelets and the sword.^k In compliance with Conrad's wish, Henry "the Fowler" (so styled from the occupation in which he is said to have been engaged when the announcement of his intended dignity reached him)^m was elected king by the Franconians and Saxons, and the other nations accepted the choice. Henry reigned from 920 to 936, with a reputation seldom equalled for bravery, prudence, moderation, justice, and fidelity.ⁿ He recovered Lotharingia for Germany, triumphed over the northern Slaves and the Bohemians, took from the Northmen the country between the Eider and the Schley, and erected the marquisate of Sleswick as a bulwark for the security of Germany on that side.^o But still more important were his wars with the Hungarians. On an expedition, which was marked by their usual barbarous ravages, one of their most important chiefs—perhaps, as has been conjectured, the king himself—fell into the hands of Henry, who refused to release him except on

condition of peace, for which it was agreed that the Germans should pay gifts by way of annual acknowledgment.^p The peace was to last for nine years. Henry employed the time in preparations for war, and, on its expiration, returned a

scornful defiance to an embassy of the Magyars. He twice

defeated the barbarians;^q and in 955 their power was finally broken by his son Otho the First in the great battle of the Lechfeld, near Augsburg.^r By this defeat the Hungarians lost that part of their territory which may be identified with the modern province of Austria, and were reduced to the limits of Pannonia.^s

On the deposition of Charles the Fat, Odo or Eudes, count of

^k Widukind, i. 25, ap. Pertz, iii.; Ekkehard, A.D. 918, ap. Bouquet, ix. 4; Luden, vi. 342.

^m Annal. Palidenses, ap. Pertz, xvi. 61; Godefr. Viterb., Pantheon, 17 (Patrol. cxcviii. 956).

ⁿ Schmidt, ii. 25; Luden, vi. 365, 394.

^o Schmidt, ii. 23; Luden, vi. 358, 359, seqq.

^p Widukind, i. 30, ap. Pertz, iii.; Luden, vi. 360, 617; Mailáth, i. 17.

^q Annal. Palid. ap. Pertz, xvi. 61; Luden, vi. 387.

^r Widuk. iii. 44-9; Luden, vii. 56.

^s Gibbon, v. 302-3.

Paris, and son of Robert the Strong,¹ assumed the royal title in France, and held it for ten years, during which he kept up a continual and sometimes successful struggle against the Northmen.² At his death, in 898, Charles the Simple, who had in vain attempted to assert his title against Odo, became his successor; and the illegitimate continuation of the Carolingian line lasted (although not without interruption) until 987, when, on the death of Louis V., Hugh Capet, duke of France, a great-nephew of Odo, was elected by an assembly at Senlis, hailed as king by the army at Noyon, and anointed by Adalbero, archbishop of Rheims, whose possession of that city gave him the chief influence in disposing of the crown.³ But the royalty of France was little more than nominal. The power of Odo at first reached only from the Meuse to the Loire;⁴ the later Carolingians possessed little more than the rock of Laon, while the real sovereignty of the country was in the hands of the great feudatories, whose power had now become hereditary.⁵ At the end of the ninth century France was divided into twenty-nine distinct principalities; at the accession of Hugh Capet, the number, exclusive of the independent kingdom of Arles, had increased to fifty-five, and some of these were larger than his own dominions.⁶ Hugh, indeed, for the title of king, and for the hope that the royal power might in time become a reality, even sacrificed something of his former strength, by giving up the benefices which he had held to the clergy, and by bestowing fiefs on the nobles.⁷ Fortresses multiplied throughout the land; raised originally during the Norman invasions for the purposes of defence and security, they had become dangerous to the royal power and oppressive to the people.⁸ Charles the Bald, at the diet of Pistres, in 864, had forbidden the erection of such strongholds, and had ordered that those which existed should be demolished;⁹ but after the dismemberment of the kingdom there was no power which could enforce this law. The nobles everywhere raised their castles, and surrounded themselves with troops of soldiers; and the effects were soon visible both for evil and for good. The martial spirit, which had decayed from the time of Louis the Pious, revived; the dukes and counts, each with an

¹ See p. 295.² Palgrave, *Norm. and Eng.* i. 640, seqq.³ Flodoard, *Hist. Rem.* ii. 19, fin.; Sismondi, iii. 498; Hallam, *Suppl. Notes*, 35; Palgrave, ii. 871-5.⁴ Sismondi, iii. 294.⁵ Hallam, *M. A.* i. 15, 19-21. Seevol. ii. of Sir F. Palgrave's '*Normandy and England.*'⁶ See a list in Guizot, ii. 282; Sismondi, iv. 43.⁷ Martin, iii. 31.⁸ Guizot, iii. 80.⁹ Pertz, *Leges*, i. 499.

army of his own, encountered the Northmen in fight, or turned against each other in private war the strength which they had gained by the degradation of the crown: And both in France and in Italy the lords of castles betook themselves to plunder as an occupation which involved nothing discreditable or unworthy of their position.^a

Notwithstanding the victories of Odo and of Arnulf, the Northmen for a time continued to infest France in all quarters—penetrating even to the very heart of the country.^f In 911 Charles the Simple, by the treaty of St. Clair on the Epte, ceded to them the territory between that river and the sea, together with Brittany, and bestowed his daughter Gisella on their leader, Rollo, on condition of his doing homage and embracing the Christian faith.^g In the following year Rollo was baptised at Rouen, by the name of Robert,^h when, on each of the seven days during which he wore the baptismal garment, he bestowed lands on some church or monastery, as a compensation for the evils which they had suffered at the hands of his countrymen.ⁱ Ignominious as the cession to the Northmen may appear, it had a precedent in that which the great Alfred had made after victory. The French king lost nothing by it, since the part of Neustria which was given up was actually in possession of the invaders; while, by professing to include Brittany in the gift, he may have hoped to turn the arms of his new liegemen against a population which had already established itself in independence.^k And in the result, the admission of the Northmen was speedily justified. They settled down in their new possessions; they laid aside their barbarous manners, and, under the teaching provided by the care of Hervé, archbishop of Rheims^m (who, at the request of the archbishop of Rouen, drew up regulations for the treatment of them), their paganism was soon extirpated. They married wives of the country; in two generations the Norse tongue had disappeared, and it was among the offspring of the Scandinavian pirates that French for the

^a Schmidt, ii. 2; Sismondi, iii. 282-5, 373-4, 399.

^f Palgrave, i. 649, 650.

^g Dudo, i. iii. (Patrol. cxli. 648); Guil. Gemet. ii. 17 (ib. cxlix.). The Norman dominions were afterwards extended. Lappenb. ii. 15; Palgrave, ii.

^h It has been suspected that this was not his first baptism. See Palgrave, i. 664.

ⁱ Dudo, pp. 651-2; Guil. Gemet. ii. 18. It would seem that these donations were but imperfectly carried into effect. Palgrave, ii. 264.

^k Bouquet, ix. 87; Hallam, M. A. i. 19, and Suppl. Notes, 44; Sismondi, iii. 328; Depping, ii. 108-115.

^m Richer, ii. 32, ap. Pertz, iii.; Floard, iv. 14; Joh. ix. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxxxi.).

first time took the rank of a cultivated and polished language.⁸ The country, which had long been desolated by their ravages, recovered its fertility; churches and monasteries rose again out of ruins; strangers of ability and skill in all kinds of arts were encouraged to settle in Normandy; and in no long time it became the most advanced province of France as to orderly government, industry, and literature.⁹

Italy suffered severely during this period, not only from the attacks of the Hungarians and of the Saracens, but from the contests of its own princes. On the deposition of Charles the Fat, the Italians were unwilling to acknowledge a foreign ruler. Guy duke of Spoleto, and Berengar duke of Friuli, both connected through females with the Carolingian family, contended for the kingdom of Italy and for the imperial crown, which was conferred on each of them by popes.⁹ Arnulf of Germany (A.D. 896) and other princes were also crowned at Rome as emperors; but the first revival of the empire as a reality was in the person of the German Otho the Great (A.D. 961), from whom the dignity was transmitted to his son and to his grandson of the same name. The Italian and German kingdoms were united in the Othos, and this subjection of Italy to a distant sovereign produced an effect important for its later history. The inhabitants of the towns, who had already been obliged to fortify themselves with walls and to organise a militia for defence against the Saracen and Hungarian invaders, now found that they were thrown still more on their own resources. Each city, consequently, isolated itself, contracted its interests within its own immediate sphere, and established a magistracy on the ancient model—the germ of the mediæval Italian republics.⁹

The clergy and monks shared largely in the calamities of the age. In all the kingdoms which had belonged to the Carolingian monarchy, it was usual for princes to take for themselves, or to assign to their favourites, the temporalities of religious houses. Queens and other ladies enjoyed the revenues of the greater monasteries, without being supposed to contract any obligation to

⁸ Sismondi, iii. 333, 334; Heeren, 'Einfluss der Normannen auf französ. Litteratur' (Histor. Werke, ii. 368-9); Thierry, *Conq. d'Angleterre*, i. 179.

⁹ Sismondi, iii. 336; Turner's 'Middle Ages,' i. 71-2; Palgrave, i. 705-7.

⁹ Schmidt, i. 523-9; Palgrave, i. 629.

⁹ Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 26, 36, 67-9 —who, however, has antedated the full effect of this. See Hallam, *M. A.* i. 228; and Savigny, i. 412, seqq., who supposes the Roman form of government to have been preserved from ancient times.

duty on that account.^r In many instances the impropriation of benefices passed as an inheritance in noble families. Great lords seized on bishopricks, gave them to their relatives, or even disposed of them to the highest bidder. In 990 a count of Toulouse sold the see of Cahors, and about the same time a viscount of Béziers bequeathed the bishopricks of that city and of Agde as portions to his daughters.^s Sometimes mere children were appointed to sees. Thus, in 925, on the death of Seulf of Rheims, Herbert count of Vermandois, who was even suspected of having shortened the archbishop's days by poison,^t seized the temporalities for himself, and compelled the clergy and people to elect his son Hugh, a child not yet five years old. The election was confirmed by king Rodolph, and by pope John X., and the boy prelate was committed to Guy, bishop of Auxerre, for education, while a bishop was appointed to administer the see.^u In 932, on a political change, which threw the possession of Rheims into the hands of another party, a monk named Artald was nominated as archbishop, received consecration, and was invested with the pall by John XI.; but Hugh, on attaining manhood, asserted his title, gained possession of Rheims by means of his father's troops, and was consecrated to the archbishoprick.^x The contest was carried on for many years; for Artald, as well as Hugh, was a man of family, was supported by stout retainers, and was backed by political power. At one time Artald would seem to have given up his pretensions on condition that he should be provided for by the immediate gift of an abbey, and by the promise of another see; but he was afterwards reinstated by Louis d'Outremer, and the question as to the archbishoprick of Rheims was discussed by councils at Verdun and at Mousson, at Ingelheim, Laon, and Treves. Hugh disregarded all citations to appear; but at Mousson and at Ingelheim, where two legates of Agapetus II. were present, a rescript bearing the pope's name was produced in his behalf. The councils, however, set aside this document, as being a mere peremptory mandate for the restoration of Hugh, obtained by false representations, and unsupported by argument or canonical authority. Artald exhibited a papal

^r Ducange, s. v. *Abbas*, p. 11; Sismondi, iii. 444. In an earlier time, Remigius, a brother of king Pipin, gave the monastery of Beze, near Dijon, to an Englishwoman, the wife of one Theodard, "quia ejus stupro potitus fuerat." Chron. Besuense, Patrol. clxii. 871.

^s Sismondi, iv. 89.

^t Artald ap. Flodoard, iv. 35. "Seulfus episcopus, ut plures asserunt, ab Heriberti familiaribus veneno potatus defungitur." Cf. Flod. iv. 19.

^u Flod. iv. 20; Richer, i. 55 (Pertz, iii.).

^x Flod. iv. 24, 27-8; Richer, ii. 23-5.

letter of opposite tenor; and the council sentenced his rival to excommunication until he should repent.⁷ Artald held possession of the see until his death, in 961, and Hugh, who hoped then to enter on it without opposition, found himself defeated by the influence of Bruno archbishop of Cologne, brother of Otho the Great, and of Gerberga, queen dowager of France, through whom Bruno virtually exercised the regency of the kingdom. It is said that Hugh died of anxiety and vexation.⁸

But the condition of the papacy is the most remarkable feature in the history of this time. From the beginning to the end of the period, it is the subject of violent contests between rival factions. Formosus, bishop of Portus, who had been employed by Nicolas as legate in Bulgaria, was charged by John VIII. with having used his position to bind the king of that country to himself, instead of to the Roman see; with having attempted to obtain the popedom, and having entered into a conspiracy against both the pope and Charles the Bald.^a For these offences he was excommunicated by a synod at Rome, and by that which was held under John, at Troyes,^b and was compelled to swear that he would never return to Rome, or aspire to any other than lay communion. The next pope, Marinus, released him both from the excommunication and from his oath;^c and Formosus was raised in 891 to the papacy, which he held for five years. His successor, Boniface VI., after a pontificate of fifteen days, made way for Stephen VI.,^d who, in the contentions of the rival pretenders to the empire, had taken an opposite side to Formosus; and it would seem that this political enmity was the motive of the extraordinary outrages which followed. By Stephen's command, the body of Formosus was dragged from the grave, was arrayed in robes, placed in the papal chair, and brought to trial on a charge

⁷ Flod. Hist. iv. 34-7; Annal. 948, seqq.; Conc. Ingilheim. A.D. 948, ap. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 21; Richer, ii. 66-82. Sir F. Palgrave, who gives a full account of the contest, speaks of the rescript in Hugh's favour as a manifest forgery, and as so regarded by the council of Ingelheim (ii. 594). But Flodoard (iv. 34-5) and Richer (ii. 69, 78-80) do not appear to warrant any stronger statement than that given in the text. The legates did not deny the genuineness of the document; and Hugh's representative was deposed from the diaconate, not as having forged the papal letter, but as having slandered certain bishops whose names he had used in his appli-

cation to the pope.

^a Flod. Ann. 792; Richer, ii. 14-7.

^b Joh. Ep. 111, ap. Hard. vi. See Pagi, xv. 291. Gfrörer (Karol. ii. 323) says that Formosus was an antipope in the German interest.

^c Hard. vi. 193. See p. 351.

^d Baron. 883. 1.

^e Liutprand (Antap. i. 30) speaks of Boniface as having been driven out by Stephen, and is followed by Baronius (897. 1); but Flodoard says that he died in possession of the papacy (*De Christi Triumphis*, xii. 6; *Patrol.* cxxxv. 829), and the *Annals of Fulda* ascribe his death to gout (A.D. 895). See Murat. Ann. V. i. 295.

of having been uncanonically translated from a lesser see to Rome—a charge which, as there had already been a precedent for such translation in the case of Marinus, it was thought necessary to aggravate by the false addition that Formosus had submitted to a second consecration.* A deacon was assigned to the dead pope as advocate, but it was useless to attempt a defence. Formosus was condemned, the ordinations conferred by him were annulled, his corpse was stripped of the pontifical robes, the fingers used in benediction were cut off, and, after having been dragged about the city, the body was thrown into the Tiber.^f But the river, it is said, repeatedly cast it out, and, after the murder of Stephen, in 897, it was taken up and again laid in St. Peter's, where, as it was carried into the church, some statues of saints inclined towards it with reverence, in attestation of the sanctity of Formosus.^g A synod held in the following year under John IX.^h rescinded the condemnation of Formosus, and declared that his translation was justified by his merits, although it ought not to become a precedent. It stigmatised the proceedings of the council under Stephen, ordered the acts of it to be burnt, and excommunicated those who had violated the tomb.ⁱ

A rapid succession of popes now took place. Elections are followed within a few months or weeks or days by deaths which excite suspicion as to the cause; in some cases violence or poison appears without disguise. With Sergius III. in 904, began the ascendancy of a party which had attempted to seat him in St. Peter's chair after the death of Theodore II. in 897-8,^k but was

* *Auxilium de ordinationibus Formosi*, 26 (Patrol. cxxix.). *Auxilium* argues that even if Formosus had submitted to a new imposition of hands, it would have been only analogous to the consecration of a bishop, inasmuch as the priesthood and the episcopate are one order, and a priest on being consecrated receives but the "*augmentum episcopalis ministerii*" (*al. mysterii*). Marinus had been bishop of Caere (Oldoin. in *Ciacon*. i. 668; *Mansi* in *Baron*. xv. 382), and Photius now objected to him on account of his translation. See *Stephan*. V. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxxix.); *Hefele*, iv. 469.

^f *Liutprand*. *Antap.* i. 30; *Hermann*. *Contract*. A.D. 896 (Patrol. cxliii.); *Baron*. 897. 2. *Liutprand* represents the outrages upon the dead body of Formosus as having taken place under Sergius III. It has been commonly

supposed that he mistook Sergius for Stephen (*Baron*. 897. 2); but Mr. Scudamore argues that Stephen had allowed the corpse to be re-interred, and that Sergius, with his party, again tore it from the grave, and cast it into the river. Thus *Liutprand's* error would be that of referring these acts to the papacy of Sergius, instead of to an earlier part of his life ('*England and Rome*,' 445-450, *Lond.* 1855). It would seem, however, that *Liutprand* supposed Sergius to have been the immediate successor of Boniface VI.

^g *Liutprand*, i. 31; *Jaffé*, 304.

^h See *Pagi*, xv. 493-529. It is commonly placed in 904.

ⁱ *Hard*, vi. 487, seqq. cc. 3, 4, 7, 9.

^k *Liutprand* says that his unsuccessful attempt was made in rivalry to Formosus (i. 29). But this is a mistake, arising

not then strong enough to establish him. Its head was Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, who was leagued with a noble and wealthy Roman widow named Theodora. Theodora had a daughter of the same name, and another named Mary or Marozia—both, like herself, beautiful, and thoroughly depraved.^m For upwards of fifty years these women held the disposal of the Roman see, which they filled with their paramours, their children, and their grandchildren.ⁿ Sergius, who held the papacy till 911, is described as a monster of rapacity, lust, and cruelty—as having lived in open concubinage with Marozia, and having abused the treasures of the church for the purpose of securing abettors and striking terror into enemies.^o The next pope, Anastasius III., died in 913, and when the papacy again became vacant in the following year, by the death of Lando, the power of the “Pornocracy” is said to have been scandalously displayed in the appointment of a successor. A young ecclesiastic of Ravenna, named John, when on a mission from his church to Rome, had attracted the notice of Theodora, had been invited to her embraces, and through her influence had been appointed to the bishoprick of Bologna. Before consecration he was advanced to the higher dignity of Ravenna, and, as she could not bear the separation from him, she now procured his

A.D. 914.

from the writer's idea that Sergius was (with the short interval of Boniface VI.) the next pope to Formosus. See Pagi, xv. 493, 535.

^m Liutpr. Antap. ii. 48.

ⁿ Baronius argues that, when the papacy was filled by a succession of “homines monstrosi, vita turpissimi, moribus perditissimi, usquequaque foedissimi,” its continuance—unlike other governments, in which vice is followed by ruin—must be a token of especial Divine favour (879. 4; 900. 1-6; 908. 7; 912. 9-11). Döllinger is content with saying that the papacy is not accountable for evils done while it was in bondage. i. 425.

^o Planck, iii. 254-6. The principal authority for the history of the papacy during this time is Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, whose writings are printed in the third volume of Pertz' Monumenta. His chief work has the title of *Antapodosis*, i. e. Requital—having been written, as he says (iii. 1), with a view of at once avenging himself on Berengar and Willa, and repaying credit to those who had benefited his family and himself. Liutprand's fidelity has been impugned, especially by Muratori, who charges

him with “giving credit to all the pasquinades and defamatory libels of the times” (Annal. V. ii. 16, 36, 43, &c.). Dean Milman hesitates (ii. 376), and Luden is unfavourable (vii. 484). But it seems to be generally thought that, with a strong disposition to satire, and notwithstanding some mistakes, he is in the main trustworthy (see Schröckh, xxi. 168; xxii. 238; Planck, iii. 256; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 96; Pertz, iii. 268; Gieseler, II. i. 212; Gfrörer, iii. 1352). Muratori (V. ii. 34) and Hefele (iv. 551) bring testimonies of a more honourable kind to the character of Sergius; but these, as Dean Milman remarks (l. c.), are not worth much. Mr. Scudamore (‘England and Rome,’ 435-475) has taken the trouble to dissect the Abbé Rohrbacher's defence of Sergius and other popes, and his charges against Liutprand. I shall not again advert to M. Rohrbacher, whose voluminous compilation—alike deficient in knowledge, judgment, veracity, and style—is only entitled to notice on account of the popularity which it seems to enjoy in the French church of the present day.

elevation to St. Peter's chair.^p Disgraceful as were the means by which his promotion had been earned, John X. showed himself an energetic, if not a saintly pope. He crowned Berengar as emperor—probably with a view of breaking the power of the nobles; he applied both to him and to the Greek emperor for aid against the Saracens; and, at the head of his own troops, with some furnished by Berengar, he marched against their camp on the Garigliano, and, by the aid of St. Peter and St. Paul (as it is said), obtained a victory which forced them to abandon that post of annoyance and terror to Rome.^q But his spirit was probably too independent for the party which he was expected to serve, and they resolved to get rid of him. In 928, some adherents of Guy, duke of Tuscany, the second husband of Marozia, surprised the pope in the castle of St. Angelo; his brother Peter, who was particularly obnoxious to the faction, was murdered before his eyes, and John himself was either starved or suffocated in prison.^r

John XI., who became pope in 931, is said by Liutprand^s to have been a son of Marozia by pope Sergius, while others suppose him to have been the legitimate offspring of her marriage with Alberic, marquis of Camerino.^t This pope was restricted to the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, while the government of Rome was swayed by Marozia's third husband, Hugh the Great, king of Arles, and afterwards by her son, the younger Alberic, who expelled his stepfather, and kept his mother and the pope A.D. 932?—prisoners in his palace.^u For twenty-two years Alberic, 954. with the title of Consul or Patrician, exercised a tyrannical power, while the papal chair was filled by a succession of his creatures whom he held in entire subjection.^x On the death of Agapetus II. in 956, the Tuscan party considered that it would not be safe to entrust the papacy to any one who might divide its interest; and Octavian, son of Alberic, a youth of eighteen, who

^p Liutpr. ii. 48. Sir F. Palgrave (ii. 87) and Mr. Scudamore (468) suppose the younger Theodora to be meant, but Liutprand's words seem rather to point to the mother. Against the story there is the difficulty raised by Muratori (Annali, V. i. 44), that John appears to have held the see of Ravenna for nine years. See Milman, ii. 377; Scudamore, 469. M. Duret, of Soleure, is said to have written in refutation of Liutprand's story, on the supposition that John was the nephew of Theodora. Hefele, iv. 553.

^q Liutpr. ii. 49-54 (who calls the Saracens *Parsi*); Pagi, xv. 573.

^r Liutpr. iii. 43.

^s ii. 48; iii. 43.

^t See Murat. Annali, V. ii. 103; Hefele, iv. 350; Milman, ii. 382. Flodoard names only the mother, Hist. Rem. iv. 24.

^u This is Flodoard's account (iv. 24). But Liutprand (iii. 45) represents Marozia as continuing to share in the power of her sons Alberic and John. See Schröckh, xxii. 248.

^x Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 98-9.

two years before had succeeded to his father's secular power, was advised to take the office for himself. Perhaps some such step had been contemplated by his father, as Octavian was already in ecclesiastical orders.⁷ As pope, he assumed the name of John XII.—this being the first instance of such a change; but his civil government was still carried on under his original name.⁸

The tyranny and aggressions of Berengar II. pressed heavily on the Italians; the pope and many other persons of importance, both ecclesiastics and laity, entreated Otho the Great to come to their deliverance. Otho was crowned with great pomp at Monza, as king of Italy, and proceeded onwards to Rome.^a On the way he took an oath to defend the territory of St. Peter, and to uphold all the privileges of the pope;^b and it has been said that he executed a charter, by which the donations of his predecessors to the Roman see were confirmed, with large additions, while the imperial right of ratifying the elections to the papacy was maintained.^c At Rome, Otho received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and he exacted from the chief inhabitants an oath that they would never join with Berengar or his son Adalbert.^d

But no sooner had the emperor left Rome than John—perhaps in disgust at finding that Otho was determined to assert for himself something very different from the merely titular dignity to which the pope had hoped to limit him^e—threw himself into the interest of Adalbert, who, on Otho's appearance in Italy, had sought a refuge among the Saracens of Fraxinetum. Otho, on hearing of this, sent to inquire into the truth of the matter; the answer was a report that the pope lived in the most shameful debauchery, so that female pilgrims were even afraid to visit

⁷ Flodoard, Annal. 954; Murat. Ann. V. ii. 185, 189; Luden, vii. 101. It is, however, possible, as Baronius (955. 4) suggests, that, when made a clerk, he had an elder brother living.

⁸ See Murat. Ann. V. ii. 189; Gfrörer, iii. 1237.

^a Liutprand, Hist. Ottonis, 1, seqq.; Luden, vii. 106-7. For the genuineness of the 'Historia Ottonis' (sometimes styled book vii. of the Antapodosis), which is questioned by Baronius (963. 3), see Schröckh, xxi. 169, 170.

^b Pertz, Leges, ii. 29. See Gfrörer, iii. 1242; Hefele, iv. 578.

^c This document is in Hardouin, vi. 623-6, and in Pertz, Leges, ii. Append.

Some have altogether set it aside (as Schröckh, xxii. 262-5). Pertz (p. 163) thinks that it is a genuine compact, but that the donation is interpolated, and that it is otherwise altered as to form. Gieseler (II. i. 213) takes a similar view, while he thinks that it is rather the source of the *Ego Ludovicus* (see above, p. 255), than copied from it, as Schröckh supposed. Comp. Cenni, in Patrol. xcviii. 587; Schmidt, ii. 166-7; Planck, iii. 280-1; Luden, vii. 111; Gfrörer, iii. 1244; Palgrave, ii. 674; Hefele, iv. 580.

^d Liutpr. Hist. Ott. 3.

^e Hefele, iv. 581.

Rome, lest they should become the victims of his passions; that he scandalously neglected his duties of every kind; and that he had attached himself to Adalbert because he knew that the emperor would not countenance him in his disgraceful courses.^f Otho remarked that the pope was but a boy, and would amend under the influence of good examples and advice; he attempted to negotiate with him,^g and John promised to change his way of life, but in the mean time received Adalbert with welcome into Rome.^h The emperor returned to the city, and at his approach the pope and Adalbert fled, carrying off all that they could lay their hands on.

The Romans bound themselves by an oath never to choose a pope without the emperor's consent, and prayed for an investigation into the conduct of John. For this purpose a council A.D. 963. of Italian, French, and German bishops was assembled at St. Peter's in the presence of Otho and many lay nobles.ⁱ The emperor expressed surprise that John did not appear to defend himself. The Roman clergy, who all attended the meeting, were for condemning him at once; evidence, they said, was needless in the case of iniquities which were notorious even to Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians—the pope was no wolf in sheep's clothing, but one who showed his character without disguise; but Otho insisted on inquiry. Bishops and clergymen of the Roman province then deposed that the accused had been guilty of offences which are heaped together without any discrimination of their comparative magnitude. He had consecrated the Eucharist without communicating; he had ordained in a stable, and at irregular times; he had sold episcopal ordination,—in one case to a boy of ten; his sacrilegious practices were notorious; he had been guilty of murder, of arson, of revolting cruelties,—of adultery, incest, and every kind of incontinence. He had cast off all the decencies of the ecclesiastical character; he had publicly hunted, and had dressed himself as a soldier, with sword, helmet, and cuirass; he had drunk wine “to the love of the devil;” he was in the habit, while gaming, of calling on Jupiter, Venus, and other demons for aid; he omitted the canonical hours, and never signed himself with the cross.^k Otho, who could not speak Latin, advised the accusers,

^f Liutpr. 4.^g Ib. 5-6.

christ; but, to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues” (v. 513). This is equal in its kind to anything in Baronius.

^h Ib. 7.ⁱ Ib. 9.^k Ib. 10. “The Protestants,” says Gibbon, “have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of Anti-

by the mouth of Liutprand, not to bring charges out of envy, as was usual against persons of eminent station; but both clergy and laity, "as one man," imprecated on themselves the most fearful judgments in this world and hereafter, if all, and worse than all, that they had said were not true; and at their entreaty the emperor wrote to John, desiring him to answer for himself. The pope only replied by threats of excommunication against all who should take part in the attempt to set up a rival against him.^m The emperor spoke of this as boyish folly, and sent a second letter, which the messengers were unable to deliver, as John was engaged in hunting. Otho thereupon exposed the treachery with which the pope had behaved, after having invited him into Italy for the purpose of aiding against Berengar and Adalbert.ⁿ John was deposed, and Leo, chief secretary of the see, a man of good character, but not yet in orders, was chosen in his room.^o

But a conspiracy was already formed against the Germans, by means of the deposed pontiff's agents. Even while Otho remained at Rome, with only a few of his soldiers to guard him, an insurrection took place,^p and, after the emperor's departure, John regained possession of the city. Another council was held, which deposed Leo from all clerical orders, annulled his A.D. 964. ordinations, and, borrowing the language of Nicolas I. against the synod of Metz,^q declared the late synod infamous; and the temporary triumph of the Tuscan party was signalled by a cruel vengeance on the hands, the eyes, the tongues, and the noses of their opponents.^r Otho was on the point of again returning to expel John, when the pope died in consequence of a blow which he received on the head while in the act of adultery—from the devil, according to Liutprand, while others are content to suppose that it was from the husband whom he had dishonoured.^s The Romans, forgetting their late oath, chose for his successor an ecclesiastic named Benedict; but the emperor reappeared before

^m Ib. 13. John wrote "*ut non habeatis licentiam nullum ordinare.*" The double negative does not escape criticism in the reply.

ⁿ Liutpr. 14.

^o Ib. 16. Baronius (963. 31-7) is violent against the council for its irregularity, and treats Leo as an antipope—"Nec numerata Leonum ita nominatorum pontificum series esse facit quod non est; sicuti nec canem aliquem leonis nomine insignitum vere esse leonem ipsa nominatio vel numeratio tantum

facta constituet" (38). He is followed, with greater moderation, by Pagi (in loc.) and others (see Murat. Ann. V. ii. 217; Schröckh, xxii. 273). Döllinger's remarks on the subject are curiously qualified. i. 428.

^p Liutpr. 16.

^q See p. 324; Hard. vi. 663.

^r Liutpr. 18, 19.

^s Ib. 9. See Schröckh, xxii. 273-5; Luden, vii. 529. Hefele (iv. 590) seems to think that John died of apoplexy.

the city, starved them into a surrender, and reinstated Leo VIII. A council was held, at which Benedict gave up his robes and his pastoral staff to Leo. The pope broke the staff in the sight of the assembly; the antipope was degraded from the orders above that of deacon, which, at the emperor's request, he was allowed to retain, and was banished to Hamburg. Benedict, who appears to have been a man of high personal character, met with great veneration in the place of his exile, and died there in the following year.^{*}

John XIII., the successor of Leo, was consecrated with the emperor's approbation, in October 965; but within three months he was driven from Rome and imprisoned in Campania by a party which had become very powerful, and aimed at establishing a government on the republican model, under the names of the ancient Roman magistracy, in hostility alike to German emperors and to the papacy.[†] In consequence of this revolution, Otho found himself obliged again to visit Rome. The pope was restored; the republican consuls were banished to Germany; the twelve tribunes

were beheaded; others of the party were blinded or mutilated; the body of the prefect who had announced the decree of banishment to John was torn from the grave; his successor in the prefecture was paraded about the city, crowned with a bladder and mounted on an ass. So great was the sensation excited by the report of these severities, that, when Liutprand was sent to Constantinople to seek a Greek princess in marriage for

the heir of the empire, Nicephorus Phocas reproached him with his master's "impiety," and alleged it as a reason for treating the ambassador with indignity. Liutprand boldly replied that his sovereign had not invaded Rome as a tyrant, but had rescued it from the disgraceful oppression of tyrants and

^{*} Liutpr. 21; Hard. vi. 637; Adam Brem. ii. 10; Pagi, xvi. 155. In Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 167-8, are two documents, which profess to be by Leo—(1) A *privilegium* granted to Otho, that he and his successors shall nominate both to the empire and to the papacy; and that, if any person be chosen pope by the clergy and people, the emperor's approbation and investiture shall be requisite. Dr. Pertz thinks that the emperors at the time really had the power here described, but that the form of the document seems to show a later origin. A longer form of this paper has been pub-

lished, from a MS. at Treves, by Dr. Floss ('Eine Papstwahl unter den Ottonen,' Freiburg, 1858). See Hefele, iv. 592-6. (2) A *cession* of donations made to the church, which is evidently a forgery of the time when the empire and the papacy were at variance in the eleventh century. See Baron. 964. 22-9, with the notes by Pagi and Mansi; Giesel. II. i. 215; Milman, ii. 394; Mrs. Husk, i. note 76. Gfrörer (iii. 1255) defends the *privilegium*.

[†] Gibbon, v. 515; Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 102; Milman, ii. 394, 395.

prostitutes; that he had acted agreeably to the laws of the Roman emperors, and, had he neglected so to act, he would himself have been "impious, unjust, cruel, and tyrannical."^x

Crescentius, who is said to have been a grandson of one of the Theodoras and pope John X.,^y became the chief of the republican party, and governed Rome with the title of consul. His character has been extolled as that of a hero and a patriot;^z yet there is not sufficient evidence to show that his patriotism arose from any better motive than selfish ambition.^a In 974, when the sceptre of Otho the Great had passed into the hands of a young and less formidable successor,^b Crescentius decoyed pope Benedict VI. into the castle of St. Angelo, where he was put to death. While the pope was yet alive, Boniface VII. was set up by the Crescentian party, but was obliged to give way to Benedict VII., who was established by the Tuscan interest, and held the see until 983.^c Otho II., who survived him but a short time, nominated to the papacy Peter, bishop of Pavia, who, out of reverence for the apostolic founder of the Roman church, changed his name to John XIV.

But Boniface, who in his flight had carried off much valuable property of the church, and had converted it into money at Constantinople, returned to Rome, seized John, and shut him up in St. Angelo, where he is supposed to have been starved or poisoned;^d and the intruder, in concert with Crescen-
April 984.
Aug. 984—
July 985.
 tius, held the papacy until his death, which took place within a year. His body was then dragged about the streets and treated with indignity, until some of the clergy charitably gave it burial.^e The next pope, John XV.,^f is described as a man of much

^x Cc. 4-5 of Liutprand's very curious and amusing 'Legatio.' Nicephorus styled Otho *ῥῆγας*, not *βασιλέας*, and complained of his assuming the imperial title (cc. 2, 25). He said, "as if for the purpose of insult" — "You are not Romans, but Lombards." Liutprand, notwithstanding the emperor's signs that he wished to continue his speech, interrupted him with an invective against the Romans from their origin under Romulus. "We," he said, "Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Swabians, Burgundians, despise them so much that, when angry, we use no other term of insult to our enemies than—*Roman*; for in this single name of Romans we comprise whatever is ignoble, cowardly, greedy, luxurious, lying—in short, all vices" (c. 12). On

a consideration of the context, and a comparison of cc. 50, 51, I am unable to agree with Dean Milman (ii. 396) that the *Byzantine* Romans are meant, although no doubt the words were intended to include a reflection on them.

^y Hermann., Contract. (Ann. 974, ap. Pertz, v.), wrongly calls him son of Theodora. See Milman, ii. 398; Hefele, iv. 598.

^z Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 108, seqq.

^a Hallam, M. A. i. 221, 222.

^b Peter Damiani has an extravagant legend as to the death of Otho I., Opusc. xxxiv. 7.

^c Herm. Contr. Ann. 974; Schröckh, xxii. 281, 282; Jaffé, 332-6.

^d Baron. 985. 1.

^e Herm. Ann. 985; Luden, vii. 276-7.

^f According to some writers, another

learning;^a but it is said that his clergy detested him for his pride,^b and the biographer of Abbo of Fleury tells us that the abbot, on visiting Rome, found him "not such as he wished him to be, or such as he ought to have been," but "greedy of base gain, and venal in all his actions."^c John was held in constraint by Crescentius, who would not allow any one to approach him without paying for permission, and seized not only the property of the church, but even the oblations.^k At length, unable to endure this growing oppression, the pope requested the intervention of Otho III., then a youth of sixteen; but as Otho was on his way to Rome, in

A.D. 996. compliance with this invitation, he was met at Ravenna

by messengers who announced the pope's death, and, probably in the name of a party among the Romans who were weary of the consul's domination, requested that the king (although he had not yet received the imperial crown) would nominate a successor. The choice of Otho fell on his cousin and chaplain Bruno, a young man of twenty-four; and the first German pope (as he is usually reckoned) assumed the name of Gregory V.^m

Gregory crowned his kinsman as emperor on Ascension-day 996,ⁿ and, wishing to begin his pontificate in a spirit of clemency, obtained the pardon of Crescentius, whom Otho had

Sept. 996. intended to send into exile. But scarcely had the emperor left Rome when Crescentius made an insurrection, and expelled

Gregory. After an interval of eight months, the consul

May 997. set up an antipope, John, bishop of Piacenza, by birth a

Calabrian and a subject of the Greek empire, who had been chaplain to Otho's mother, the Byzantine princess Theophano, and had been godfather both to the emperor and to Gregory.^o The tidings of the Roman insurrection recalled Otho from an expedition

Jan. 998. against the Slaves. He was met by Gregory at Pavia, advanced to Rome, and besieged Crescentius in St. Angelo. The German writers in general state that he forced the

John, who is not reckoned in the series of popes, held the see for a short time between Boniface and John XV. See Murat. Annali, v. 477.

^a See Schröckh, xxii. 283.

^b Herm. Ann. 986.

^c Aimoin. c. 11, ap. Mabill. viii.

^k Schmidt, ii. 65.

^m Schröckh, xxii. 307, 308; Planck, iii. 342-5. Some writers, following Martinus Polonus, say that Stephen VIII. (A.D. 939-942) was a German, appointed

through the influence of Otho I., and that on this account he was assaulted by the Romans (see Platina, 151; Baron. 940. 16; Oldoin. in Ciacon. i. 708; Gfrörer, iii. 1207; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. ii. 247); but others think that he was more likely a Roman (see l'Art de Vérif. les Dates, iii. 317).

ⁿ Höfer, i. 97. See Jaffé, 340.

^o Annal. Quedlinburg. 997 (Pertz, iii.); Thietmar, iv. 21 (ib.); Höfer, i. 127.

consul to a surrender, while the Italians assert that he got him into his power by a promise of safety.^p If such a promise was given, it was violated. The consul was beheaded; his body was exposed on a gallows, hanging by the feet, and twelve of his chief partisans were put to death.^q The antipope John, who had shown an intention of placing Rome under the Byzantine empire,^r was cruelly punished, although Nilus, a hermit of renowned sanctity, who had almost reached the age of ninety, had undertaken a toilsome journey from Calabria to intercede for him.^s He was blinded, deprived of his nose and tongue, stripped of his robes, and led through the city riding on an ass, with the tail in his hand; after which, according to some authorities, he was banished to Germany, while others say that he was thrown from the Capitol.^t The varieties of statement as to the authors of his punishment are still greater; one annalist relates that he was blinded and mutilated by some persons who feared lest Otho should pardon him;^u some writers state that Otho and Gregory concurred in the proceedings; while, according to others, the emperor was softened by the prayers of Nilus, and the cruelties exercised on the antipope were sanctioned by his rival alone.^v

During the pontificate of John XV. the see of Rheims had become the subject of a new contest, more important than that between Artald and Hugh. On the death of archbishop Adalbero, in the year 989, Arnulf, an illegitimate son of one of the last Carolingian kings,^w requested Hugh Capet to bestow it on him,

^p Thietmar, iv. 21; P. Damiani, *Vita Romualdi*, 25 (*Patrol.* cxliv.). See a comparison of the authorities in Luden, vii. 300-2, and the notes. In behalf of the German account, Schmidt says that Crescentius was tried by a Roman tribunal (ii. 67). Radulf the Bald tells a different story—that Crescentius, in despair, left the castle, made his way into the emperor's presence, and threw himself at his feet; that Otho, with sarcastic words, ordered him to be taken back, and continued the siege, until the garrison mutinied and made overtures to the emperor, who bade them throw the consul from the walls, "lest the Romans should say that we stole their prince;" and that thus Crescentius perished. i. 5. A.D. 998, ap. Bouquet, x.

^q Ann. Quedlinb. 998, ap. Pertz, iii.

^r Arnulf. Mediolan. i. 11; Murat. *Anali*, V. ii. 345; Schmidt, ii. 66.

^s Vita Nili, ap. Martene, *Coll. Ampl.* vi. 949; Neander, *Memorials*, 499; Höfler, i. 140.

^t Thietmar, iv. 21; Pet. Damiani, *Ep.* i. 21 (*Patrol.* cxliv. 253).

^u Ann. Quedlinb. 998. These annals are very unfavourable to John. Ann. 997.

^v Vita Nili, l. c. See Luden, vii. 300-2, and notes; Höfler, i. 141; Bayle, art. *Otho III.*, notes B, C, D. "Il est presque impossible," says Bayle, "de mentir sur ces siècles là. Racontez selon votre caprice et à tout hasard les circonstances de quelque fait, il arrivera rarement qu'aucun auteur ne vous favorise."—Note D.

^w Sir F. Palgrave thinks that he was the offspring of a lawful marriage, but

promising in return to serve him faithfully in all ways.^a The new king granted the petition, chiefly with a view to detach Arnulf from the interest of his uncle Charles, duke of Lorraine, the heir of the Carolingian line. The archbishop, at his consecration, took an oath of fealty to Hugh, imprecating the most fearful curses on himself if he should break it.^a He even received the eucharist in attestation of his fidelity, although some of the clergy^b present protested against such an application of the sacrament. But when the arms of Charles appeared to be successful, the gates of Rheims were opened to him, and his soldiers committed violent and sacrilegious outrages in the city. The archbishop was carried off as if a prisoner, and sent forth a solemn anathema against the robbers who had profaned his church;^c it was, however, suspected that he had a secret understanding with his uncle, and the suspicion was speedily justified by his openly joining Charles at Laon.^d But Laon was soon betrayed into the hands of Hugh by its bishop, Adalbero;^e the king got possession of his rival's person, and imprisoned him at Orleans, where Charles died within a few months; and a council of the suffragans of Rheims was held at Senlis, for

the examination of their metropolitan's conduct. Letters A.D. 990. were then sent to Rome both by Hugh and by the bishops, detailing the treachery of Arnulf, with the wretched state into which his province had fallen, and asking how this "second Judas" should be dealt with.^f But the pope was influenced by a partisan of Arnulf, who presented him with a valuable horse and other gifts; while the envoys of the opposite party, who made no presents either to John or to Crescentius, stood three days at the gates of the papal palace without being allowed to enter.^g

that it was afterwards dissolved on the ground of inequality in condition. ii. 798, 804.

^a Richer. iv. 25.

^b Among other things, "*Fiant die mei pauci, et episcopatum meum accipiat alter*" (Synod. Rem. S. Basoli, c. 8). The instrument of his election alluded in curious terms to his birth—"Arnulphum regis Lotharii filium, quem etsi altus sanguis vitio temporis sub anathemate positi aliquo affectu contagio, sed tamen hunc mater ecclesia parificans mysticis abluit sacramentis." This is supposed to be the work of Gerbert. Bouquet, x. 401.

^c "*Quorum mens purgatio erat.*" Richer, iv. 30.

^d Syn. Rem. 12.

^e Richer, iv. 33-6; Hock's 'Gerbert,' 83, Wien, 1837.

^f Adalbero had been a pupil of Gerbert, and was a man of ability and knowledge, but of perfidious character, and suspected of an amour with Emma, the queen of Lothair, and mother of the last Carolingian, Louis "le Fainéant." Richer, iii. 66; Hock, 151, 152; Palgrave, ii. 790.

^g Syn. Rem. 25, 26; Richer, iv. 41-8.

^h Syn. Rem. 27; Syn. Causeiensis, ap. Pertz, iii. Baronius (991. 9) thinks them very unreasonable in being so soon weary of waiting, seeing that the pope must have been full of business.

But Hugh now found himself strong enough to act without the pope. In June 991, a synod was held at the monastic church of St. Basle, near Rheims, under Siguin, archbishop of Sens.^b The president proposed that, before proceeding to the trial of Arnulf, an assurance of indulgence for the accused should be obtained from the king, since, if his treason were a cause of blood, it would be unlawful for bishops to judge it.^c Some members, however, remarked that the suggested course was dangerous; if bishops declined such inquiries, princes would cease to ask for ecclesiastical judgments, would take all judicature into their own hands, and would cite the highest ecclesiastics before their secular tribunals; and, in deference to these objections, the proposal appears to have been dropped. Siguin detailed the proceedings which had taken place; the pope, he said, had left the bishops of France a year without any answer to their application, and they must now act for themselves. All who could say anything in favour of the accused were enjoined, under pain of anathema, to come forward; whereupon Abbo, abbot of Fleury, and others produced passages from the Isidorian decretals, to show that the synod had no right to judge a bishop—the trial of bishops being one of those “greater causes” which belong to the pope alone.^d To this it was answered that all had been done regularly; that application had been made to the pope, but without effect.^e

Arnulf of Orleans, who was regarded as the wisest and most eloquent of the French bishops,^f spoke very strongly against the Roman claim to jurisdiction. He did not hint, nor does he appear to have felt, any suspicion of the decretals;^g but in opposition to

^b The acts of this synod, which were first published by the Magdeburg centuriators, are not fully given in any edition of the councils, except that by Mansi. Pertz has printed them, vol. iii. 658, seqq.; and from his collection they are reprinted in the *Patrologia*, vol. cxxxix. Baronius (992. 3, 4, 11) and others attempt to throw suspicion on these acts, as having been drawn up by Gerbert; but the fact that Gerbert avows having edited them, with condensations and other such alterations, ought rather to persuade us of their substantial correctness. (See *Hist. Litt.* vi. 526, 589; Schröckh, xxii. 286; Planck, iii. 307; Neander, vi. 33; Milman, ii. 411; Hefele, iv. 607.) Richer gives an account of the council (iv. 53, seqq.), and refers to Gerbert for

further details (c. 73). For St. Basolus, or Basle, and the monastery, see Flooard, ii. 2, and a Life by Adso, in the ‘*Patrologia*,’ cxxxvii. The monastery was destroyed in the first Revolution. ‘*Actes de la Prov. de Rheims*,’ in *Patrol.* cxxxix. 189. ^c C. 3.

^d Cc. 19-22; Richer, iv. 67.

^e C. 27.

^f C. 1. The speech put into his mouth is acknowledged by Gerbert to be a summary of his addresses to the council, and of his remarks to those who sat near him. Perhaps it may owe something more than is admitted to the editor. Baronius gives it with an indignant commentary of interruptions (902. 15, seqq.). Fleury is more favourable. lvii. 26.

^g Schröckh, xxii. 289.

their authority he proved by an array of genuine canons, councils, and papal writings, that for the decision of local questions provincial synods were sufficient; and he cited the principles of Hincmar as to appeals. The requirements of the decretals, he said, had already been satisfied by the reference which both the king and the bishops had vainly made to Rome. He denied the power of the Roman pontiff by his silence to lay to sleep the ancient laws of the church, or by his sole authority to reverse them; if it were so, there would really be no laws to rely on. He enlarged on the enormities of recent popes, and asked how it was possible to defer to the sentence of such monsters—destitute as they were of all judicial qualities, of knowledge, of love, of character—very antichrists sitting in the temple of God, who could only act as lifeless idols. It would (he said) be far better, if the dissensions of princes would permit, to seek a decision from the learned and pious bishops of Belgic Gaul and Germany than from the venal and polluted court of Rome.

Arnulf of Rheims was brought before the council, and protested his innocence of the treachery imputed to him; but he gave way when confronted with a clerk who had opened the gates of the city to the besiegers, and who now declared that he had acted by the archbishop's orders.^p On the last day of the synod, when the king appeared with his son and colleague Robert, Arnulf prostrated himself before them and abjectly implored that his life and members might be spared.^q He was required to surrender the ensigns of his temporalities to the king, and those of his spiritual power to the bishops, and to read an act of abdication modelled on that by which Ebbo had resigned the same dignity a century and a half before. The degraded archbishop was then sent to prison at Orleans, and Gerbert, who had taken no part in the proceedings against him, was chosen as his successor.^r

This eminent man was born of humble parentage in Auvergne about the middle of the century, and was admitted at an early age into the monastery of Aurillac,^s where he made extraordinary proficiency in his studies. He had already visited other chief schools of France, when Borel, count of Barcelona, arrived at Aurillac on a devotional pilgrimage, and gave such a report of the

^p C. 30. The clerk, Adalgard, had before given evidence to this effect, and had offered to prove it by the ordeal (c. 11). He was afterwards deposed (c. 55).

^q C. 53.

^r Hock's 'Gerbert,' 103.

^s Founded in the end of the ninth century by St. Gerard, count of Aurillac. See Mabill. vii. 7, 8; and the Life, by Odo of Cluny, ii. 2, seqq.; iii. 2 (Patrol. cxxxiii.).

state of learning in Spain as induced the abbot to send Gerbert with him on his return to that country.¹ In Spain Gerbert devoted himself especially to the acquirement of mathematical and physical science, which was then almost exclusively confined to the schools of the Saracens; but it is uncertain whether his knowledge was derived immediately from the Moslem teachers of Seville and Cordova,² or from Christians who had benefited by their instruction.³ In 968 he visited Rome in company with his patron Borel, and was introduced to Otho the Great. He then went into France, and became master of the cathedral school at Rheims; and on a second visit to Italy, in company with the A.D. 972. archbishop Adalbero, he obtained the abbacy of Bobbio through the interest of the empress Adelaide.⁴ But he found the property of the abbey dilapidated by his predecessor; he was involved in contentions with the neighbouring nobles, who insisted on his confirming grants of the monastic lands which had been wrongfully made to them; while the monks were insubordinate, and his connexion with the Germans served to render him generally unpopular.⁵ His position became yet worse on the death of Otho, which took place within a year from the time of his appointment; and, after having in vain attempted to obtain support from the pope, he resolved to leave Bobbio, although he still retained the dignity of abbot.⁶ "All Italy," he wrote on this occasion to a friend, "appears to me a Rome; and the morals of the Romans are the horror of the world."⁷

Gerbert resumed his position at Rheims, where he raised the school to an unrivalled reputation, and effectively influenced the improvement of other seminaries.⁸ The study of mathematics, the Arabian numerals, and the decimal notation were now for the first time introduced into France.⁹ The library of the see was enriched by Gerbert's care with many transcripts of rare and valuable books;¹⁰ while his mechanical genius and science were displayed in the construction of a clock, of astronomical instruments, and of an organ blown by steam¹¹—apparently the first

¹ Richer, iii. 43; Hock, 61.

² W. Malmesb. 284.

³ Schröckh, xxi. 230. Hock (who undertakes the difficult task of representing Gerbert as a sound and consistent "Catholic") says that the story of his having studied under the Arabs is a calumny, which is not found until a century after his time (pp. 159, seqq.). See Ampère, iii. 311.

⁴ Hock, 62, 63.

⁵ Epp. 2, 3, ap. Bouquet, x.

⁶ Hist. Litt. vi. 561.

⁷ Ep. 40, ed. Paris, 1611; Hock, 64-7.

⁸ Cf. Ep. 45.

⁹ Hist. Litt. vi. 563.

¹⁰ Hock, 149. See Martin, iii. 25.

¹¹ Epp. 6, 8, &c., ap. Bouquet, x.

¹² W. Malmesb. 276.

application of a power which has in later times produced such marvellous effects.^s He also took an important part in the political movements and intrigues of the time, acting as secretary to Adalbero, who, from his position as archbishop of Rheims, exercised a powerful influence in affairs of state.^t Adalbero had fixed on him as his own successor in the archbishoprick; but Gerbert's humble origin was unable to cope with the pretensions of Arnulf, which, as he asserts, were supported by simoniacal means.¹ He therefore acquiesced in his defeat, and retained the office of secretary under his successful rival. For a time he adhered to Arnulf in labouring for the interest of Charles of Lorraine; but he saw reason to change his course,² formally renounced the archbishop's service, and wrote to the archbishop of Treves that he could not, for the sake of either Charles or Arnulf, endure to be any longer a tool of the devil, and lend himself to the maintenance of falsehood against truth.^m Hugh Capet gladly welcomed so accomplished an adherent, and employed him as tutor to his son Robert.ⁿ

The council of St. Basle wrote to the pope in a tone of great deference, excusing itself for having acted without his concurrence, on the ground that he had so long left unanswered the application which had been made to him. But John had already sent northward as his legate an abbot named Leo, who had reached Aix-la-Chapelle when he was informed of Arnulf's deposition. On this the legate returned to Rome, and John issued a mandate to the bishops who had been concerned in the council, ordering them to appear at Rome for the trial of Arnulf's case, and in the mean time to reinstate the archbishop, and to abstain from the exercise of ecclesiastical functions.^o The French bishops, in a synod held

at Chela,^p resolved to maintain the decisions of St. Basle;^q A.D. 994.

the king wrote to John, assuring him that nothing had been done in breach of the papal rights, and offering to meet him at Grenoble, if the pope should wish to investigate the affair;^r while Gerbert protested to John that he had done no wrong,^s and

^s Sismondi, iv. 119. He afterwards made a famous clock at Magdeburg for Otto III. Thietmar, vi. 67.

^t Hock, 69.

¹ Conc. Mosom. ap. Hard. vi. 735, b.; Richer, iv. 102; Hock, 80.

² See Milman, ii. 410.

^m Epp. 73, 74, ap. Bouquet, x. 409; Richer, iv. 102; Hock. 85, 86.

ⁿ Helgald. Vita Roberti (Patrol. cxli. 911).

^o Hard. vi. 729; Pertz, iii. 680; Planck, iii. 315, 316.

^p Seemingly Chelles, between Paris and Meaux.

^q This council is known only from l. iv. 89 of Richer, whose valuable history was discovered by Pertz. See Giesel. II. i. 219; and for Richer's character, Palgrave, ii. 780-5.

^r Bouquet, x. 418.

^s Ib. 420, Ep. 92.

exerted himself, by correspondence in all directions, to enlist supporters on his side.⁴ His tone as to the pretensions of Rome was very decided: thus he tells Siguin of Sens that God's judgment is higher than that of the Roman bishop, and adds, that the pope himself, if he should sin against a brother, and should refuse to hear the church's admonitions, must, according to our Lord's own precept, be counted "as a heathen man and a publican;" he declaims on the hardship of being suspended from the offices of the altar, and urges the archbishop to disregard the pope's prohibition.⁵

John, without making any public demonstration for a time, endeavoured, by the agency of monks, to excite discontent among the people of France, so as to alarm the new sovereign.⁶ Gerbert found his position at Rheims extremely uneasy. Some of his most powerful friends were dead. He tells his correspondents that there is a general outcry against him—that even his blood is required;⁷ that not only his military retainers, but even his clergy, have conspired to avoid his ministrations, and to abstain from eating in company with him.⁸ In this distress he was cheered by receiving a letter from Otho III., then in his fifteenth year. Gerbert gladly accepted the invitation, and in the end of 994 repaired to the German court, where he found an honourable refuge, and became the young prince's tutor and favourite adviser.⁹ In this position, where new hopes were set before his mind, he could afford to speak of his archbishoprick with something like indifference. He writes to the empress Adelaide (widow of Otho the Great) that, as the dignity was bestowed on him by bishops, he will not resign it except in obedience to an episcopal judgment; but he will not persist in retaining it if that judgment should be against him.¹⁰ In 995 the pope again sent Leo into France. The legate put forth a letter to Hugh and his son, by way of answer to Arnulf of Orleans, and others who had taken part in the council of St. Basle.¹¹ He meets the charges of ignorance against Rome by citing passages of Scripture, in which it is said that God chooses

⁴ Bouquet, x. 413, seqq.

⁵ Ib. 413, Ep. 85.

⁶ Planck, iii. 317, 318.

⁷ Bouquet, x. 421, Ep. 96. This seems to mean only that there was a wish to ruin him.

⁸ Ib. 424, Ep. 102.

⁹ Hock, 111-3.

¹⁰ Ep. 102, l. c. Pagi (xvi. 336),

Hock (113), and others, place this letter before the council of Mousson; others, as Baronius (995. 12), Hardouin (vi. 734), and the editor of the '*Recueil des Hist. de la France*' (x. 424), after it.

¹¹ Richer, iv. 95. The letter, which seems to be incomplete, is printed for the first time by Pertz, iii. 686.

the foolish things of this world in preference to the wise. In reply to the charges of venality, he alleges that our Lord himself and His apostles received such gifts as were offered to them. The bishops, by their conduct towards the Roman church, had cut themselves off from it; their behaviour to their mother had been like that of Ham to Noah. Arnulf of Orleans, "with his apostate son, whoever he may be,"^d had written such things against the holy see as no Arian had ever ventured to write. The legate cites the expressions of reverence with which eminent men of former times had spoken of Rome: if, he says, the chair of St. Peter had ever tottered, it had now re-established itself firmly for the support of all the churches. He reflects on the irregularity of the proceedings against Arnulf, and on the cruelty with which he was treated; and he excuses the pope's neglect of the first application in the matter, on the ground of the troubles which were at that time caused by Crescentius.

A council, scantily attended by bishops from Germany and Lotharingia, was held under Leo at Mousson in June 995. The bishops of France had refused to appear either at Rome or at Aix;^e Gerbert alone, who had already removed to the German court,^f was present to answer for himself. In a written speech he defended the steps by which he had (reluctantly, as he said) been promoted to the see of Rheims, together with his behaviour towards Arnulf. He declared himself resolved to pay no heed to the prohibition by which the pope had interdicted him from divine offices—a mandate (he said) which involved much more than his own personal interest; but, at the request of the archbishop of Treves, he agreed, for the sake of example, to refrain from celebrating mass until another synod should be held.^g Arnulf was restored to his see by a synod held at Rheims in 995; but he was detained in prison for three years longer.^h

Robert I. of France, who succeeded his father in October 996, a prince of a gentle and devout, but feeble character,ⁱ had married Bertha, daughter of Conrad king of Burgundy, and widow of a count of Chartres. The union was uncanonical, both because the

^d "Cum suo nescimus quo apostata filio," i. e. Gerbert, by whom the acts of the council were drawn up.

^e Pertz, iii. 690.

^f Hock, 111.

^g Conc. Mosomense, ap. Pertz, iii. 691; Richer, iv. 102-5.

^h Hugo Floriac. ap. Bouquet, x. 220.

Hefele (iv. 616) refers to the synod of Rheims a speech which is described as delivered "in concilio Causeio" (Pertz, iii. 691).

ⁱ Helgald. Vita Roberti, ap. Bouquet, x. 98, seqq. He composed church hymns. See Guéranger, i. 300-2, 306.

parties were related in the fourth degree, and because Robert had contracted a "spiritual affinity" with the countess, by becoming sponsor for one of her children; yet the French bishops had not hesitated to bless it; for in the marriages of princes the rigour of ecclesiastical law often bent to political expediency.^k Robert, however, felt that, on account of this vulnerable point, it was especially his interest to stand well with Rome; and he despatched Abbo of Fleury as an envoy to treat with the pope in a spirit of concession as to the case of Arnulf. The abbot took the opportunity of obtaining privileges for his monastery from the new pope, Gregory V.;^m he returned to France with a pall for Arnulf; and in 998 the archbishop was released, and was restored to his see, which had been miserably impoverished during the long contest for the possession of it.ⁿ

But if Robert supposed that his consent to this restoration would induce the pope to overlook the irregularity of his marriage, he soon found that he was mistaken. A synod held at Rome in 998 required him and his queen, on pain of anathema, to separate, and to submit to penance;^o and it suspended the bishops who had officiated at the nuptials from communion until they should appear before the pope and make satisfaction for their offence.^p As to the sequel, it is only certain that Robert yielded, and that the place of Bertha was supplied by a queen of far less amiable character.^q Peter Damiani, in the following century, relates that Bertha gave birth to a monster with the head and neck of a goose; that the king and the queen were excommunicated by the whole episcopate of France; that the horror of this sentence scared all men from them, with the exception of two attendants; that even these cast the vessels out of which Robert or Bertha had eaten or drunk into the fire, as abominable; and that thus the guilty pair were terrified into a separation.^r But the terror to which Robert really yielded was more probably a dread of the spiritual power of Rome, and of the influence which, by uttering an interdict against the performance of religious offices, it might be able to exercise over his subjects; or it may be that, as is stated by the contemporary biographer of Abbo, he gave way to the persuasions of that

^k Planck, iii. 331, 332; Sismondi, iv. 104-6.

^m Aimoin. 11, 12, ap. Mabill. viii.; Gerbert, Ep. 102, ap. Bonquet, x. 424.

ⁿ Abbo, Ep. iii. 435.

^o Can. 1.

^p Can. 2.

^q Sismondi, iv. 106.

^r P. Damian. Opusc. xxxiv. 6 (Patrol. cxlv.).

abbot, who performed the part of Nathan in convincing him of his sin.^a

These triumphs of the papacy were very important for it, following as they did after a time during which there had been little communication with France, while at home the papal see had been stained and degraded by so much of a disgraceful kind. They assured the popes that they had lost no power by the change of dynasty which had been effected without their sanction.^c And if, as has been supposed, the sternness with which Gregory insisted on the separation of Robert and Bertha was instigated by the wish of Otho to humiliate the French king, it is one of many proofs that the rise of the papacy to a superiority over all secular princes was mainly promoted by their attempts to use it as a tool in their jealousies and rivalries against each other.^d The victory over the French episcopate was also important in consequence of the position which the popes took in the affair. They had already gained from the French church as much as was requisite for the admittance of their jurisdiction in the particular case — that a metropolitan of France should not be deposed without the concurrence of the pope. This had been allowed by Hincmar himself; it had even been the subject of a petition from the council of Troyes in 867;^e it was acknowledged by Hugh Capet and his bishops, until the pope's neglect of their application provoked the inquiry whether they might not act without him. But, not content with this, the popes and their advocates claimed that right of exclusive judgment over all bishops which was asserted for the papacy by the false decretals; and the result was therefore far more valuable for the Roman see than it would have been if the popes had only put forth such claims as were necessary for the maintenance of their interest in the case which was immediately before them.^f

The German pope^g died in February 999.^h It was a time of

^a Aimoin. *Vita Abbonis*, ap. Bouquet, x. 107. Leo IX., in writing to Henry of France, the son of Robert, says that the king and queen were excommunicated, and thereupon went to Rome for penance. (Ap. Ivon. *Decret.* ix. 8, *Patrol.* clxi.) But there seems to be no contemporary evidence of this journey.

^b Planck, iii. 329, 330.

^c *Ib.* 338.

^d See p. 334.

^e Planck, iii. 327, 328.

^f The opinion that Gregory erected

the college of seven German electors for the choice of emperor is now exploded. See Ducange, s. v. *Electores*; Hard. vi. 745, seqq.; Pagi, xvii. 356; Planck, iii. 347-351; Giannone, l. xiii. c. 5.

^g There is a mystery about the end of Gregory. The *Life of Meinwerck* (ap. Pertz, xi.) states that he was expelled; and, after his restoration, was poisoned; and this Luden thinks probable (vii. 306, 307, 590; cf. Schröckh, xxi. 315). Gfrörer argues that Gerbert must have

gloomy apprehensions. The approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth had raised a general belief that the second Advent was close at hand; and in truth there was much which might easily be construed as fulfilling the predicted signs of the end—wars and rumours of wars, famines and pestilences, fearful appearances in the heavens, faith failing from the earth, and love waxing cold.^b In the beginning of the century, the council of Trosley (Trolé, near Soissons)^c had urged the nearness of the judgment-day as a motive for reformation;^d and preachers had often insisted on it, although their opinion had met with objectors in some quarters.^e The preamble, "Whereas the end of the world draweth near," which had been common in donations to churches or monasteries,^f now assumed a new and more urgent significance; and the belief that the long expectation was at length to be accomplished, did much to revive the power and wealth of the clergy, after the disorders and losses of the century.^g The minds of men were called away from the ordinary cares and employments of life; even our knowledge of history has suffered in consequence, since there was little inclination to bestow labour on the chronicling of events, when no posterity was expected to read the records.^h Some plunged into desperate recklessness of living;ⁱ an eclipse of the sun or of the moon was a signal for multitudes to seek a hiding-place in dens and caves of the earth; and crowds of pilgrims flocked to Palestine, where the Saviour was expected to appear for judgment.^k

In the room of Gregory, Otho raised to the papacy the man who had hitherto been its most dangerous opponent—Gerbert. Gerbert's learning and abilities had procured for him a great ascendancy over the mind of his imperial pupil,^m from whom, in the preceding year, he had received the archbishoprick of Ravenna.ⁿ

been at the bottom of Gregory's death, as he was ambitious of the papacy, and got it on the vacancy! (iii. 1507.) See Milman, ii. 403.

^b Michelet, ii. 358-361; Milman, ii. 404.

^c Pagi, xv. 551.

^d Hard. vi. 506.

^e Ampère, iii. 275. Abbo of Fleury says that in his youth he had heard such preaching at Paris, but had opposed it on the authority of the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel (Apologeticus, Patrol. cxxxix. 471). Gieselers dates this statement about 990

(II. i. 266), and Sismondi (iv. 87) seems to be mistaken in saying that Abbo did not warn against the error until the danger was over, in 1001.

^f As in Marculf, ii. 3, &c. (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

^g Giesel. II. i. 268; Sismondi, iv. 88. See Milman, ii. 405, and his reference to Dr. Todd's Donellan Lectures.

^h Sismondi, iv. 86, 87.

ⁱ Hock, 135.

^k Mosheim, ii. 293; Giesel. II. i. 268, 269.

^m Herm. Contract. A.D. 1000.

ⁿ Gregory's letter, on sending him

On attaining the highest dignity in the church, he assumed the name of Sylvester II.—a name significant of the relation in which he was to stand to a prince who aimed at being a second Constantine.^o For Otho, who lost his father at the age of three, had been trained by his Greek mother, and by his Italian grandmother, Adelaide, to despise his own countrymen as rude, to value himself on the Byzantine side of his extraction, and to affect the elegancies of Greek and Roman cultivation.^p He introduced into his court the ceremonies of Constantinople;^q on revisiting Germany, he carried with him a number of noble Romans, with a view of exhibiting to his countrymen a refinement to which they had been strangers; he even entertained the thought of making Rome the capital of his empire.^r

The new pope, in order, as it would seem, to reconcile his present position with his earlier career, granted to Arnulf of Rheims the pall and all the other privileges which had been connected with the see.^s It was thus made to appear as if Arnulf had been guilty, and as if his restoration were an act of grace on the part of the rival who had formerly been obliged to give way to him. Arnulf held the archbishoprick until the year 1123.

Sylvester's pontificate was not eventful. He had the mortification of being foiled by Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, a man of great influence, both from his position as primate of Germany and

the pall, is in Hard. vi. 740. Höfler groundlessly says that it proves the archbishoprick to have been given by the pope, and not by the imperial patronage (i. 159). Gfrörer, of course, has his theories (iii. 1502). In allusion to his three sees, Rheims, Ravenna, and Rome, Gerbert is said to have composed this line—

"Scandit ab R Gerbertus in R, post papa
viget R."

Helgald. Vita Roberti (Patrol. cxli. 911).

^o Milman, ii. 416.

^p Schmidt, ii. 71; Luden, vii. 266. There is a legend that his mother, Theophano, after death, appeared to a nun, "in habitu miserabili," and declared that she was in torment for having introduced into the west Greek luxuries of female attire before unknown. Othlon. Visio 17 (Pertz, xi. 385).

^q Thietmar, iv. 29. Dr. Pertz has found curious proofs of this at Rome. Giesel. II. i. 221.

^r Schmidt, ii. 68; Hock, 137. Otho is said, on the elevation of Gerbert, to have granted a charter, by which, rejecting the fabulous donations of Constantine and others, he states that, as he had raised his tutor (*magister*) to the papacy, so, for the love of him, he bestows certain territories on St. Peter (Pertz, Leges, ii. 162, seqq.). The document has been much questioned, and has been supposed (as by Pagi, xvi. 391) to be a forgery in the antipapal interest, executed not earlier than the time of the disputes as to investitures. It is, however, defended by Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 162; Gfrörer, ii. 1571; and Giesel, II. i. 221.

^s Gerb. Ep. cvi. ap. Bouquet, x. 425; or Hard. vi. 760. Pagi (xvi. 397), Planck (iii. 325), and others, suppose the letter to be one of Gregory V., wrongly ascribed to his successor. But the explanation given in the text seems to be the true one. See Neand. vi. 42; Höfler, i. 111.

from his abilities as a politician.[†] The contest is said to have arisen out of the pride of the emperor's sister Sophia, who, being about to enter the nunnery of Gandersheim, disdained to receive the veil from any prelate of less than metropolitan dignity. Willigis was therefore invited to officiate at Gandersheim, and not only did so, but even held a synod there. Osdag, bishop of Hildesheim, within whose diocese the convent was situated, complained of these invasions, and for a time the matter was accommodated in his favour;[‡] but Willigis again interfered with the rights of the bishop's successor, Bernard, and a synod held at Rome, in the presence of the pope and of the emperor, decided that Bernard should exercise the rights of diocesan over the community, but left the further settlement of the case to a synod which was to be assembled in Germany, under the presidency of a papal legate.[§] This assembly met in 1001, at Palithi or Pölde in Saxony. The archbishop, seeing that its feeling was against him, assumed a tone of insolent defiance towards the legate, broke up the session by means of his disorderly adherents, and had disappeared when the council reassembled on the following day. As the influence of Willigis appeared to render a fair trial hopeless in Germany, it was resolved to summon all the bishops of that country to attend a council in Italy; but, although the papal citation was seconded by the emperor, who needed the aid of their followers for the reinforcement of his army, so powerful were their fears of the primate that hardly any of them appeared. The pope found himself obliged to adjourn the consideration of the question; and on the death of Otho, which followed soon after, the power of Willigis was so much enhanced by the importance attached to his voice in the choice of a new emperor, that Sylvester did not venture to prosecute the matter.[¶] In 1007 the controversy was determined in favour of the see of Hildesheim; but by the authority of the emperor Henry, without the aid of Rome.^{**} It was, however, again revived, and was not finally settled until 1030, when Aribio, archbishop of Mentz, acknowledged to Godehard, of Hildesheim, that his pretensions against the diocesan jurisdiction had been unfounded.^{††}

The pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land were subjected to

[†] See Hock, 68; Gfrörer, iv. 72.

[‡] Thangmar. Vita S. Bern. Hildesh. c. 15, ap. Mabill. viii., or Pertz, iv.

[§] Ib. 24.

[¶] Ib. 28-30; Planck, iii. 354-365.

^{*} Annal. Hildesh. 1007, ap. Pertz, iii. 93; Thangmar, 40, 41.

^{**} Annal. Hild. 1030, p. 97; Chron. Hild. ap. Leibnitz, i. 744; Vit. S. Godeh. c. 31, ap. Mabill. viii.

much oppression and annoyance by its Mussulman rulers, and frequent complaints of their sufferings were brought into western Christendom. By these reports Sylvester was excited to issue a letter addressed in the name of Jerusalem to the universal church,^b beseeching all Christians to sympathise with the afflictions of the holy city, and to aid it by gifts, if they could not do so by arms. The letter was not without effect in its own time, for some enterprises were in consequence undertaken against the Saracens;^c but the great movement of the Crusades, of which it may be regarded as the first suggestion, was reserved for a later generation.

The young emperor appears to have fallen into a morbid state of melancholy. He had been lately shaken by the deaths of his cousin Gregory V., of his aunt Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, who in his absence carried on the government of Germany, and of other relations, which left him without any near kindred except two young sisters, who had both entered the cloister.^d He may, perhaps, have been touched by regret for the cruelties which had been committed in his name against the republicans of Rome; perhaps, also, the millenary year may have aided in filling his mind with sad and depressing thoughts.^e After having secluded himself for fourteen days, which he spent in prayer and fasting, he was persuaded by Romuald, the founder of the Camaldolite order, to undertake a penitential pilgrimage to Monte Gargano;^f and, after his return to Rome, finding himself still unable to rest, he set out on a long journey through his dominions beyond the Alps. At Gnesen, in Poland, he knelt as a penitent before the tomb of Adalbert, bishop of Prague, who had been known to him, and perhaps little regarded by him, in earlier days, but had since found the death of a martyr in Prussia, and was now revered as a saint.^g At Aix-la-Chapelle, the emperor indulged his gloomy curiosity by opening the tomb of Charlemagne; and in 1001 he once more arrived at Rome, where he founded a church in honour of St. Adalbert.^h An insurrection took place, and Otho was besieged in his palace.ⁱ It is said that from the walls he in-

^b Ep. cvii. ap. Bouquet, x. 426.

^c A fleet, fitted out by Genoa, Pisa, and Marseille, recovered Sardinia from them (Heeren, *Hist. Werke*, ii. 130): see p. 439; but the story of a Pisan expedition to Syria is fabulous. Sybel, '*Der erste Kreuzzug*,' 541.

^d *Annal. Quedl.* 998, 1000, 1002.

^e Luden, vii. 308-310.

^f P. Damiani, *Vita Romualdi*, 25

(*Patrol.* cxliv.); *Chron. Casin.* ii. 24; Höfler, i. 180. Peter Damiani says that the pilgrimage was undertaken in penance for breach of faith with Crescentius, and that Otho made it barefooted.

^g Thietmar, iv. 28; Luden, vii. 313. For Adalbert, see below, chap. vii. sect. 5.

^h Höfler, i. 181.

ⁱ Thietmar, iv. 30.

dignantly reproached the Romans for their unworthy requital of the favours which he had shown them, even to the prejudice of his own countrymen; that he received the eucharist with the intention of sallying forth, but was restrained by the exertions of his friends.^k The short remainder of his days was spent in penitential exercises, while he cherished the intention of raising his feudatories for the punishment of the ungrateful Romans; but his projects were cut short by death at Paterno, near Civita Castellana, on Jan. 24, 1002.^m Although the German chroniclers in general attribute his end to small-pox, a laterⁿ story, of Italian origin, has recommended itself to some eminent writers^o—less perhaps by its probability than by its romantic character. Stephanía, it is said, the beautiful widow of Crescentius, provoked by her husband's wrongs and her own^p to a desire of deadly vengeance, enticed the young emperor to her embraces, and, by means of a pair of gloves, administered to him a subtle poison,^q which dried up the sources of his strength, and brought him to the grave at the age of twenty-two. In Otho became extinct the Saxon line which had ruled over Germany from the time of Henry the Fowler, and which for three generations had filled the imperial throne.

Within little more than a year, Sylvester followed his pupil to the grave. On him, too, it is said that the vengeance of Stephanía wreaked itself by a poison which destroyed his voice, if it did not put an end to his life.^r But a more marvellous tale is related by the zealous partisans of the see which he had so strongly opposed in its assumptions, and which he had himself at length attained. To the authentic accounts of his acquirements and of his mechanical skill they add that he dealt in unhallowed arts, acquired from a book which he had stolen from one of his Saracen teachers. He understood, it is said, the flight and the language of birds; he discovered treasures by magic; he made

^k See Schmidt, i. 70; Luden, vii. 322, and notes.

^m Thietmar, iv. 30; Pagi, xvi. 418; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 12. Bonizo says that he died without the viaticum, and "was buried in hell." l. iv. p. 800.

ⁿ See Hock, 140. It is told, but vaguely, in the Life of Meinwerck, c. 7 (Pertz, xi.).

^o Murat. Annal. VI. i. 13; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 111; Milman, iii. 417. See the various accounts in Luden, vii. 323-5, and notes.

^p "Traditur adulteranda Tentonibus." Arnulf. Mediolan. i. 12 (Pertz, viii.).

^q Landulf, senior (ii. 19, ap. Pertz, viii.) says that she wrapped him in a poisoned deer-skin; the Saxon annalist (A.D. 1102, ib. vi.), that when he had left Rome she sent a poison to him. See, too, the Annals of Pölde (Pertz, xvi. 65); and for the fabulousness of the story, Hefele, iv. 621. Cf. Chron. Casin. ii. 24.

^r Annal. Saxo, A.D. 1102.

a compact with the devil for success in all his undertakings; he fabricated, under astral influences, a brazen head, which had the power of answering questions affirmatively or negatively. To his question, "Shall I be apostolic pontiff?" it answered "Yes." When he further asked, "Shall I die before I sing mass in Jerusalem?" the reply was "No." But, as is usual in such legends, the evil one deluded his victim; the Jerusalem in which Gerbert was to die was the Roman basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.⁵

⁵ Will. Malmesb. 283; Benno de Vita Hildebr. ap. Goldast. Apol. Hen. IV. p. 11. See Ciacon. i. 753-6. The various legends of this kind are collected by Hock: as a specimen, the Chronicle of Melrose may be quoted—"Eundem vero [Gerbertum] interius postea compunctum, et exterius horribiliter afflictum, manus et pedes abscissos diabolo projecisse dicunt, et sic truncum obisse, et inter beatos collocatum" (A.D. 1005, ap. Fell, 153). The most romantic form of the story is that told by Walter Mapes ('De Nugis Curialium,' 170-6, ed. Camden Soc.). William of Malmesbury

says that Gerbert went on without thinking of repentance, because he was not likely to go to Jerusalem; but his letter to the universal church might suggest an alternative in keeping with the ambitious character ascribed to him—that, if his soul were required of him, it would not be until he had rendered his pontificate memorable by the recovery of the Holy Land. Another story of an ambiguous prophecy as to dying in Jerusalem, is related of Robert Guiscard (A. Comnena, vi. 6); and every reader will remember a parallel in English history.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE SYLVESTER II. TO THE DEPOSITION OF GREGORY VI.

A.D. 1003-1046.

I. THE unexpected death of Otho III. left his wide dominions without an heir,^a nor had any successor been provided. After much negotiation, Henry, duke of Bavaria, descended from a brother of Otho the Great, was chosen as king of Germany—chiefly through the influence of archbishop Willigis, by June, whom he was crowned at Mentz.^b Henry, who is 1002. usually styled the Second,^c had been intended by his parents for the ecclesiastical state,^d and was a prince of very devout character, so that he attained the honour of canonisation, which was conferred also on his wife Cunegunda;^e but his piety was not of a kind to unfit him for the active duties of his position. He governed with ability and vigour, in the midst of much opposition and many difficulties, until the year 1024. In illustration of the mixture of saint and statesman in him, we are told that on one occasion he appeared before the abbot of St. Vanne, at Verdun, in his Lotharingian dominions, and expressed a resolution to become a monk. The abbot, after some consideration, admitted him as a member of his own community, and immediately charged him, by his vow of monastic obedience, to return to the administration of the empire which had been committed to him by God.^f

^a It appears to be uncertain whether Otho had been married (see Hefele, iv. 621). The elder Landulf says that his wife died, and that he sent Arnulf, archbishop of Milan, to seek a Byzantine princess in marriage for him. ii. 18.

^b Thietmar, iv. 34; Pagi, xvi. 421; Schmidt, ii. 72-4; Gfrörer, iv. 16.

^c He was so as king of Germany, but the First as emperor.

^d Annalista Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 686.

^e See Patrol. cxl. 20; and the Life of Cunegunda, ib. 205, seqq. A lameness with which Henry was afflicted,

while it is traced by some to a wound received in hunting, or to a fall, is referred by his legendary biographer to an angel's having touched a sinew, which shrank, like Jacob's, while the emperor was at Monte Gargano. Vita Anon. 40, Patrol. cxl. ; ib. pp. 13-4.

^f Miracula B. Richardi, c. 8, ap. Mabill. viii. Peter Damiani relates that a monk saw this abbot after death toiling in the erection of lofty buildings—a punishment for the too great indulgence of his architectural taste. Ep. viii. 2.

The Italians, on the death of Otho, hastily set up a king of their own, Harduin, marquis of Ivrea. But his power was controlled by the quarrels of various parties, which were too much bent on the advancement of their own private interests to combine in any policy for their common country. While the nobles of Italy were desirous of national independence, as being most favourable to their class, the prelates and clergy in general preferred the rule of a German sovereign, as less likely to interfere with their own power than that of a nearer neighbour.^g Harduin incurred the detestation of the clergy, not only by such oppressions as were usual, but by acts of savage personal violence against bishops who refused to comply with his will.^h To these causes of disagreement was added the rivalry between the two chief cities of northern Italy—Milan, the residence of the later Roman emperors, and Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom. That Harduin had been set up at Pavia ensured him the opposition of the Milanese, headed by their archbishop, Arnulf, who in 1004 invited Henry into Italy.ⁱ Harduin found himself deserted by most of his adherents, who flocked to the

May 15, German standard. Henry was crowned as king of Italy.
1004.

at Pavia; but the popular abhorrence of the Germans displayed itself, as usual, in the form of an insurrection. On the very night after the coronation, the king found himself besieged in his palace. The Germans, in order to divert the attack, set fire to the neighbouring houses. Henry's troops, who were at some distance from the city, were recalled by the sight of the flames, and the rising was suppressed; but a great part of the city had been destroyed, and the king recrossed the Alps with a feeling of disgust and indignation against his Italian subjects.^k Harduin renewed his pretensions, but in 1012 was compelled by a second expedition of Henry to abdicate; and, after a vain attempt to recover his power, he ended his days in a monastery—the last Italian who pretended to the crown of Lombardy.^m

In the mean while the Roman factions had taken advantage of the difficulties in which the Germans were involved. John, a son or brother of Crescentius,ⁿ for some years governed Rome with the title of Patrician, as the head of a republican administration.^o It would seem that to him three popes, who filled the chair from

^g Schmidt, ii. 235-6; Luden, vii. 361.

^h See the Life of Henry by Adelbold, who styles Harduin "episcopicide." Pertz, iv. 687; Luden, vii. 361.

ⁱ Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 70, 253-4.

^k Thietmar, vi. 6; Luden, vii. 375.

^m Luden, vii. 430.

ⁿ See Luden, vii. 408.

^o Sismondi, *Rép. Ital.* i. 112.

1004 to 1012, were indebted for their elevation. But on the death of the last of these, Sergius IV.,^p the disposal of the papacy was disputed by another party, headed by the counts of Tusculum, who, like the Crescentians, were descended from the notorious Theodora, her daughter Marozia having married their ancestor Alberic.^q The Tusculan party set up a pope named Benedict, whom they contrived to maintain against all opposition. Gregory, the popular or Crescentian pope, was expelled from the city, and set off to implore the aid of Henry.^r The king was not unwilling to have a pretext for going to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honours, and was made advocate of the church, which he swore faithfully to protect. But the visit resulted in the establishment not of Gregory, but of his rival Benedict, from whom Henry received the imperial crown.^s

A.D. 1012.

Feb. 14,
1014.

Benedict VIII. enjoyed greater power than his immediate predecessors, who had been subordinate to the Crescentian family.^t His energy was displayed in opposition both to the Greeks (with whom the Crescentian party had been connected)^u and to the Saracens. He induced the Pisans to attack the infidels in Sardinia, where the Christian inhabitants were oppressed and persecuted; and the expedition resulted in the conquest of the island.^x When a Saracen chief sent Benedict a sack full of chestnuts, with a message that he would return at the head of a like number of warriors, the pope sent it back filled with grains of millet, telling the Saracen

^p Sergius was before called *Bucca Porci*, or *Os Porci* (*Bocca di Porco*), and, on his election, discarded the uncomely name (Thietmar, vi. 61). He has been confounded with Sergius II. (A.D. 844), to whom the first example of such a change of name has consequently been referred. But the earliest real instance was that of Octavian or John XII. (p. 415). See Ciacon. i. 763-5; Murat. VI. i. 43; Schröckh, xxii. 322.

^q Milman, ii. 421.

^r There has been much dispute as to the meaning of a passage in Thietmar, vi. 61 — whether Benedict drove out Gregory, or Gregory drove out Benedict. But the second supposition (although supported by Luden, vii. 617-9) implies an almost inconceivable awkwardness in the chronicler's language, while there is no need to assume that the claimant who applied to Henry was the same whom he eventually supported.

See Schröckh, xxii. 322-3; note on Mosheim, ii. 328; Gfrörer, iv. 87; Jaffé, 356.

^s Thietmar, vi. 61; vii. 1; Schröckh, xxii. 321. Henry is said to have asked why the Nicene Creed was not sung in the mass, and was told that the Roman church, having been always orthodox, did not need so to use it. But by his desire it was introduced. The answer is inconsistent with the explanation proposed by Martene (*De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus*, i. 138) — that the creed was said, though not sung. It is more probable that the omission arose out of the controversy as to *Filioque* in the time of Charlemagne (see p. 173); Schröckh, xxii. 324-5.

^t Gfrörer, iv. 92.

^u Ib. 122.

^x Chron. Pisan. ap. Murat. vi. 108, 167.

that, if he were not content with the evil which he had already done, he should find an equal or greater multitude of men in arms, ready to oppose him.⁷ In 1020 Benedict went into Germany, ostensibly for the consecration of the church of St. Stephen⁸ at Bamberg; but the journey had also the more secret object of asking for aid against the Saracens; and he persuaded the emperor once more to lead his troops into Italy, where Henry delivered Rome from its danger by the overthrow of the enemy.⁹

A new power had lately appeared in the south of Italy. The Normans, after their conversion, had caught up with peculiar enthusiasm the prevailing passion for pilgrimages. Companies of them—usually armed, for defence against the dangers of the way—passed through France and Italy, and, after visiting Monte Gargano, which was famous for an appearance of the archangel Michael,¹⁰ they took ship from the southern harbours of the peninsula for the Holy Land.¹¹ Early in the eleventh century, a body of about forty Norman pilgrims, who had returned from the east in a vessel belonging to Amalfi, happened to be at Salerno when the place was attacked by a Saracen force. The prince, Guaimar, was endeavouring to raise the means of buying off the infidels; but the Normans, after expressing their indignation at the cowardice of the inhabitants, begged him to furnish them with arms, sallied forth against the enemy, and by their example roused the spirit of the Greeks to resistance. The prince rewarded their aid with costly presents, and offered them inducements to remain with him; they declined the invitation, but, at his request, undertook to make his circumstances known in their own country.¹² The sight of the rich and unknown fruits of the south, of the silken dresses and splendid armour which they carried home, excited the adventurous spirit of

⁷ Thietmar, vii. 31.

⁸ Not, as some writers say, of the cathedral—that having been consecrated in 1011 (Pagi, xvi. 469), although the pope on this occasion bestowed additional privileges on the see. Ep. 25 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

⁹ Annal. Quedl. 1020; Vita Henrici, cc. 25, seqq. ap. Pertz, iv.; Gfrörer, iv. 126. It was probably at Bamberg that Henry granted a charter which has sometimes been referred to his visit to Rome in 1014. By this the donations of former emperors are confirmed, and the new see of Bamberg, with the abbey of Fulda, specially made over to the

papacy, while it is provided that the pope is to be chosen in the presence of the imperial commissioners (Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 174). Schröckh (xxii. 323-4) and Planck (iii. 373) speak of it as certainly spurious; but Pertz and Gfrörer (iv. 12) suppose it to be only interpolated. Gieseler gives no opinion (II. i. 224). See a dissertation by Cenni, Patrol. xcvi. 809, seqq.; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 60; and on the date, see Pagi and Mansi, xvi. 516.

¹⁰ See the lessons of the Roman Breviary, May 8.

¹¹ Giannone, ii. 150-1.

¹² Ib. 152.

the Normans.* A chief named Osmond Drengot, who was on uneasy terms with his duke in consequence of having slain a nobleman who enjoyed the prince's favour,^f resolved to go into Italy with his family. He waited on the pope, who advised him to attack the Greeks of Apulia, and, before reaching Monte Gargano, the band was increased to the number of about a hundred warriors.^g These adventurers entered into the service of the neighbouring princes and republics,^h mixed in their quarrels, and aided them, although not with uniform success, against the Saracens and the Greeks. They were reinforced by outlaws of the neighbourhood, and by fresh migrations of their countrymen; they obtained grants from Henry and from the government of Naples, founded and fortified the town of Aversa, in 1029, and established themselves as an independent power, with a territory which was divided into twelve counties—their chief bearing the title of duke of Apulia.ⁱ But they soon displayed the habits of robbers, and were at war with all around them. Churches and monasteries were especial sufferers from their rapacity.^k

Both Henry and Benedict died in 1024. The Tusculans filled the papacy with a brother of the deceased pope, named John, in whose favour they bought the suffrages of the Romans with a large sum of money—a proceeding which the strength which they had by this time acquired would perhaps have rendered unnecessary, but for the circumstance that John was a layman.^m As Henry was childless, the empire was again without an heir. The choice of the electors fell on Conrad of Franconia, who was descended from a daughter of Otho the Great,ⁿ and is styled *the Salic*, probably in order to

* Chron. Casin. iii. 37; Amatus, i. 17-9, i. e. 'L'Ystoire de li Normant,' published by the Soc. de l'Hist. de France, Paris, 1835—an old translation of a chronicle written in the latter part of the 11th century by Amatus, a monk of Monte Cassino (Petr. Diac. de VV. Illustr. Casin. 20; Patrol. clxviii.), whom the editor, M. Champollion-Figeac, identifies with a bishop of Nusco. (See Giesel. II. ii. 236; Giannone, ii. 149.)

^f Amatus, i. 20; Guil. Gemet. vii. 30 (Patrol. cxlix.); Order. Vital. 53-5, and Le Prevost's note.

^g Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Sismondi, iv. 161-2.

^h "Illa quidem tellus nullius muneris expers, Fœtibus arboreis uberrima, vitibus, agris, Urbibus, et castris, omnique decore nitebat; Sed vulgus stolidum, pravum, rude, futile, vanum,

Otia longa sequi solitum, fugiensque laboris,
Mente manaque pigrum, nec pace nec utile bello.
Ergo viri potundi finibus illis
Spem raptant animo," &c.
Guntker, Ligurinus, l. 686, seqq. (Patrol. cxlix.)

"Nunc hoc, nunc illo contempto, plus tri-buent
Semper adharebant, servire libentius illi.
Omnes gaudebant a quo plus accipiebant."
Gul. Appulus, l. 141-4. (*Perts*, ix.)

ⁱ Gul. App. i. 165-187; Giannone, ii. 172, seqq.

^k Gul. App. i. 232; Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Gibbon, v. 326, seqq.; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 173-4.

^m Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Planck, iii. 370.

ⁿ Pagi, xvi. 546.

signify that he sprang from the noblest race of the Franks.^o A difficulty was raised by some bishops on the ground that Conrad had contracted a marriage within the fifth degree; he was even required to renounce either his wife or the dignity to which he had been chosen. But he firmly refused to consent to a separation, and his queen was crowned at Cologne by the archbishop, Piligrin, who, after having joined in the opposition, requested that he might be allowed to perform the ceremony.^p The election of Conrad was justified by a course of government which occasioned the saying that his throne stood on the steps of Charlemagne.^q

It was now considered that the kingdom of Italy depended on Germany, and that the German sovereign was entitled to the empire, but was not actually emperor until crowned at Rome.^r In 1026, Conrad was crowned as king of Italy at Milan, by the archbishop, Heribert.^s He was met by the pope at Como, and, after having suppressed a formidable insurrection at Ravenna, he received the imperial crown at Rome, on Easter-day, 1027.^t The ceremony was rendered more imposing by the presence of two kings—Canute of England and Denmark,^u who had undertaken a pilgrimage, and returned with a grant of privileges for the English church;^v and Rodolph, of Provence, to whose dominions Conrad succeeded in 1032, by virtue of a compact which had been made between the king and the late emperor.^w From Rome Conrad proceeded into the south, where he received the oath of fealty from the local princes, bestowed fresh grants on the Normans, and took measures for organising a resistance to the Greeks.^x

On the death of John, in 1033, the Tusculan party appointed to the papedom his cousin Theophylact, a boy of ten or twelve years of age.^a But this extravagant stretch of their power resulted in its overthrow. The young pope, who styled himself Benedict IX.,

^o Schmidt, ii. 231-4.

^p Wippo, Vita Chuonradi, c. 2, ap. Pertz, xi.; Stenzel, i. 8-14; Luden, viii. 17-24.

^q "Sella Chuonradi habet ascensoria Caroli;" or, in poetical form,

"Chuonradus Caroli premit ascensoria regis."
Wippo, 6.

^r Pagi, xvi. 558; Hallam, M. A. i. 22-4. Henry II., until crowned by the pope, styled himself *King of the Romans*. Diplom. 60-1 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Cenni, ib. xcviii. 664.

^s Luden, viii. 45.

^t Wippo, 13-6.

^u He was not yet king of Norway. (Thorpe, n. on Flor. Vigorn. i. 185.) The English writers place Canute's visit to Rome in 1031; but Wippo, a contemporary, seems preferable as authority. See the Mon. Hist. Brit. 429, 821.

^v Wilkins, i. 297.

^w Rodolph for a time attempted to set aside the compact, on the ground that it had been made with Henry, not as king of the Germans, but as his nephew and natural heir. Luden, viii. 32.

^x Wippo, 17; Luden, viii. 54.

^a Baron. 1033. 5-8.

appeared to be intent on renewing the worst infamies of the preceding century; his shameless debaucheries, although they have been questioned, are established on the testimony of one of his successors—Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who in 1086 ascended the papal chair as Victor III.^b

Conrad had chiefly owed his Italian kingdom to the influence of Heribert archbishop of Milan, who had opposed the attempt of the nobles to set up a French rival, Odo of Champagne.^c The archbishop relied on the interest which he had thus established, and, elated by his spiritual dignity, by his secular power, and by the success which had attended his undertakings, he behaved with great violence in the commotions of the country.^d These had become very serious. While the nobles cried out against the bishops, their own retainers, or *valvassors*,^e rose against them; bloody conflicts took place, and Conrad, at Heribert's invitation, again went into Italy for the purpose of investigating the cause of the troubles.^f The nobles charged the archbishop with having deprived many of them of their fiefs, and having excited their vassals to insurrection; and Heribert, instead of attempting to clear himself, addressed the emperor with such insolence, that an order was given for his arrest. No Italian would dare to touch him; but the Germans were less scrupulous, and he was carried off as a prisoner.^g The national feeling of the Italians was shocked by such an act against so eminent a prince of the church; even the archbishop's enemies shared in the general indignation and alarm, while his partisans, by means of the clergy and monks, industriously agitated the multitudes. Long trains of penitents in sackcloth and ashes swept solemnly through the streets and filled the churches with their litanies, imploring St. Ambrose to deliver his flock.^h The guardians to whose care Heribert had been committed allowed him to escape; he returned to Milan, and held out the city against the emperor, who, finding himself unable to take it, desolated the surrounding country.ⁱ Conrad found it convenient to ally himself with pope Benedict, who had lately been expelled by the Romans, and whom, in other circumstances, he

^b Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853.

^c Wippo, 7; Arnulf. Mediol. ii. 2 (Pertz, viii.).

^d Arnulf, ii. 10; Stenzel, i. 59. See Leo, Gesch. v. Italien, i. 401-2.

^e See Murat. Ann. VI. i. 139; Savigny, iii. 105; iv. 478.

^f Herm. Contract. Ann. 1035; Wippo,

34; Arnulf, ii. 12.

^g Landulf. sen. ii. 22; Annales Magdeb. ap. Pertz, xvi. 171; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 145; Stenzel, i. 61; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 77-8; Luden, viii. 111-6.

^h Landulf, ii. 22.

ⁱ Herm. Contract. A.D. 1087 (Pertz, v.); Wippo, 35; Arnulf. ii. 13-4.

would have avoided with disgust; an anathema was uttered against Heribert for his rebellion, and the pope sanctioned the nomination of one of the imperial chaplains to the see of Milan.^k But both clergy and people adhered to the archbishop, who now offered the crown of Italy to Odo of Champagne. The tempting proposal induced Odo to relinquish an expedition which he had made into Conrad's Lotharingian territory, and to set out towards the Alps; but he was intercepted and killed by Gozzelo, duke of Lorraine, and the emperor became undisputed master of Lombardy.^m The pope, in reward for his services, was conducted to Rome and reinstated in his office by Conrad; and the vices which he had before displayed were now rendered more odious by the addition of tyrannical cruelty towards those who had opposed him.ⁿ

After having again visited the south of Italy, the emperor returned to Germany, with health shaken by a sickness which had been fatal to many of his followers. Heribert found means of once more establishing himself in Milan, was reconciled with Conrad's successor, Henry III., and held the see, although not without much disquiet from the contentions between the nobles and the popular party, until his death in 1045.^o In the spring of 1039, Conrad died at Utrecht.^p The last months of his life had been spent in visiting various parts of his dominions; and at Arles, in the autumn of 1038, he republished a law which he had before promulgated at Milan, and which became the foundation of the feudal law of Europe—that the inferior vassals, instead of being removable at the will of their lords, should possess a hereditary tenure, which was to be forfeited only in case of felony established by the judgment of their equals.^q

In 1044 Benedict was again driven from Rome, and John, bishop of Sabino, was set up in his room, under the name of Sylvester III. After three months, however, Benedict was able to expel his rival; and—induced, according to one account, by love for the daughter

^k Herm. Contr. A.D. 1038; Annal. Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 680-1; Rupert. Tuit. Chron. S. Laurent. Leod. in Patrol. clxx. 689.

^m Herm. A.D. 1037; Arnulf, ii. 14.

ⁿ Luden, viii. 127, 193; Gfrörer, iv. 384.

^o Annal. Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 684; Arnulf, ii. 15-20; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 166, &c. Wippo says that Henry III.

disapproved of his father's proceedings against the archbishop, 35.

^p Wippo, 39.

^q Pertz, Leges, ii. 39, or Patrol. cli. 1043; Giannone, ii. 168; Sismondi, iv. 228; Luden, viii. 121. The enactment of Milan is referred by some to 1026, but was more probably in 1037. See Sismondi, R. I. i. 74; Hallam, M. A. i. 118.

of a nobleman who refused to allow the marriage except on condition of his vacating the papacy—he sold his interest in it to John Gratian, a presbyter who enjoyed a high reputation for austerity of life. But Benedict was disappointed in his love, and resumed his pretensions to the see, so that Rome was divided between three popes—"three devils," as they are styled by an uncerecermonious writer of the century¹—each of them holding possession of one of the principal churches—St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, and St. Mary Major.² Benedict was supported by the Tusculan party, and Sylvester by a rival faction of nobles, while Gratian, who had assumed the name of Gregory VI., was the pope of the people.³ The state of things was miserable; revenues were alienated or intercepted, churches fell into ruin, and disorders of every kind prevailed.⁴

That Gregory was regarded with ardent hope by the reforming party in the church appears from a letter written on his elevation by Peter Damiani, a person who became very conspicuous in the later history of the time.⁵ But it is said that the urgency of cir-

¹ Benzo, IV. vii. 2 (Pertz, xi. 670).

² Herm. Contr. A.D. 1044; Bonizo, 801; Desiderius (Victor III.), Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853); Döllinger, i. 432; Luden, viii. 636; Milman, ii. 426; &c. Here again Bayle's remark, quoted at p. 421, will apply. Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, states that Benedict, on account of his ignorance, caused another to be consecrated with him for the performance of the ecclesiastical offices; and that, as this arrangement offended many persons, a third pope was set up instead of the two. (De Investitura Episcoporum, ap. Schard. 74.) Otho of Freisingen (vi. 32, ap. Urstis. t. i.) says that, after three popes—Benedict, Sylvester, and a presbyter named John—were already set up, Gratian bought himself in as a *fourth*—allowing Benedict to retain the revenue from England. This story is followed by Baronius (1044. 11), Chacon (i. 781), and Planck (iii. 381-6), but is generally considered erroneous (Pagi, xvi. 659; Giesel. II. i. 226). Bonizo (801) places the setting up of Sylvester later than that of Gratian. Luden, who chiefly follows Bonizo, thinks that the nobles opposed to the Tusculan party, wishing to get rid of Benedict, fixed on John Gratian as the fittest person for the popedom; but that he, judging the time unfavour-

able to the interest of the nobles (more especially as Henry III. had just, in opposition to that class, promoted a clerk of humble birth, named Guy, to Milan), resolved to rely on the people, and bought their suffrages; that when Benedict had been persuaded to retire (partly from a feeling of his unfitness for the office), John was chosen by the acclamation of the people; that the nobles, finding themselves deceived in him, set up Sylvester; and the Tusculans, conceiving from the rivalry of the other parties a hope of re-establishing their own interest, again put Benedict forward (viii. 193-4). Gfrörer, as usual, has a theory—viz. that John Gratian was an instrument of the reforming monastic party, headed by Odilo of Cluny; and that the money which he spent was supplied by an association, founded by William, late duke of Aquitaine, which aimed at rendering the church independent of the secular power (iv. 387, 395-401). Jaffé dates the expulsion of Benedict within the first seven days of January 1044; the setting-up of Sylvester, about Feb. 22; his expulsion by Benedict on April 10; the sale to Gratian on May 1.

³ Gfrörer, iv. 385.

⁴ Döllinger, i. 433.

⁵ Ep. i. 1.

circumstances obliged him to devote himself to expostulations against the Saracens and the robber chiefs who impoverished the Roman treasury by plundering pilgrims of the gifts intended for it; and that on this account the Romans provided him with an assistant for the spiritual functions of his office.⁷ The scandalous condition of affairs cried aloud for some remedy, and Peter, archdeacon of Rome, went into Germany to request the intervention of Henry III., the son and successor of Conrad.⁸ The king resolved to set aside all the claimants of the apostolic chair,⁹ and, before setting out for Italy, he gave a token of the course which he intended to pursue by citing before him and depriving Widgers, who had been encouraged by the disorders of Rome to thrust himself into the archbishoprick of Ravenna.¹⁰ At Parma he assembled a council, but, as no pope was present, the investigation into the pretensions of the rivals was adjourned.¹¹ Gregory met the king at Piacenza, Dec. 20, and by his desire convened a second council at Sutri.¹²

1046. The other claimants of the papacy were cited, but did not appear; Benedict, who had retired to a monastery, was not mentioned in the proceedings; Sylvester was declared to be an intruder, was deposed from the episcopate and the priesthood, and condemned to be shut up in a cloister. Gregory, who presided over the council, and had perhaps shared in inviting Henry's interference, was then, to his astonishment, desired to relate the circumstances of his elevation. With the simplicity which is described as a part of his character,¹³ he avowed the use of bribery (which was perhaps too notorious to be denied); but he said that as, in consideration of his repute, large sums of money had been bestowed on him, which he had intended to expend on pious objects, he had been led to employ a part of them in this manner by a wish to rescue the holy see from the tyranny of the nobles, from its calamities and disgrace. Some members of the council suggested to him that the use of such means was unwarrantable. A new light broke in on the pope; he acknowledged that he had been deceived

⁷ W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 201; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 116. See Murat. Ann. VI. i. 178; Milman, ii. 427; see, too, Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 80.

⁸ Bonizo, 801. The Saxon annalist gives a rhyming prayer, as addressed to Henry by a hermit:—

⁹ Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis.
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Solve connubium, trifforme dubium!"

Perts., vi. 687.

Cf. Annal. Palidens., ib. xvi. 68.

¹⁰ Victor. III. Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853.)

¹¹ Gesta Epp. Leodiens. (Patrol. cxlii. 747); Luden, viii. 197.

¹² Döllinger, i. 433.

¹³ Bonizo, 801; Luden, viii. 200, 638.

¹⁴ Bonizo, 802.

by the enemy, and requested the bishops to advise him.^f According to one account, they answered that he would do better to judge himself; whereupon he confessed himself unworthy of the papacy, and stripped off his robes in the presence of the council.^g Other writers state that he was warned to anticipate a deprivation by resigning; while, according to a third statement, he was deposed.^h The papacy was vacant; and Henry proceeded to fill it with a pope of his own selection.

II. The beginning of the eleventh century is remarkable for the appearance of heretical teachers in various parts of Italy and France. It would appear that the doctrines professed by some of these persons had long been lurking among the Italians, and that now the discredit into which the church had fallen combined with the general suffering and distraction of the time to draw them forth into publicity and to procure adherents for them.ⁱ From the fact that Gerbert, at his consecration as archbishop of Rheims (A.D. 991), made a profession of faith in which he distinctly condemned (among other errors) some leading points of the Manichæan system,^k it has been inferred^m that heresy of a Manichæan character was then prevalent in some neighbouring quarter; but perhaps it may be enough to suppose that the Manichæism which Gerbert wished to disavow was one of the many errors with which he was personally charged by the enmity or the credulity of his contemporaries.ⁿ The opinions which were now put forth were of various kinds. One Leutard, a man of low condition, who about the year 1000 made himself notorious in the neighbourhood of Châlons-sur-Marne, would seem to have been a crazy fanatic. He professed to have received commands from heaven while sleeping in a field; whereupon he went home, put away his wife "as if by evangelic precept," and, going into a church, broke the crucifix.^o He denounced the payment of tithes, and said that some parts of Scripture were not to be believed, although, when summoned before the bishop of the diocese, he alleged scriptural texts as evidence of his mission. For a time Leutard found many proselytes; but the

^f Bonizo, 802.

^g Victor, Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853).

^h Herm. Contr. A.D. 1046. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 10; Planck, iii. 387-9; Schmidt, ii. 253; Döllinger, i. 433; Luden, viii. 202; Giesel. II. i. 227; and the ingenious theories of Gfrörer, iv. 424.

ⁱ Luden, viii. 103-4; Giesel. II. i. 404; Neand. vi. 348.

^k Hard. vi. 725.

^m Hahn, i. 31; C. Schmidt, i. 33.

ⁿ Giesel. II. i. 408.

^o "Crucem et Salvatoris imaginem." Perhaps, however, these were distinct things.

greater part of them were recovered by the bishop, and their leader drowned himself in a well.^p In another quarter, Vilgard, a grammarian of Ravenna, who was put to death for his heresy, attempted a revival of the classical paganism—maintaining “that the doctrines of the poets were in all things to be believed;” and we are told that demons used to appear to him by night under the names of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal.^q The historian from whom we derive our knowledge of Vilgard and Leutard relates also that paganism was very common in Sardinia, and that many professors of it went from that island into Spain, where they attempted to spread their opinions, but were driven out by the Catholics.^r

A sect of Manichæans is said to have been detected in Aquitaine in 1017,^s and in 1022^t a more remarkable party of the same kind was discovered at Orleans. These are reported to have derived their opinions from a female teacher,^u who came out of Italy, and was so “full of the devil” that she could convert the most learned clerks.^x For a time the sect grew in secret. Its leaders were two ecclesiastics named Stephen and Lisoï—both respected for their piety, their learning, and their charity, while Stephen was confessor to Constance, the queen whom Robert of France had espoused on his forced separation from Bertha. Among the proselytes were ten canons of the cathedral, and many persons of rank, not only in Orleans and its neighbourhood, but even in the royal court.^y

The discovery of these sectaries is variously related. The most circumstantial account^z ascribes it to Arefast, a Norman noble, who, having allowed a chaplain named Herbert to go to Orleans for the purpose of study, was startled by finding on his return that he had there imbibed new and heretical opinions. At the desire of king Robert, to whom, through the medium of the duke of Normandy, he reported the matter, Arefast proceeded to Orleans for the purpose of detecting the heretics, and by the advice of a

^p Rad. Glab. ii. 11; Hahn, i. 31.

^q Rad. Glab. ii. 12.

^r *Ib.*

^s Ademar, iii. 49; Hahn, i. 33. The council of Charroux (Conc. Carofense) against these sectaries (Hard. vi. 844) has been variously dated from 1017 to 1031. Pagi says that it was called by William of Aquitaine in 1028, on finding that they were again making head (xvi. 565). See Ademar, iii. 69 (Pertz, iv.).

^t Maitland, Letter to Mill, Lond. 1839, p. 29; Giesel. II. i. 408-10.

^u Ademar, iii. 59, says from a *rustic*, who in some texts is described as of Perigueux. The accounts by Radulf the Bald, Ademar, and the unknown writer who is the chief authority on the subject—apparently a biographer of Arefast (Maitl. 19)—are given by Hardouin, vi. 821, seqq. See also the Appendix to Dr. Maitland's Letter.

^x Rad. Glab. iii. 8.

^y *Ibid.*; Ademar, iii. 59. Radulf calls Stephen by the name of Herbert. See n. in Bouquet, x. 35.

^z Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 822.

clergyman of Chartres, whom he had consulted on the way, he affected to become a pupil of Stephen and Lisoi.^a They taught him that Christ was not really born of the Virgin Mary; that He was not really crucified, buried, or risen; that baptism had no efficacy for the washing away of sin; that priestly consecration did not make the sacrament of the Redeemer's body and blood; that it was needless to pray to martyrs or confessors.^b On Arefast's asking how he might attain salvation, if the means to which he had hitherto looked were unavailing, the teachers replied that they would bestow on him the imposition of their hands, which would cleanse him from all sin and fill him with the Holy Spirit, so that he should understand the Scriptures in their depth and true dignity; that they would give him heavenly food, by which he should be enabled to see visions and to enjoy fellowship with God. By this mysterious food, which was represented as having the power to confirm disciples immoveably in the doctrines of the party, was doubtless meant something of a spiritual kind—the same with the *consolamentum* of somewhat later sectaries.^c But a wild story was imagined in explanation of it—that the heretics at some of their meetings recited a litany to evil spirits; that the devil appeared in the form of a small animal;^d that the lights were then extinguished, and each man embraced the woman nearest to him—even if she were his mother, his sister, or a consecrated nun. A child born of such intercourse was, at the age of eight days, burnt at a meeting of the sect; the ashes were preserved, to be administered under the name of “heavenly food;” and such was the potency of this “diabolical” sacrament that any one who received it became irrevocably bound to the heresy.^e

Robert, on receiving information from Arefast, repaired to Orleans, where the whole party of the sectaries was apprehended, and Arefast appeared as a witness against them. They avowed their doctrines, and expressed an assurance that these would prevail throughout the world. They professed to entertain views far above the apprehension of ordinary Christians—views taught to them inwardly by God and the Holy Spirit. They spoke with contempt of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the miraculous evidence of

^a In an earlier age, St. Augustine wrote his book ‘*Contra Mendacium*’ against the employment of such artifices for the detection of the Priscillianists. *Retract.* ii. 60.

^b Hard. vi. 823; Hahn, i. 36-7.

^c Neand. vi. 352. See hereafter, Book

V. c. xii. 4.

^d Ademar says that the devil used to appear first as a negro, and then as an angel of light, and daily supplied the sectaries with money. iii. 59.

^e Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 824.

Scripture. They maintained that the heavens and the earth were eternal and uncreated. They appear to have also maintained that the sins of sensuality were not liable to punishment, and that the ordinary duties of religion and morality were superfluous and useless.^f

After a vain attempt to reclaim the sectaries, they were condemned to death. Such of them as were clerks were deposed and were stripped of their robes. While the trial was proceeding, queen Constance, by her husband's desire, had stood on the steps of the church in which it was held, in order that her presence might restrain the populace from rushing in and tearing the accused to pieces. Bent on proving that her abhorrence of heresy prevailed over old personal attachment, she thrust her staff into one of her confessor's eyes as he was led out after condemnation. Two of the party, a clerk and a nun, recanted; thirteen remained steadfast, and approached the place of execution with a smiling and triumphant air, in the expectation of deliverance by miracle. One historian of the time relates that, when the flames were kindled around them, yet no interposition took place, they cried out that the devil had deceived them;^g but, according to another account, they retained their exultant demeanour to the last.^h Some dust, which was supposed to be the "heavenly food," was thrown into the flames with them.ⁱ The body of a canon named Theodatus, who had been a member of the sect but had died three years before, was taken from the grave and cast into unconsecrated ground.^k

In 1025, Gerard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, a pupil of Gerbert,^m discovered in the former city some sectaries who professed to have received their opinions from an Italian named Gundulf.ⁿ The bishop placed them before a council, and drew forth an acknowledgment of their doctrines. They denied the utility of baptism and of the eucharist, resting their objections to baptism on three grounds—the unworthiness of the clergy; the fact that

^f Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 36; Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 825. These authorities do not altogether agree. Some Protestant writers, as Basnage, have contended that, since the Orleans sectaries disparaged the sacraments, they cannot have been wrong in any other point! (See Schröckh, xxiii. 331.) Mr. Faber maintains that "they were no Manichæans, but, on the contrary, resolute and heaven-supported martyrs

to the pure and unadulterated faith of the Gospel." 'The Vallenses and Albigenes,' quoted by Maitland, Letter to Mill, 12.

^g Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 38.

^h Ademar, iii. 59.

ⁱ Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 826.

^k Ademar, iii. 59.

^m Patrol. cxlii. 1267.

ⁿ Synod. Atrébat. ib. 1271.

the sins renounced at the font were afterwards actually committed; and the idea that an infant, being incapable of faith or will, could not be benefited by the profession of others.^o They were charged with denying the use of penance,^p with setting at nought the church, with condemning marriage,^q with refusing honour to the confessors, and limiting it to apostles and martyrs alone.^r They held that churches were not more holy than other buildings; that the altar was merely a heap of stones, and the cross was but like other wood.^s They condemned episcopal ordination, the distinction of orders and ranks in the ministry,^t the use of bells, incense, images, and chanting,^u and the practice of burying in consecrated ground,^x which they asserted that the clergy encouraged for the sake of fees. It would seem also that they denied the resurrection of the body.^y In answer to the bishop, they professed that their opinions were scriptural; that their laws bound them to forsake the world, to abstain from fleshly lusts, to earn their maintenance by the work of their hands, to show kindness to those who opposed them. If they observed these rules, they had no need of baptism; if they neglected the rules, baptism could not profit them.^z

Gerard combated the opinions of the party at great length, with arguments agreeable to the theology of the age; and, although we may smile at the miraculous stories which he adduced,^a we must honour his wisdom and his excellent temper. He blamed them especially for holding an opinion of their own merits which was inconsistent with the doctrine of divine grace.^b The sectaries, who appear to have been men of simple mind and of little education, were convinced—rather, it would seem, by the bishop's legends than by his sounder reasons. They prostrated themselves before him, and expressed a fear that, since they had led others into error, their sin was beyond forgiveness.^c But he comforted them with hopeful assurances, and, on their signing a profession of orthodoxy, received them into the communion of the church.^d

Heresy of a Manichæan character was also taught at Toulouse, where the professors of it who were detected were put to death,^e

^o Ib. 1272. ^p Ib. 1296.

^q Ib. 1299. ^r Ib. 1301.

^s Ib. 1284, 1304.

^t Ib. 1291, 1294, 1307.

^u Ib. 1286, 1291, 1303, 1306.

^x "In atriis domus Domini." Ib. 1295.

^y Schröckh, xxiii. 334, seqq.; Hahn,

i. 41.

^z Patrol. cxlii. 1272.

^a E. g. coll. 1282-3.

^b Patrol. cxlii. 1309-10; Hahn, i. 39-

41.

^c Patrol. cxlii. 1284.

^d Ademar, iii. 59.

^e Ib. 1311-2.

although their opinions continued to spread in the district ; and in 1044 Heribert, archbishop of Milan, when on a visitation of his province, discovered a sect at Monteforte, near Turin.^f The chief teacher of this sect was named Gerard ; the countess of Monteforte patronised it, and among its members were many of the clergy. When questioned as to his belief, Gerard gave orthodox answers ; but on further inquiry it proved that these answers were evasive. The sectaries held that by the Son of God was meant the human soul, beloved by God and born of Holy Scripture ; that the Holy Spirit was the understanding of divine things ;^g that they might be bound and loosed by persons who were authorised for the work, but that these were not the clergy of the church. They said that they had a high priest different from the pontiff of Rome—a high priest who was not tonsured, besides whom there was no other high priest and no sacrament ;^h that he daily visited their brethren who were scattered throughout the world, and that, when God bestowed him on them, they received forgiveness of all sin.ⁱ They had a peculiar hierarchy of their own ; they lived rigidly, ate no flesh, fasted often, kept up unceasing prayer by alternate turns, and observed a community of goods. They inculcated the duty of virginity, living with their wives as mothers or sisters, and believed that, if all mankind would be content to live in purely spiritual union, the race would be propagated after the manner of bees.^k They considered it desirable to suffer in this life in order to avert sufferings in the life to come ; hence it was usual that those among them who had escaped outward persecution should be tortured and put to death by their friends.

The members of the sect were seized and were removed to Milan. Attempts were made to reclaim them, but without effect ; and the magistrates, on learning that they had endeavoured to gain converts among the country people, ordered them, although without the archbishop's consent, to be carried to a place outside the city, where

^f Giesel. II. i. 412-3. The account of this sect is taken from Landulf, ii. 27 (Pertz, viii.) ; that given by Radulf the Bald, under an earlier date (iv. 2), is considered by Neander to be fabulous. vi. 359.

^g Neander thinks that with these opinions the literal doctrine of the God-head may also have been held. vi. 360.

^h "Non est alius pontifex, nec mysterium."

ⁱ Hahn (i. 45) supposes that a human priest was meant. Baur (Manich. Re-

ligions-system, 304) refers the description to Christ in the form of the sun, circling round the earth, according to the Manichean doctrine ("Alius in coelo circumiens radiis suis etiam de cloacis membra dei vestri colligit." Aug. c. Faust. xx. 10) ; Gieseler (II. i. 413), and C. Schmidt (ii. 146), to the Holy Ghost, which seems to agree best with the last words in the text, and with "mysterium."

^k Hahn, i. 44.

they were required, on pain of burning, to bow to the cross, and to profess the catholic faith. Almost all refused; they covered their eyes with their hands, and rushed into the fire which was prepared for them.

It is generally assumed by modern writers, on grounds which it is impossible to discover, that the statement of Heribert's freedom from any share in the fate of these unfortunate fanatics is untrue. But in another quarter, at least, a voice was raised by a bishop in behalf of Christian principle and humanity as to the treatment of religious error. Wazo, bishop of Liège, who died in 1048, received a letter from Roger bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, reporting the appearance of some heretics who avowed the doctrines of Manes, and supposed him to be the Holy Ghost. Among other things, Roger states that even the most uneducated persons, when perverted to this sect, became more fluent in their discourse than the most learned clerks; and he asks how he should deal with them. Wazo tells him in reply that forcible measures are inconsistent with our Lord's parable of the tares; that bishops do not at their ordination receive the sword; that their power is not that of killing but of making alive; that they ought to content themselves with excluding those who are in error from the church, and preventing them from spreading the infection. The writer who has preserved the correspondence enforces this advice by the authority of St. Martin,^m and expresses a belief that the bishop of Tours would have strongly reprobated the punishment of some sectaries who were put to death at Goslar in 1052.ⁿ

The origin of the sects which thus within a short period appeared in so many quarters is matter of doubt and controversy. The heretical parties north of the Alps for the most part professed to have received their opinions immediately from Italy; but it is asked whether they had been introduced into that country by Paulician refugees, the offspring of the Paulicians who, in 969, had been transported by John Tzimisce from Armenia to Thrace, and established as guards of the western frontiers of his empire, with permission to retain their religion;°—or whether they were derived from Manichæans who, notwithstanding the vigorous measures of

^m See vol. i. p. 286.

ⁿ *Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium*, 62-4 (Pertz, viii.). For the sectaries of Goslar, see *Herm. Contr.* A.D. 1052. For the history of the increased severity of

punishment for heresy, Planck, IV. ii. 442-452.

° See Gibbon, v. 281; *Anna Comnena*, l. xiv. pp. 450-2, ed. Paris.

Leo the Great and other popes for the suppression of the sect, had continued to lurk in Italy.^p The avowal of the party at Monteforte, that they did not know from what part of the world they had come,^q which has been cited in behalf of the connexion with Paulicianism, appears rather to favour the opposite view, inasmuch as it would seem to imply not only a foreign origin (which was common to both Manichæans and Paulicians), but an establishment of their doctrines in Italy long before the then recent time at which Paulicianism had been introduced into Europe. Moreover the sectaries of Monteforte differed from the Paulicians in the rejection of flesh and of marriage, in the system of their hierarchy, in maintaining the distinction between elect and hearers; and the western sects in general paid honour to Manes, whereas the Paulicians anathematised him. The indistinctness with which the Manichæan tenets appear in some of the cases has been accounted for by supposing that the obscure followers of Manes, lurking in corners for centuries, were kept together rather by external observances than by any accurate knowledge of the system which they professed; while something must also be allowed for the defectiveness of the notices which have reached us. It seems, therefore, possible that the new heretics may have derived their opinions from the Manichæans; and, according to the advocates of this view, it was not until the east had been brought into communication with the west by the crusades that the western sectaries learnt to trace a likeness between themselves and the Paulicians, which, by means of fabulous inventions, was then referred to a supposed connexion in earlier times. But there seems to be a deficiency of proof for the supposition that the Manichæan sect had continued to exist in Italy—the only evidence of its existence after the time of Gregory the Great being apparently the mention of some heretics who are styled Arians, but *may* have been Manichæans, at Padua in the tenth century.^r

^p Mosheim (ii. 391), Gibbon (iv. 283), Schröckh (xxiii. 334, 345), and Dr. Maitland ('Facts and Documents relating to the Albigenses and Waldenses,' Lond. 1832, sect. iv.), advocate the theory of a connexion with the Paulicians. Gieseler takes the opposite side (II. i. 405). Others suggest the Priscillianists or the Euchites (ib.; Neand. vi. 348). See C. Schmidt, i. 18.

^q Landulf, ii. 28, p. 66.

^r Dr. Maitland says (p. 89) that he can find no Manichæans in Europe for more than 400 years before the affair at Orleans. The only evidence which Gieseler produces is the continued denunciation of Manichæans in the commission given to bishops. But it is clear that this was merely a form retained after the cause of it had passed away (see above, p. 106, note ^b); and, moreover, it describes the Manichæans not as

In the east also the beginning of the eleventh century was marked by the rise or by the increased activity of some heretical sects—as the Athinggani, the Children of the Sun, and the Euchites; but their influence was so limited that it is unnecessary here to give any particular account of them.*

Italians, but as Africans. The mention of the Paduan heretics is taken from Höfler (i. 211-2); they were discovered by a bishop named Peter (A.D. 919-922), and were extinguished by one of his successors, Gauzelin, half a century later.

* See for these sects Neand. vi. 341-7; Giesel. II. i. 401-3.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BRITISH CHURCHES — MISSIONS OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

I. THE most remarkable subject in the religious history of England between the death of Alfred and the Norman conquest is the struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. The distaste for monachism which had grown up among the Anglo-Saxons has been mentioned in a former chapter.^a The long-continued invasions of the Danes contributed to the decline of the system, not only by laying waste a multitude of religious houses and butchering or dispersing their inmates, but by compelling men to study almost exclusively the arts of self-preservation and self-defence.^b Thus the monastic life became extinct in England; and when Alfred attempted to revive it by founding a monastery for men at Athelney and one for women at Shaftesbury, it was found that, although Shaftesbury prospered under the government of one of the king's own daughters, no Englishman of noble or free birth could be persuaded to embrace the monastic profession; and Alfred was obliged to stock his establishment at Athelney with monks and children from abroad.^c

In some of the religious houses which had suffered from the Danish ravages, a new class of inmates established themselves. Perhaps (as has been suggested) many of them were persons who had belonged to those inferior orders of the clergy which were not bound to celibacy. Such persons may, in the scarcity of other clerks, have been raised by bishops to the higher degrees without being required to forsake their wives; and the practice thus begun may have been extended to a general neglect of enforcing celibacy on the ministers of the church.^d From this and other causes it came to pass that the monasteries were occupied by a married clergy, among whom, without too literally understanding the gross accusations of their enemies, we may reasonably believe that there was much of irregularity and of worldly-mindedness.^e The monastic

^a P. 221.^b Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 259.^c Asser, in Mon. Hist. Brit. 493-5.^d Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 252-4.^e See Kemble, ii. 454-7.

life, properly so called, was no longer followed; the Englishmen who wished to lead such a life either withdrew to lonely hermitages or betook themselves to foreign monasteries, among which that of Fleury on the Loire was the most favourite resort.^f Such was the state of things when Dunstan entered on his career of reform.

Dunstan was born about the year 925, of noble parentage, in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury—a place which enjoyed a peculiar veneration, not only on account of the legends which made it the scene of the first preaching of Christianity in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea,^g but also from later associations. The fame of St. Patrick was fabulously connected with Glastonbury; it was even said to be his burial-place;^h and it was much frequented by Irish, some of whom lived there in the practice of strict devotion, although not bound by any monastic rule, and drew a large number of pupils from the surrounding country. Under these masters Dunstan became a proficient in the learning of the time, and acquired extraordinary accomplishments in calligraphy, painting, sculpture, music, mechanics, and the art of working in metals, so that his skill and ingenuity brought on him the charge of magic.ⁱ His earlier history abounds in details of rigid asceticism, in tales of strange miracles, of encounters with devils, and of fierce mental conflicts.^k Having been introduced at the court of king Edmund, he received from the king the church of Glastonbury, with a grant of new privileges; and he erected a magnificent abbey, which he filled with Benedictine monks—the first of their kind who had been seen in England for two hundred years.^m Dunstan acquired high office and powerful influence in the state. We are familiar from childhood with some version of the story of his contest with Edwy “the All-fair”—how on the coronation-day A.D. 956-9. he forcibly dragged the king from the society of Ethelgiva, and

^f Vita Odonis, ap. Mabill. vii. 291; Vita Abbonis, ib. viii. 36; Gerv. Dorob. ap. Twysden, 1645; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 262.

^g W. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiae, Patol. clxxix. 1683. See Collier, i. 15, seqq.

^h Will. Malmesb. l. c., 1688; Gesta Regum, 22. See Villanueva's ‘St. Patrick,’ 294-7, and the notes.

ⁱ Osbern, ap. Wharton. ii. pp. 92-5.

^k Ib. 96, seqq. The most famous of his victories over the devil, although

placed by local tradition at the archiepiscopal residence of Mayfield, where “St. Dunstan's anvil, hammer, and tongs” are still exhibited (Murray's Handbook for Kent and Sussex, ed. 1, p. 231) belongs to the time when he was a monk of Glastonbury. Osbern, c. 14.

^m W. Malmesb. G. R. 143. Osbern (100) has misled some writers into supposing that they were the first who had ever appeared in England. See Wharton, ii. 91-2; Kemble, ii. 451-2.

compelled him to rejoin the boisterous festivity of his nobles ;^a the expulsion of the monks by Edwy from Glastonbury and Abingdon, the only monasteries which then belonged to them ; the exile of Dunstan, and his triumphant return as a partisan of the king's brother Edgar, who forced Edwy to a partition of the kingdom, and soon after became sovereign of the whole. Under Edgar, Dunstan enjoyed an unlimited power. In 958 he obtained the bishoprick of Worcester, to which in the following year that of London was added ; and in 960 he was advanced to the primacy of Canterbury, as successor of his friend and supporter Odo.^o He received the pall at Rome from John XII.,^p and, with the approbation of the pope and of the king, he began a reform of the clergy. Edgar, whose co-operation was exacted as a part of the penance incurred by his having carried off a novice or pupil from the nunnery of Wilton,^q is said to have inveighed at a council in the severest terms against the corruptions of the seculars.^r The sees of Worcester and Winchester were filled with two of the archbishop's most zealous partisans—Oswald, a nephew of the late primate, and Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, who was styled "the father of monks," and was a confidential adviser of the king.^s Seculars were ejected wherever it was possible ; all preferment was exclusively bestowed on the regulars ; monks were brought from Fleury and other foreign monasteries, to fill the places of the expelled clergy, and to serve as examples to the English of the true monastic

^a As to the controversy respecting Ethelgiva's character and position, I shall content myself with saying that the coarse language which Dr. Lingard (*A. S. C.* ii. 274-5, 445-7) quotes from monkish writers, as proving that she was not queen but a woman of loose reputation, is nothing more than such writers would have applied to any woman whose marriage was a breach of the extravagant prohibitions then established—as Dr. Lingard must have very well known (see Theiner, i. 541-2). There is also much disingenuousness in Dr. Lingard's account of the later story (ii. 277-8). See Turner, *Hist. Anglos.* ii. 252 ; Lappenb. ii. 132 ; Milman, iii. 20. The clearness and fairness of Mr. Hallam (*M. A. i.* 516 ; *Suppl. Notes*, 185) present a striking contrast to the Romanist historian's artifices. In the Supplemental Notes, Mr. Hallam comes nearer than before to the common story. Archdeacon Churton disbelieves the cruelties which are said to have been

practised on Ethelgiva (241). Mr. Soames, who here takes an unexpected line, is favourable to Odo, on the strength of his scanty remains (*Patrol.* cxxxiii.), and even palliates the ham-stringing of the queen ! (182-7.) Dean Hook's belief (*i.* 380), that Odo was dead when this took place, seems questionable.

^o *W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif.* (*Patrol.* clxxix. 1453) ; Lingard, *A. S. C.* ii. 281-2.

^p *Joh. XII. Ep. 9* (*Patrol.* cxxxiii.) ; *Bridfert. Vita Dunst.* 27-8 (*ib.* cxxxix.).

^q Osborn, 111.

^r The speech ascribed to him (which may be found in Aelred, *ap. Twysden*, 360, or in Wilkins, *i.* 246) is probably a later invention. See Lingard, *A. S. C.* ii. 288.

^s *Saxon Chron.* *A. D.* 934 ; *Flor. Wigorn.* *i.* 139 ; *Hist. Abingdon.* ed. Stevenson (*Chron. and Mem. of G. B.*, *i.* 356). Ethelwold, like Dunstan, was famous for his mechanical skill, and was expert in bell-founding.

life.¹ The canons of Winchester are described by Ethelwold's biographer as sunk in luxury and licentiousness; they refused to perform the offices of the church, and, not content with marrying, indulged themselves in the liberty of changing their wives at pleasure.² The bishop, armed with a special authority from the pope, John XIII., summoned them to appear before himself and a commissioner from the king. Throwing down on the floor a number of monastic cowls, he required the clergy either to put on these or to quit their preferments. Three only complied, and the rest were dismissed with pensions from the property of the church.³ The reformation of Worcester was effected by means of another kind. Oswald, with a company of monks, established in the city a service which rivalled that of the cathedral. The people flocked to the new comers; and the canons of the cathedral, finding themselves deserted, were reduced to acquiesce in the bishop's measures.⁴ During the reign of Edgar, forty-seven monasteries were founded, restored, or recovered from the secular clergy. The monks were governed by a rule modified from that of St. Benedict, and chiefly derived from Fleury.⁵

Under the next king, Edward the Martyr, a reaction appeared to be threatened. Some noblemen expelled the regulars from monasteries situated on their lands, and reinstated the seculars with their wives and children.⁶ Councils were held for the consideration of the matter. At Winchester, Dunstan is said to have gained a victory by means of a crucifix which uttered words forbidding the proposed change.⁷ At Calne, where the cause of the seculars was eloquently pleaded by a Scotch or Irish bishop named Beornhelm, Dunstan solemnly told the assembly that he committed the cause of his church to God—on which, it is said, the floor of the hall in which the council was assembled immediately gave way; some were killed and many were severely hurt; while the archbishop and the friends who surrounded him were saved by the firmness of the beam over which they stood.⁸ The

¹ Hist. Abingd. ii. 259; Theiner, i. 549.

² Vita Ethelw. ap. Mabill. vii. 602.

³ Ib. 603; Joh. XIII. ad Edgar. ap. Hard. vi. 640; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 291; Kemble, ii. 461. The old biographers say that some of the seculars attempted to poison Ethelwold, but that he escaped by exerting his faith in the promise, Mark xvi. 18. Mabill. l. c.; Hist. Abingd. ii. 261.

⁴ Fadmer. ap. Wharton, ii. 202.

⁵ Hist. Abingd. i. 121, 344; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 299.

⁶ Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 975.

⁷ Osbern, 112; Wilkins, i. 261. Southey refers this to ventriloquism, Vindicie, 258.

⁸ Osbern, 112; Chron. Sax. A.D. 978. Some writers say that Dunstan alone escaped. See the quotations in Turner's Appendix.

story of the speaking crucifix appears to be a fiction;^d the other may be explained without the supposition either that a miracle was wrought in behalf of Dunstan, or that he deliberately contrived a fraud which involved the death or bodily injury of his opponents.^e The regular clergy got the victory for the time, but it was very imperfectly carried out. With the exception of Worcester and Winchester, no cathedrals were reformed. Dunstan, although he lived to 988,^f made no attempt to introduce a change at Canterbury—whether it were that he was afraid to venture on such a work, or that reform appeared less necessary there than elsewhere;^g and his coadjutor Oswald, on being translated to the archbishopric of York, held that see for twenty years (972-992) without disturbing the seculars of his province.^h The renewal of the Danish invasions diverted the general attention from such matters. Canterbury was transferred to monks by archbishop Aelfric, in 1003;ⁱ but the other cathedrals remained in possession of the seculars until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, and throughout the kingdom the triumph of the one or of the other party depended on their strength in each locality.^k At the council of Eanham, in 1009, it was laid down that all marriage of the

^d Soames, 202-3.

^e Fuller (i. 106), Southey (*Vindiciae*, 254), and Dean Milman (iii. 20), point to the archbishop's known skill in mechanical contrivances as suspicious. Mr. Turner condemns him (*Hist. Ang. Sax.* ii. 273-4, and *Append.* to B. vi. c. 7), but Mr. Soames is disposed to acquit him (205). Sir J. Mackintosh argues that a contrivance was very improbable (i. 55). Dr. Lappenberg points out that, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicle, the sufferers were not the secular clergy (the objects of Dunstan's enmity), but the nobles of the realm (i. 415); and parallels have been produced—as that of a diet at Erfurt, in 1184 (*Annal. Pegav. ap. Pertz*, xvi. 265; *Albert. Stad. ib.* 560), and an English assize in the last century (*Churton*, 250); to which may be added one which occurred on a visit of Pius IX. to the church of St. Agnes, near Rome, in 1855, and which is commemorated by a painting on a wall of the monastery. That the sinking of the floor is said to have taken place *immediately* after Dunstan had appealed to heaven (a circumstance on which Turner and Southey much rely) may possibly be an exaggeration of a very familiar sort; and, if so,

the suspicion of contrivance is greatly weakened. Dr. Lingard, with needless unfairness, gives a turn to the story by representing the Saxon Chronicle as stating that Dunstan escaped by *catching at a beam*. This is, indeed, countenanced by the version which Dr. Lingard quotes from Henry of Huntingdon—"trabe quadam apprehensa" (*A. S. C.* ii. 302); but, as appears from more accurate translations, the Chronicler really says that the archbishop *stood, supported himself, or was stayed on a beam*. For this, see Gibson in Turner, ii. 281-2; Stevenson, n. on Sax. Chron. 73; Thorpe's transl. p. 99; and on the general question, Collier, i. 469; Palgrave, *Hist. Anglos.* 280; Martineau, 195.

^f Pagi, xvi. 290.

^g Lingard, *A. S. C.* ii. 289.

^h *Ib.* 290.

ⁱ Wilkins, i. 282; Sax. Chron. A.D. 995; Lingard, ii. 294; Thörn, ap. Twysd. 1781. After the massacre of monks, with archbishop Alphege, by the Danes, in 1012, the discipline of Canterbury again decayed (*Gervas. ib.* 1650). Soon after the Conquest an attempt was unsuccessfully made to eject the monks. See Alex. II. Ep. 144 (*Patrol. cxlvii.*).

^k Lingard, *A. S. C.* ii. 325-6.

clergy is improper; but the council seems to have practically contented itself with attempting to suppress the greater evils which had arisen from such prohibitions—that clerks took more than one wife at a time, or discarded one for another.^m The secular clergy of England continued to marry, and their issue was regarded as legitimate.ⁿ

II. In common with other western countries, Ireland suffered severely from the ravages of the Northmen,^o and in resistance to these enemies the clergy frequently took to arms.^p Favoured by the discords of the native chiefs, the Danes made extensive settlements in Ireland; their princes were established at Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford—the last of these a town altogether of their own foundation.^q Various tribes of Northmen contended for the possession of Dublin. But the power of the strangers was weakened by their internal feuds, and was at length irrecoverably broken at the great battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday 1014, where Brian Boru, king of all Ireland, fell at the age of eighty-eight in leading on his countrymen to victory.^r Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, however, still remained in possession of the Danes.

The Danes (or *Ostmen*) of Dublin were gradually converted to Christianity. They would not, however, receive bishops from the Irish, but sought consecration for their pastors from the English church, with which their own race had become closely connected.^s And it was by means of this Danish inter-^{About A.D. 1040.} course with England that Ireland was for the first time brought into connexion with the Roman church.^t

III. The obscurity which hangs over the church-history of Scotland during this period has been lamented by all who have made that history the special subject of their inquiries.^u The ancient

^m C. 5 (Thorpe, 134). See Milman, iii. 21.

ⁿ Theiner, ii. 570. As to the character of Dunstan, see Lappenberg, i. 416-7; Kemble, ii. 449, 459, 460. His labours to revive learning deserve to be mentioned to his credit (Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 310; Neander, vi. 93); and also the firmness with which he resisted the pope in a matter of discipline (see below, C. VIII. i. 1). Dr. Hook justly praises his ability as a statesman.

^o See Lanigan, iii. 270, seqq., 346, 366, 373, &c.; King, 379, seqq.

^p King, 386.

^q Ib. 389.

^r Lanigan, iii. 421; King, 415.

^s Lanfranc, Epp. 36-8.

^t King, 420. Lanigan dates the conversion of these Danes in 948, and the beginning of their connexion with Canterbury after the Norman conquest.

^u E. g. Russell, i. 89; Grub, i. 224. The reader will see how much I am indebted to Mr. Grub's learned work. His sources are, in great part, such as I could not have attempted to explore; and he seems to have collected

chronicles have perished, and the story, instead of resting, as elsewhere, on the satisfactory evidence of contemporary narratives, must be sought out and pieced together by the laborious industry and the doubtful guesses of the antiquary. Scotland was much infested by the Danes, who succeeded in establishing themselves in the country to such a degree that a large Scandinavian element may to this day be traced among its population.^v In 806 they attacked Iona, where sixty-eight of the monks were slain;^x and it appears that, in consequence of the dangers to which St. Columba's island sanctuary was exposed, Kenneth III. in 849 translated the patron's relics, and removed the seat of the Scottish primacy to Dunkeld.^y From that time the abbots of Dunkeld exercised the same authority over the church which had before been vested in the abbots of Iona, but the abbot of Iona continued to be the head of the Columbite order of monks.^z About 905 it is believed that Dunkeld itself became unsafe, and that the primacy was translated to St. Andrews;^a and in this more permanent seat it acquired a character more nearly resembling the primacy of other countries, by being vested in the bishops of St. Andrews, who were styled "Episcopi Scotorum," while the other bishops of the kingdom were subject to them in the same manner as they had formerly been to the successors of Columba in Iona and Dunkeld.^b

In the absence of certain information, writers of Scottish history have freely indulged in fables and wild conjectures. Nor has the national fondness for claiming eminent men as our countrymen been limited to those cases in which the ambiguous term *Scotus* might give some plausibility to the claim—such as that of the philosopher John, whose other designation, *Erigena*, has been interpreted as meaning a native of Ayr!^c Thus it has been attempted, in opposition to clear historical evidence, to maintain that Alcuin was a Scotsman;^d and even one of the more critical writers, although he grants the English birth of Alcuin, yet imagines that in the same age there was another Albinus,^e a native of Scotland, to whom he ascribes the authorship of the Caroline Books.^f

from them all that has yet been discovered.

^v See Worsaae's 'Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' London, 1852.

^x Grub, i. 125; C. Innes, 110-1.

^y Grub, i. 129.

^z Ib. 166.

^a Ib. 161.

^b Ib. 172.

^c Spottiswoode, i. 93. Dempster was, I believe, the author of this ingenious fancy. See Ware, *Antiq. of Ireland*, 4-8; *Writers of Irel.* 59.

^d Spottisw. i. 42.

^e Alcuin is sometimes so called.

^f Skinner, i. 142.

It is unnecessary here to go into a controversy which has been waged as to a class of ecclesiastics styled Culdees, in whom a precedent has been sought for the presbyterian form of church-government. The Culdees appear to have been really a species of monks, apparently the descendants of the ancient Columbites, but with a discipline which, like that of the English monasteries, had been relaxed in consequence of the Danish invasions.⁸ But so far were they from rejecting the episcopal polity that in many cases they were attached to cathedrals (as in the archiepiscopal church of York^b), and in some places they claimed the right of electing the bishops.^k At St. Andrews and elsewhere they retained till the twelfth century the Scottish or Irish ritual, which had been used at York until the time of Alcuin;^m but the contentions which are recorded between such societies and bishops related, not to any difference in religion, but to questions of property or privileges.ⁿ

IV. The Greek church in this period extended its communion by the conversion of a nation destined to play an important part in later history—the Russians.

The ruling tribe of Russia were Scandinavians, or Northmen, who, while their kinsmen infested the countries of the west, carried their adventurous arms into the vast territory which lies to the south-east of their original seats.^o The first mention of them in history is under the year 839, when some Russians, who had been sent to Constantinople, accompanied the eastern emperor's ambassadors to the court of Louis the Pious.^p In 864 the Russian monarchy was founded by Rurik.^q The northern conquerors gradually enlarged their boundaries; their race intermingled with the older inhabitants of the country, and their Teutonic language was forgotten. They became known to the Greeks by commerce carried on across the Euxine, and by repeated attempts which they made to get possession of Constantinople.^r Some of Rurik's com-

⁸ Grub, i. 230. The earliest occurrence of the name is said to be in the 'Annals of Ulster,' A.D. 920. Reeves, n. on Adamnan, 368; comp. Grub, i. 219. As to the question of their marriage, see Grub, i. 237-9; Innes, 111.

^b Hist. Fundationis Hospitalis S. Leonardi Ebor., in Monast. Angl. vi. 608.

^k Lanigan styles them secular canons, iv. 301.

^m P. 225.

ⁿ See Goodall's Dissertation, prefixed to Keith's Catal. of Scottish Bishops,

with the additions in Russell's edition (Edinb. 1824); Skinner, i. 161; Russell, i. 67; Giesel, II. ii. 231; Döllinger, ii. 102; Lanigan, iv. 295, seqq.; Grub, c. xvi.

^o Gibbon, v. 304, with Milman's note; Strahl, i. 56, 60-3.

^p Annal. Bertin. 839 (Patrol. cxv. 1386).

^q Strahl, i. 63.

^r A.D. 865-6, 904, 941. See Gibbon, v. 307-311; Strahl, i. 65.

panions, leaving him in possession of his conquests, proceeded to the eastern capital, where they entered into the imperial service; and the *Varangian* guard, which was thus formed, was recruited by adventurers of kindred race from England and the Scandinavian countries.*

The story of the first introduction of Christianity into Russia is embellished by fable.[†] According to the Greek writers, Basil the Macedonian, on concluding a peace with the Russians, sent a bishop and other missionaries into their country. The bishop, in the presence of the Russian prince and nobles, dwelt on the evidence borne by miracles to the truth of the Gospel revelation. They listened attentively, but answered that they would not believe unless they might themselves witness a miracle. The bishop warned them not to tempt God; but, as they had been especially struck by the story of the three youths delivered from the furnace, he proceeded to show a miracle of a similar kind. At his prayer, the book of the Gospels was cast into a fire, and after many hours it was taken out uninjured.[‡]

Photius, in his letter to the oriental patriarchs,[§] states that the fierce and barbarous Russians had been converted by the Greek church. But his language greatly overstates any effect which the Christian teachers had at that time produced among them; and although Ignatius is said to have consecrated a bishop for Russia, and to have taken measures for spreading the Gospel in that country,^{||} paganism was, in the middle of the following century, again all but universal among the Russians.

In 955, Olga, widow of the Grand-Prince Igor, and regent of Russia, appeared with a large train at Constantinople, where she was received with much honour by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and was baptised.[¶] It is uncertain whether she had undertaken the expedition in consequence of some Christian instruction which had reached her in her own land, or whether, having gone to Constantinople with a view to secular business, she there received impressions which led her to seek for admission into the church.^{**}

* Mouravieff, 9.

† The chief authority for the early history is Nestor, a monk of the 11th century, whose work, written in his native language, I have used in a French translation by L. Paris. (Paris, 1834.) There is also a German translation by Schlözer.

‡ Const. Porph. v. 96; Cedren. 589;

Pagi, xiv. 564.

§ Ep. 2, p. 58. See above, p. 368.

|| Pagi, xv. 299.

¶ Const. Porph. v. 96; Cedren. 636. Nestor gives fabulous details (i. 79-80).

** Neander remarks it as curious, that Constantine, while he relates very fully the ceremonial of her reception, says nothing of her baptism (v. 451). Some

Olga, who at baptism took the name of Helena, endeavoured, after her return to Novgorod, to spread her new faith among her subjects. Her son, Svatoslaff, however, withstood her attempts to convert him, alleging that his nobles would despise him if he should change.^b

Vladimir, the son and successor of Svatoslaff, was importuned, it is said, by the advocates of rival religions—of Judaism, of Islam, and of Greek and Latin Christianity. He saw A.D. 986. reason for rejecting the Jewish and Mahometan systems, and, in order that he might be able to decide between the two forms of Christianity, he sent commissioners to observe the religion of Germany, of Rome, and of Greece. When at Constantinople, they were deeply impressed by the magnificent building of the cathedral, and by the solemn, majestic, and touching character of the eucharistic service which they witnessed; they told the Greeks who were with them that during the performance of the rite they had seen winged youths circling through the church and chanting the *Trisagion*.^c By the report of these envoys Vladimir was determined to adopt the Christianity of the Greeks.^d In 988, having taken the city of Korsun^e from the empire, he made proposals for the hand of a Greek princess, Anna, sister of the emperor Basil II. and of Theophano, wife of Otho II. To the difficulties raised on the ground of religion, he answered that he was willing to become a Christian. His resolution was shaken by a temporary blindness, which he ascribed to the vengeance of the gods against his apostasy; but at Anna's urgent request he consented to be baptised, and his change of religion was justified by the recovery of his sight as he received the imposition of the bishop of Korsun's hands. The marriage took place forthwith, and Korsun either was restored to the empire, or became the dowry of Vladimir's bride.^f

German writers state that Olga made an insincere application to Otho I. on the subject of Christianity, and that in consequence a bishop, named Adalbert, was sent into Russia, where he had difficulty in escaping death (Thietmar, ii. 14; Annal. Quedlinb. A.D. 960, ap. Pertz, iii.). Some would read *Rugia* (i. e. the island of Rügen) for *Russia*; but Pagi maintains that *Russia* is meant, and that Adalbert was the same who was afterwards bishop of Magdeburg. See Pagi, xv. 105; Schröckh, xxi. 515-7; Strahl, i. 95; Neand. v. 452.

^b Nestor, i. 82-3.

^c It would seem that they mistook

the deacons and subdeacons of the church for angels. See Stanley, 357, and his reference to Bunsen, 'Christianity and Mankind', vii. 45.

^d The same story is by some referred to an earlier time. See Nestor, i. 122-9, 145-9; Schröckh, xxi. 511, 517-9; Mouravieff, 12, 354; Strahl, i. 107.

^e Apparently the ancient Cherson (see vol. i. p. 507); Gibbon, v. 317; Paris, note on Nestor; Spruner, Map iv. of Europe; Mouravieff, 13; Finlay, ii. 422. Schröckh (xxi. 519) takes it for Kertch.

^f Nestor, i. 130-4; Strahl, i. 109-10. The statements as to the disposal of

According to Russian writers, Vladimir, who at baptism had taken the name of Basil, renounced the laxity of his former life for a strict observance of conjugal fidelity, and of other Christian duties; and both he and Anna are numbered among the saints of their church.^a The Latins,^b however, assert that his actions did no credit to his new profession.

On his return to Kieff, the Grand-Prince ordered the idol of Perun, the chief Russian god, to be dragged through the streets at a horse's tail, and thrown into the Dnieper. Many of the Russians burst into tears at the sight; but, when a proclamation summoned them to repair to the river next day, on pain of being regarded as rebels, the dutiful people argued that, if the proposed change of religion were not good, the prince and the nobles would not recommend it. A general baptism of the population took place. "Some," says Nestor, "stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts, holding their young children in their arms; the priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name."^c Bishopricks were now established, churches were built on the Byzantine model by Greek architects,^d relics were imported, schools were opened, and children were obliged to attend them, although it is said that the mothers wept, and were as much afraid to send their children for instruction as if they had been sending them to death.^e The Scriptures, in Cyril's Slavonic version, were introduced—a fact which, in defiance of chronology, has been turned into the statement that Cyril himself laboured as a missionary among the Russians.^f

On the death of Vladimir, in 1015, the division of his dominions among his twelve sons, and the bloody family discords which ensued, interfered with the progress of the Gospel. But Yaroslaff, who at length became the sole ruler of the country, zealously
A.D. 1019–
1054. carried on the work. He caused translations of some edifying Greek books to be made for the benefit of his subjects, encouraged the composition of original religious works, and even himself took part in the literary labour.^g The 'Nomo-

Korsun appear to arise from varying translations of Nestor. See the editor's note, p. 134.

^a Schröckh, xxi. 522-3.

^b E. g. Thietmar, vii. 52.

^c Quoted by Mourav. 15. The French translation does not very closely agree.

^d Nestor, i. 137.

^e Ib. 136.

^f See Schröckh, xxi. 512, 521, &c.; Mourav. 17, 21. The story of a prince's conversion by a picture of the Last Judgment is transferred from the Bulgarian Bogoris to the Russian Vladimir. Mourav. 11.

^g Nestor, i. 176-7; Strahl, i. 158, 169.

canon,' or collection of ecclesiastical laws, by Photius, was introduced as the rule of discipline. The clergy were exempted from taxes, and from civil duties; but, whereas they had until then been subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, ^{A.D. 1051.} Yaroslaff was careful to place the church on a national footing, with a native Russian for its primate.^p

V. Although Bohemia had been reckoned among Christian countries; the Gospel was but very imperfectly established in it. On the death of duke Radislav, in 925, his mother Ludmilla (whose conversion has been already mentioned)^q undertook the care of his two sons, Wenceslav and Boleslav. But the widow of Radislav, Dragomira, who was a zealous pagan, contrived that Ludmilla should be murdered—a crime to which she was instigated alike by the violence of religious enmity and by a fear of ^{A.D. 927.} losing her share in the administration.^r Notwithstanding his mother's efforts to turn him away from Christianity, Wenceslav was deeply devoted to it. He lived a life of the strictest sanctity, and is supposed to have been on the point of exchanging his crown for the monastic cowl when his reign was violently brought to an end. His brother Boleslav attacked him when on his ^{A.D. 936.} way to perform his devotions in a church. Wenceslav, being the stronger of the two, disarmed the traitor, threw him to the ground, and uttered the words "God forgive thee, brother!" But the cries of Boleslav brought his servants to the spot, and, supposing their master to have been attacked, they fell on the duke and slew him.^s Boleslav, who is styled "the Cruel," usurped the government. On the birth of a son, soon after, he was led by a strange mixture of motives to devote the child to a religious life by way of expiation;^t but for many years he carried on a persecution of his Christian subjects, expelling the clergy, and destroying churches and monasteries. In 950, after a long struggle against the power of Otho I., he was obliged to yield, and the emperor, in granting him a peace, insisted that he should establish freedom of

^p Nestor, i. 179; Mourav. 20; Strahl, i. 148, 164.

^q P. 390.

^r Palacky, i. 204. Dragomira, who is described by Cosmas of Prague (i. 15, ap. Pertz, ix.) as "de durissima gente Luticensi, et ipsis saxis durior ad credendum," is said to have been swallowed up, with her chariot and horses, for

having uttered blasphemies as she was passing a church at Prague. Schröckh, xxi. 438.

^s Gumpold. Vita Wencesl. c. 19, ap. Pertz, iv.; Palacky, i. 209; Wenceslav became the patron saint of Bohemia, 210.

^t Palacky, i. 210.

religion, and should rebuild the churches which he had demolished.^a During the remaining seventeen years of Boleslav's reign the church enjoyed peace; but the complete establishment of Christianity was

A.D. 967. the work of his son Boleslav "the Pious," who took vigorous measures for the suppression of paganism, and with the consent of the emperor, and that of Wolfgang bishop of Ratisbon, to whose see Bohemia had been considered to belong, founded in 973 the bishoprick of Prague. The diocese was to include the whole of Boleslav's dominions, and was to be subject to the archbishop of Mentz, as a compensation for the loss of the suffragan see of Magdeburg, which had lately been erected into an independent archbishoprick.^a

The second bishop of Prague was a Bohemian of noble family, A.D. 982. who had studied under Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, and, at receiving confirmation from him, had adopted the prelate's name instead of the Bohemian *Woytiech*.^a The bishop displayed great activity in his office. He persuaded the duke to build churches and monasteries, and, as his German education had rendered him zealous for the Latin usages, he exerted himself to suppress the Greek rites which had been introduced by way of Moravia. He found that much paganism was still mixed with the Christian profession of his flock, and that gross disorders and immoralities prevailed among them;—that the clergy lived in marriage or concubinage; that the people practised polygamy, and marriage within the forbidden degrees; that they sold their serfs and captives to Jewish slave-dealers, who disposed of them to heathens and barbarians—sometimes for the purpose of sacrifice.^a Adalbert set himself to reform these evils; but the rigour of his character and his somewhat intemperate zeal excited opposition, which was greatly swelled by his attempting to introduce the Roman canons without regard to the national laws, and to assert for the church a superiority to all secular judgments.^b The feuds of his family were also visited on the bishop, and such was the resistance to his authority that he twice withdrew from Bohemia in disgust, and made pilgrimages to Rome and to Jerusalem. He resumed his see in

^a Schröckh, xxi. 437.

^a Coasm. Prag. i. 21; Vita Wolkangi, 29 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Palacky, i. 229.

^b Pagi, xvi. 249.

^a Vita Adalb. ap. Pertz, iv. c. 3; Thietmar, iv. 19; Cosmas, i. 25-6. In

consequence of this, the Bohemian *Woytiech* and the German *Adalbert* are to this day regarded as corresponding names. Palacky, i. 234.

^a Vita, 9-12.

^b Schröckh, xxi. 441-2.

obedience to a Roman synod; but he finally left it in 996,^c and, with the sanction of Gregory V., who gave him the commission of a regionary archbishop, he set out on a missionary expedition to Prussia, where, after ineffectual attempts to convert the barbarous people, he was martyred on the shore of the Frische Haff in April 997.^d Boleslav, duke of Poland, who had encouraged the mission, redeemed the martyr's corpse, and placed it in a church at Gnesen, where, as we have seen, it was visited with great devotion by Otho III. in the year 1000. On that occasion the emperor erected Gnesen into an archbishoprick, which he bestowed on one of Adalbert's brothers.^e In 1039, while the Polish throne was vacant, and the country was a prey to anarchy, the Bohemians, under Bretislav I., took possession of Gnesen, seized on the vast treasures which had been accumulated around the shrine of Adalbert, and resolved to carry off the body of the saint, whose memory had risen to great veneration in his native country. Severus, bishop of Prague, who had accompanied the army, took advantage of the feeling. He declared that Adalbert had appeared to him in a vision, and had made him swear that the people, as a condition of being allowed to enjoy the presence of his relics in their own land, would bind themselves to the observance of such laws as he had in his lifetime unsuccessfully attempted to establish among them. The relics were then with great solemnity translated to Prague; but Polish writers assert that the invaders were mistaken in their prize, and that the real body of St. Adalbert still remained at Gnesen.^f

VI. The Slavonic liturgy, which had been sanctioned by pope John VIII. for Moravia, was introduced from that country into Bohemia, and naturally excited opposition on the part of the German clergy who laboured among the Slavonic nations. A letter bearing the name of John XIII., which, in professing to confirm the foundation of the see of Prague, requires the Bohemian church to use the Latin language and rites, is said to be spurious.^g But

^c Cosmas, i. 29-30; Chron. Casin. ii. 17; Vita, 22; Pagi, xvi. 270, 297; Palacky, i. 238-241.

^d Vita, 30; Thietmar, iv. 19. It is said that, when the Prussians would not listen to Adalbert, he addressed his preaching to the cows and asses, who nodded their heads in token of assent. Schröckh, xxi. 499.

^e Thietmar, iv. 28; Annal. Hildesh. 1001 (Pertz, iii.); Palacky, i. 246.

^f Bracisl. Leges, Patrol. cli. 1257; Cosm. Prag. ii. 3-5; Pagi, xvi. 621; Palacky, i. 280; Röpell, i. 178.

^g Ep. 32 (Patrol. cxxxv.); Jaffé, 947. Gieseler cites it as genuine (II. i. 359), and Ginzel defends it (135). But in any case it gives no support to Ginzel's

the use of the Slavonic liturgy was represented by its opponents as a token of heresy.^h The abbey of Sazawa, founded in 1038, became the chief school of the native Bohemian monasticism, and maintained the Slavonic form.ⁱ In 1058 the Slavonic monks were expelled from it by duke Spithnew; but five years later they were restored by duke Wratislav,^k who endeavoured to obtain from Gregory VII. an approbation of their vernacular service-book. The pope, however, in 1080, replied in terms of strong disapprobation. It was, he said, God's pleasure that Holy Scripture should not be everywhere displayed, lest it might be held cheap and despised, or should give rise to error; the use of the vernacular had been conceded only on account of temporary circumstances, which had now long passed away.^m Wratislav, who adhered to the emperor Henry IV. in his contest with Gregory, continued to sanction the Slavonic ritual at Sazawa; but in 1097 it was again suppressed by his successor, Bretislav II., and the monastery was filled with monks of the Latin rite, who destroyed almost all the Slavonic books.ⁿ Yet the liturgy thus discountenanced by Rome and its partisans was revived from time to time in Bohemia; and in the convent of Emmaus, at Prague, founded in the fourteenth century by the emperor Charles IV., it was especially sanctioned by pope Clement VI., although with the condition that the use of it should be limited to that place.^o

In some cases, where people of Slavonic race bordered on the Greek empire, the popes found it expedient to gratify their national feelings by allowing the vernacular service; but elsewhere they endeavoured to root it out. Thus, although Alexander II., in

assumption that the Slavonic missionaries, by whom the first real conversion of the Bohemians was set on foot, refrained from introducing their liturgy into that country out of respect for the rights of the bishops of Ratisbon. 131-3.

^h C. Schmidt suspects that the use of the vernacular was really connected with Catharist (or Manichæan) opinions, both at Sazawa and in the region where it was proscribed by the council of Spalatro (see below). i. 16, 52.

ⁱ Monach. Sazav. in Patrol. clxv. 278. The fragments of the Sazawa offices are of the Greek rite. Ginzcl, 140. See above, p. 388.

^k Monach. Sazav. 280-1.

^m Ep. vi. 11 (Hard. vi. 1435); Giesel.

II. i. 359; Gfrörer, iv. 346.

ⁿ Mon. Saz. 283-4; Ginzcl, 145.

^o Giesel. II. i. 360. See Ginzcl's Appendix, 92-4. The monastery of Emmaus was so called because its church was consecrated on Easter Monday, 1372,—the account of our Lord's journey to Emmaus being the Gospel for the day (Ginzcl, 148). The monks were driven out by the Hussites, and were restored in 1584; but, in 1635—in consequence of the overthrow of protestantism in Bohemia—the Slavonic liturgy was suppressed, and the convent of Emmaus was transferred to Spanish Benedictines (Ginzcl, 149-151). It would seem, therefore, that Gieseler is mistaken in supposing the Slavonic liturgy to be still used there. II. i. 360.

1067, permitted the Slavonic rite in the province of Dioclea,^p a council held at Spalatro in the following year, under a legate of the same pope, condemned it, on the ground that the Slavonic letters (to which the name of "Gothic" was given) had been invented by Methodius, a heretic, who had written many lying books in the Slavonic tongue against the Catholic faith.^q The Slavonic liturgy, however, has continued to be used in many churches of Illyria down to the present time, although unhappily its antiquated language has not only become unintelligible to the people, for whose edification it was originally intended, but is said to be little understood even by the clergy who officiate in it.^r

VII. It has been supposed that some knowledge of Christianity found its way into Poland from Moravia, and more especially by means of Christian refugees after the ruin of the Moravian kingdom.^s Yet nothing considerable had been effected towards the conversion of the Poles, when in 965 their duke, Mieceslav, married Dambrowka, a daughter of Boleslav the Cruel of Bohemia. Two years later Dambrowka persuaded her husband to embrace the Christian faith,^t and he proceeded to enforce it on his subjects under very severe penalties; thus, any one who should eat flesh between Septuagesima and Easter was to lose his teeth. The German chronicler who relates this, Thietmar or Ditmar, bishop of Merseburg, adds that among a people so rude, who needed to be tended like cattle and beaten like lazy asses, means of conversion akin to the severity of their barbaric laws were more likely to be useful than the gentler methods of ordinary ecclesiastical discipline.^u

The story that the Polish church was organised under the superintendence of a papal legate, with seven bishopricks and two archbishopricks, is now exploded.^x Posen was the only bishoprick in the country, and was subject to the archbishops of Magdeburg, until in 1000 Gnesen was made an archiepiscopal and metropolitan

^p Ep. 47 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

^q Ginzel, *Anh.* 89. It is evident, as Giesel (II. i. 361) says, that these learned fathers confounded Methodius with Ulphilas!

^r Ginzel, 169, 170. The *Illyrian Ritual*, however (i. e. the book of offices for baptism, marriage, &c.), is in modern language. (Ib. 165, 174.) For a list of churches and monasteries where the Slavonic service is used, see Ginzel,

125-131.

^s Röpell thinks this a mistake. i. 622.

^t Thietmar, iv. 35; Pagi, xv. 159; Röpell, i. 623-6. The Polish chronicle (i. 5, ap. Pertz. ix.) says that she made him promise before marriage to do so.

^u viii. 2.

^x Pagi, xvi. 160; Giesel. II. i. 3-4; Wiltisch, i. 396.

see by Otho III.⁷ Although the original Christianity of Poland was derived from Greek sources, the fourth wife of Mieceslav, Oda, daughter of a German marquis, influenced the duke in favour of the Latin system. This princess was active in the encouragement of monks, and in works of piety and charity; and the clergy, in consideration of the benefits which the church derived from her, were willing to overlook the fact that her marriage was a breach of the vows which she had taken as a nun.⁸ The establishment of the Latin Christianity was completed under Boleslav,⁹ who has been already mentioned as the patron of Adalbert's mission to Prussia. The popes were careful to draw close the bonds which connected Poland with Rome; and from an early time (although the precise date is disputed), a yearly tribute of a penny was paid by every Pole, with exception of the clergy and nobles, to the treasury of St. Peter.¹⁰

The title of king, which Boleslav acquired, was probably bestowed on him by Otho III. on the occasion of his visit to Gnesen.¹¹ If, however, the dignity was conferred by the imperial power, the popes, according to a story of doubtful authority, soon found a remarkable opportunity of exhibiting and increasing their spiritual jurisdiction over the new kingdom.¹² After the death of king Mieceslav or Miesco II., in 1034, Poland fell into a miserable state of confusion. Paganism again reared its head; there was much apostasy from the Gospel, bishops and clergy were killed or hunted out, churches and monasteries were burnt, and the Bohemian invasion, already mentioned, was triumphant.¹³ The Poles, it is said, at length resolved to offer the crown to Casimir, a son of the late king, who had been driven into banishment; and, after much inquiry, he was discovered in a monastery—either that of Cluny or the German abbey of Braunweiler. Casimir had taken the monastic vows, and had been ordained a deacon; and the abbot declared that, although grieved for the misery of Poland, he could not himself release the prince from these engagements, unless by the pope's permission. For this, application was made to Benedict IX., by whom, after much entreaty, Casimir was discharged from his ecclesiastical obligations, and was given up to the

⁷ Pagi, xvi. 395; Schröckh, xxi. 497; Röpell, i. 629-631.

⁸ Thietmar, iv. 36; Schröckh, xxi. 495.

⁹ Chron. Polon. i. 11.

¹⁰ Some date this from the reign of Mieceslav; others from Otho's visit to Gnesen; others from the reign of Ca-

simir. See Dethier, in *Patrol. cli.* 1386; Schröckh, xxi. 503, 505; Röpell, i. 129; Gfrörer, iv. 79.

¹¹ Schröckh, xxi. 503. See Dethier, l. c., 1370, seqq.

¹² Planck, iii. 376.

¹³ Röpell, i. 175.

Poles, with permission to marry and to undertake the government; but the pope stipulated that, in remembrance of their having received a king from the church, every male of the nation should use a certain sort of tonsure, and that other marks of subjection should be shown to the see of St. Peter.^f

VIII. During the tenth century, the German sovereigns—especially Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great—laboured to provide for the suppression of paganism in the northern part of their dominions.^g With a view to this, bishoprics were established at Meissen, Merseburg, and elsewhere, and Magdeburg was erected into a metropolitan see.^h But little impression could be made on the Slavonic tribes in those quarters.ⁱ A natural prejudice was felt against the Gospel as a religion which was offered to them by the Germans; the German missionaries were ignorant of Slavonic; and it is said that the clergy showed greater eagerness to raise money from the people than to instruct them.^k From time to time extensive insurrections against the foreign power took place, and in these insurrections churches were destroyed and clergy were slain. In 1047, the kingdom of the Wends was founded by Gottschalk, who zealously endeavoured to promote Christianity among his subjects. He founded churches and monasteries, and, like the Northumbrian Oswald, he himself often acted as interpreter while the clergy preached in a tongue unintelligible to his people.^m But in 1066 Gottschalk was murdered by the pagans; many Christians were massacred at the same time, among whom the aged John, a native of Ireland and bishop of Mecklenburg, was singled out as a victim for extraordinary cruelties; and Christianity appeared to be extirpated from the country.ⁿ

IX. The history of the introduction of Christianity into Hungary has been the subject of disputes, chiefly arising from the question whether it was effected by the Greek or by the Latin church.^o It appears, in truth, that the first knowledge of the Gospel came from

^f Diugloss, ap. Baron. 1041. 3-11. But the story is considered fabulous (Stenzel, i. 78; Röpell, i. 180). The Chron. Polon. has nothing of it, but states that Casimir was living in Germany, under the protection of Henry III. i. 18, 19 (Pertz, ix.).

^g Adam Brem. ii. 3; see Schröckh, xxi. 449, seqq.

^h Joh. xiii., Epp. 2, 9, 10 (Patrol. cxxxv.).

ⁱ On these, see Adam, i. 10.

^k Ib. iii. 22.

^m Ib. iii. 18-20; Helmold. i. 19-22 (Leibnitz, ii.); Luden, viii. 652.

ⁿ Ad. Br. iii. 49-50.

^o See Schröckh, xxi. 529-531.

Constantinople, where two Hungarian princes, Bolosudes and Gyulas, were baptised in the year 948. Bolosudes relapsed into paganism, and, after having carried on hostilities against both empires, he was taken and put to death by Otho the Great in 955. But Gyulas remained faithful to his profession, and many of his subjects were converted by the preaching of clergy who were sent to him from Constantinople, with a bishop named Hierotheus at their head.^p

The great victory of Otho in 955^q opened a way for the labours of the neighbouring German bishops among the Hungarians. About twenty years later,^r Pilligrin, bishop of Passau, reported to pope Benedict VII. that he had been entreated by the people of Hungary to assist them; that he had sent clergy and monks, who had baptised about five thousand of them; that the land was full of Christian captives, who had formerly been obliged to conceal their religion, and had only been able to get their children baptised by stealth, but that now the hindrances to the open profession of Christianity were removed; that not only the Hungarians, but the Slavonic tribes of the neighbourhood, were ready to embrace the Gospel; and he prayed that bishops might be appointed for the work. This representation of the state of things may probably have been heightened by Pilligrin's desire to obtain for himself the pall, with the title of archbishop of Lorch, which had been conferred on some of his predecessors, while the rest, as simple bishops of Passau, had been subject to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg. The pope rewarded him by addressing to the emperor and to the great German prelates a letter in which he bestows on Pilligrin, as archbishop of Lorch, the jurisdiction of a metropolitan over Bavaria, Lower Pannonia, Moesia, and the adjoining Slavonic territories.^s Yet little seems to have been done in consequence for the conversion of the Hungarians; Wolfgang, who was sent as a missionary to them, met with such scanty success, that Pilligrin, unwilling to waste the energies of a valuable auxiliary in fruitless labours, recalled him to become bishop of Ratisbon.^t

^p Cedren. 636; Schröckh, xxi. 526; (see p. 108), removed the see to Passau (Rettberg, ii. 245). The emperor did not confirm the archiepiscopal dignity of Pilligrin (Gfrörer, iii. 1373), and his successors in the bishoprick of Passau were suffragans of Salzburg. Wiltsch, i. 377-9.

^q See p. 406.

^r Hard. vi. 695; but Pagi seems to place the letter in 979 (xvi. 246). Jaffé refers the pope's answer to 974.

^s Hard. vi. 689-90. Lorch (the Roman Laureacum) was destroyed by the Avars in 738, when Vivilo, or Vivilus

^t Othlon. Vita Wolkangi, 13 (Pertz, iv. or Patrol cxlvi.).

Geisa, who from the year 972 was duke of Hungary, married Sarolta, daughter of Gyulas, a woman of masculine character, and by her influence was brought over to Christianity. Although the knowledge of the faith had been received by Sarolta's family from Greece, her husband was led by political circumstances to connect his country with the western church, and he himself appears to have been baptised by Bruno, bishop of Verdun, who had been sent to him as ambassador by Otho I.^a But Geisa's conversion was of no very perfect kind. While professing himself a Christian, he continued to offer sacrifice to idols; and, when Bruno remonstrated, he answered that he was rich enough and powerful enough to do both.² In 983, or the following year, a bishop named Adalbert—probably the celebrated bishop of Prague³—appeared in Hungary, and baptised Geisa's son Waik, then four or five years old.⁴ The young prince, to whom the name of Stephen was given, became the most eminent worthy of Hungarian history. Unlike his father, he received a careful education. In 997, he succeeded Geisa, and he reigned for forty-one years, with a deserved reputation for piety, justice, bravery, and firmness of purpose.⁵ A pagan party, which at first opposed him, was put down; he married a Bavarian princess, sister of duke Henry (afterwards the emperor Henry II.), and in 1000 he obtained the erection of his dominions into a kingdom from Otho III.^b In fulfilment of a vow which

^a Schröckh, xxi. 532; Mailáth, i. 31-4.

² Thietmar, viii. 3 (who calls Geisa *Devis*).

³ So it is said in the Life of St. Stephen, c. 4 (Pertz, xi. or Patrol. cli.).

⁴ Mailáth, i. Anhang, 6. German chroniclers represent Stephen as having been baptised later, with a view to his marriage. But against this, see Schröckh, xxi. 534; Neand, vi. 458.

⁵ Schröckh, xxi. 534.

^b Mailáth, i. 40. It has been asserted that the dignity of king was given by the pope; but the utmost that can truly be said is, that the pope bestowed his blessing on Stephen when he had been made a king by the emperor (Schröckh, xxi. 534-6). The famous crown of St. Stephen is said to have been sent to him by the pope, who had been warned by a vision, instead of sending it to Miecslav of Poland, to reserve it for the envoys who should come to him from an unknown nation (*Vita Steph.* 11); and it has been regarded as of

heavenly workmanship. But it has on it the name of a Greek emperor, Constantine—probably Constantine Porphyrogenitus—a circumstance which some Romish writers have boldly explained by saying that the crown was given by Constantine the Great to Sylvester I.! (see Schröckh, xvi. 537). Count Mailáth, after a careful personal examination, agrees with those who consider the lower part to be Greek and the arches Roman (i. Anh. 6-7). The letter, said to have been written by Sylvester II. on sending the crown (Patrol. cxxxvii. 274), is supposed by Mailáth (Anh. 7) to be genuine in its foundation, although tampered with. Gfrörer defends it (iii. 1534), and Jaffé classes it among the genuine letters (346). But Schröckh (xxi. 545) and Gieseler (II. i. 366) say that the correspondence of its professed discoverer, a Franciscan of the 16th century, named Levacovicz, proves it to have been fabricated by him.

he had made during the contest with his secular opponents, he earnestly exerted himself for the establishment of Christianity among his subjects. His kingdom, which he extended by the addition of Transylvania and part of Wallachia (a territory known as *Black Hungary*),^c was placed under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin.^d He erected episcopal sees, built many monasteries and churches, and enacted that every ten villis in the kingdom should combine to found and endow a church.^e Monks and clergy from other countries were invited to settle in Hungary, and it appears that the services which Stephen had done to the church procured for him a commission to act as vicar of the Roman see in his dominions—a privilege which his successors continued to claim.^f He founded a college for the education of Hungarians at Rome; he built hospitals and monasteries for his countrymen at Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem;^g and such was his hospitality to pilgrims, that the journey through Hungary came to be generally preferred to a sea-voyage by those who were bound for the Holy Land.^h The means which Stephen employed to recommend the Gospel were not always limited to pure persuasion; thus, a free Hungarian who should refuse to embrace Christianity was to be degraded to the condition of a serf.ⁱ

Stephen died in 1038. His son Emmerich or Henry, for whom he had drawn up a remarkable code of instructions, had died some years before;^k and the king bequeathed his dominions to a nephew named Peter,^m who was soon after dethroned. A period of internal discord followed; and twice within the eleventh century the paganism which had been repressed so forcibly, that king Andrew, in 1048, had even enacted death as the punishment for adhering to it,ⁿ recovered its ascendancy in Hungary so as for a time to obscure the profession of the Gospel.^o

^c Annal. Hildesh. 1003 (Pertz, iii.); Schröckh, xxi. 543.

^d Vita, 16.

^e Leges, 34 (Patrol. cli.).

^f Sylv. II. in Patrol. cxxxvii. 276; Vita, 12; Giesel. II. i. 366.

^g Vita, 12.

^h Baron. 1002. 17-22; Schröckh, xxi. 542-3. In 1030, Werinher, bishop of Strasburg, being sent by the emperor Conrad as ambassador to Constantinople, endeavoured, for the sake of economy, to pass through Hungary in the character of a pilgrim. His large and splendid train, however, gave the lie to this pretence, and Stephen, ap-

parently in disgust, altogether refused him a passage, so that the bishop had to make his way through Bavaria to Venice, from which he had a dangerous voyage to the eastern capital. In consequence of this affair, Stephen was involved in a war with the emperor, but both parties soon found it convenient to make peace. Wippo, Vita Chuonradi, 22, 26 (Pertz, xi.); Luden, viii. 65, 76.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxi. 548.

^k "Monita ad Filium" (Patrol. cli.); Vita S. Steph. 16.

^m Ib. 18.

ⁿ Patrol. cli. 1257.

^o Schröckh, xxi. 549-551.

X. Among the nations to which Anskar had preached, Christianity was but very partially adopted. Its progress was liable to be checked by the paganism of some princes; it was liable to be rendered odious by the violent measures which other princes took to enforce it on their subjects; while the barbarism and ignorance of the Northmen opposed a formidable difficulty to its success. Hamburg and Bremen, the sees planted for the evangelisation of Nordalbingia and Scandinavia, were repeatedly attacked both by the Northmen and by the Slaves;^p but the victories of Henry I. established the Christian power, and he erected A.D. 934. the Mark of Sleswick as a protection for Germany against the northern inroads.^q The conversions in Denmark had been limited to the mainland; the islands were still altogether pagan, and human victims continued to be offered in Zealand,^r until Henry obtained from Gorm, who was the first king of all Denmark, that Christians should be allowed freedom of religion throughout the kingdom, and that human sacrifices should cease.^s Unni, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, undertook the work of a missionary in Denmark. His endeavours to make a convert of Gorm were unsuccessful; but he baptised one of the inferior kings named Fröde, and found a supporter in Gorm's son Harold Blaatand (*Blue-tooth* or *Black-tooth*), who had derived some knowledge of the Gospel from the instructions of a Christian mother.^t The prince, however, was still unbaptised; he retained the cruelty, the rapacity, and the other usual vices of the northern plunderers, and for many years his religious belief was of a mixed kind. In 966 a missionary named Poppo, while enjoying Harold's hospitality, fell into an argument with some of the guests, who, although they allowed Christ to be God, maintained that there were other gods of higher dignity and power. In proof of the exclusive truth of his religion, Poppo (it is said) underwent the ordeal of putting on a red hot iron gauntlet, and wearing it without injury to his hand, until the king declared himself satisfied.^u From that time Harold attached himself exclusively to Christianity, although he was not baptised until Otho the Great, after defeating him in 972, insisted on his baptism as a condition of peace.^x The intemperate zeal with which

^p Schröckh, xxi. 343.

^q Luden, vi. 393.

^r Münter, i. 352.

^s Ib. 350.

^t Helmold. i. 8; Münter, i. 348-352.

^u Widukind, iii. 65 (Pertz, iii.);

Thietmar, ii. 8; Saxo Grammat. 189.

The variations of the story are given by Münter, i. 375. Comp. Adam Brem. ii. 33, and Lappenberg's note, in Pertz, vii. 318.

^x Ad. Brem. ii. 3.

the king now endeavoured to enforce the reception of the Gospel provoked two rebellions, headed by his own son Sweyn; and, after a reign of fifty years, Harold was dethroned, and died of a wound received in battle.^v

Although Sweyn had been brought up as a Christian, and had been baptised at the same time with his father, he persecuted the faith for many years, until, towards the end of his life, when his arms had been triumphant in England, he was there brought back to the religion of his early days.^a In 1014 he was succeeded by Canute, who, both in England and in his northern dominions, endeavoured, by a bountiful patronage of the church, to atone for his father's sins and for his own.^a When present at the coronation of Conrad as emperor,^b he obtained from him a cession of the Mark of Sleswick.^c Monasteries were founded in Denmark by Canute, and perhaps the payment of Peter's pence was introduced by him;^d hospitals for Danish pilgrims were established at Rome and at some stations on the way to it.^e Three bishops and a number of clergy were sent from England into Denmark; but Unwan, archbishop of Bremen, regarding these bishops as intruders into his province, caught one of them, compelled him to acknowledge the metropolitan rights of Bremen, and sent him to Canute, who thereupon agreed to submit the Danish church to the jurisdiction

A.D. 1043- of that see.^f Sweyn Estrithsen, who, eight years after
1076.

the death of his uncle Canute, obtained possession of the Danish throne, although a man of intemperate and profligate life,^g was very munificent to the church, and did much for the extension of Christianity in the islands of his kingdom. The English missionaries had preached in their native tongue, while at every sentence their words were explained by an interpreter; but Sweyn, to remedy this difficulty for the future, provided that such foreigners as were to labour in the instruction of his subjects should be previously initiated in the Danish language by the canons of Hamburg.^h Among the memorable events of this reign was the penance to

^v Ad. Brem. ii. 25-6; Helmold. i. 15; Münter, i. 375-387. Baronius (980. 11) and Pagi (xvi. 252) place his death in 980; Schröckh (xxi. 350) in 986; Münter (i. 387) and Gieseler (II. i. 348) in 991.

^a Saxo Gramm. 186-8; Münter, i. 400.

^b Saxo Gramm. 201.

^c See p. 442.

^d Luden, viii. 51.

^e Münter, ii. 461-2, 637. See, however, Book V. c. xi. sect. VII.

^f lb. i. 409.

^g Ad. Brem. ii. 53. There is a suspected grant to Unwan of legatine power over all the northern regions from Benedict VIII. Ep. 37 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

^h Saxo Gramm. 208.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxi. 353, 359.

which the king was obliged to submit by William, bishop of Roskild, for having caused some refractory nobles to be put to death in a church—a penance imitated from that of Theodosius. Sweyn died in 1076.¹

XI. The Christianity planted by Anskar in Sweden was almost confined to the neighbourhood of Birka, and for about seventy years after the apostle's death the country was hardly ever visited by missionaries.^k Unni, archbishop of Bremen, after the expedition to Denmark which has been mentioned,^m crossed the sea to Sweden in 935, and laboured there until his death in the following year.ⁿ A mixture of paganism and Christianity arose, which is curiously exemplified in a drinking song still extant, where the praises of the Trinity are set forth in the same style which was used in celebrating the gods of Walhalla.^o

The reign of Olave *Stotkonung*,^p who became king towards the end of the tenth century, and died about 1024,^q was important for the propagation of the Gospel in Sweden. Some German clergy, and many from England, were introduced into the country; among them was Sigfrid, archdeacon of York, who laboured among the Swedes for many years. Two of his relations, who had joined him in the mission, were murdered by heathens. The chief murderer escaped, and his property was confiscated; some of his accomplices, who were found, were, at Sigfrid's intercession, allowed to compound for their crime by payment of a fine; and the funds thus obtained served to found the bishoprick of Wexio, to which Sigfrid was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen.^r Olave had meditated the destruction of the temple at Upsal, which was the principal seat of the old idolatry; he was, however, diverted from his intention by the entreaties of his heathen subjects, who begged him to content himself with taking the best portion of the country, and building a church for his own religion, but to refrain from attempting to force their belief. On this he removed to Skara, in West Gothland, and founded a see there, to which ^{A.D. 1015.} Thurgot, an Englishman, was consecrated.^s The ancient Runic

¹ Saxo, 209-211; Schröckh, xxi. 356-7. William of Roskild was an Englishman. Saxo, 205.

^k Schröckh, xxi. 360-1. = P. 477.

^m Ad. Brem. i. 62-4.

ⁿ Schröckh, xxi. 362.

^p I. e. *Lap-king*, because he is said to have been king while yet in his nurse's

lap. But Geijer remarks that, if this be true, Olave must have been associated with his father in the kingdom, as he was old enough to take a personal share in war soon after his father's death. i. 119. ^q Geijer, i. 126.

^r Schröckh, xxi. 363-5; Geijer, 1015. ^s Ad. Brem. ii. 56.

characters were superseded among the Swedes by the Latin alphabet, and the influence of the Gospel triumphed over the national love of piracy.⁴

But the violence of the measures by which Olave endeavoured to advance the Gospel excited a general hatred against him among the adherents of the old religion, and he was obliged to admit his son Emund to a share in the government. Emund, after his father's death, had a disagreement with the archbishop of Bremen, and set up some bishops independent of that prelate's metropolitan jurisdiction—having obtained consecration for them in Poland.⁵ But this arrangement was given up by his second successor, Stenkil, whose mild and wise policy was more favourable to the advancement of the faith than the more forcible proceedings of Olave had been. Under Stenkil, the number of churches in Sweden was increased to about eleven hundred.⁶ His death, which took place in 1066,⁷ was followed by bloody civil wars, and for a time paganism resumed its ascendancy; but in 1075 king Inge forbade all heathen worship, and, although this occasioned his expulsion, while his brother-in-law Soen was set up by the heathen party, Inge eventually recovered his throne, and, after much contention, Christianity was firmly established in the country.⁸ According to Adam of Bremen, a contemporary of this king, the scandal produced by the covetousness of too many among the clergy had been the chief hindrance to the general conversion of the Swedes, whom he describes as well disposed to receive the Gospel.⁹

XII. Among the Norwegians, some converts had been made in the time of Anskar, and the more readily, because the profession of Christianity opened to them the trade of England and of Germany. Yet such converts, although they acknowledged the power of Christ, and believed Him to be the God of England, had greater confidence in the gods of Odin's race, whom they regarded as still reigning over their own land;¹⁰ and it was not until a century later that a purer and more complete Christianity was introduced into Norway.

Eric "of the Bloody Axe," whose cruelties had rendered him

⁴ Schröckh, xxi. 367.

⁵ Ad. Brem. iii. 14.

⁶ Schröckh, xxi. 371.

⁷ Geijer, i. 131.

⁸ Ib. 132-5; Giesel. II. i. 350.

⁹ 'Descriptio Insularum,' 21, ap. Pertz, vii.

¹⁰ Münter, i. 435.

detested by his subjects, was dethroned in 938 by his brother Haco.^c The new king had been educated as a Christian in the English court, under Athelstan, and was resolved to establish his own faith among his subjects.^d Some of his chief adherents were won to embrace the Gospel. He postponed the great heathen feast of Yule^e from midwinter in order that it might fall in with the celebration of the Saviour's nativity; and while the other Norwegians were engaged in their pagan rejoicings, Haco and his friends, in a building by themselves, kept the Christian festival. Clergy were brought from England, and some congregations of converts were formed.^f But when the reception of Christianity was proposed in the national assembly, a general murmur arose. It was said that the rest of Sunday and Friday, A.D. 956-7. which was required by the new faith, could not be afforded. The servants who had attended their masters to the meeting cried out that, if they were to fast, their bodies would be so weakened as to be unfit for work. Many declared that they could not desert the gods under whom their forefathers and themselves had so long prospered; they reminded the king how his people had aided him in gaining the crown, and told him that, if he persisted in his proposal, they would choose another in his stead.^g Haco found himself obliged to yield. He was forced to preside at the next harvest sacrifice, where he publicly drank to the national gods; and, as he made the sign of the cross over his cup, Sigurd, his chief adviser, told the company that it was meant to signify the hammer of their god Thor. The heathen party, however, were still unsatisfied. Eight of their chiefs bound themselves to extirpate Christianity; they assaulted and killed some of the clergy, and at the following Yule-feast Haco was compelled to submit to further compliances—to drink to the gods without making the sign of the cross, and to prove himself a heathen by partaking of the liver of a horse which had been offered in sacrifice.^h Feeling this constraint intolerable, he resolved to meet his opponents in arms; but an invasion by Eric's sons, who had obtained aid from Harold Blaatand of Denmark,

^c Snorro Sturleson, i. 316; Münter, i. 441.

^d Snorro, i. 310. Dr. Lappenberg thinks that the Athelstan in question may have been, not the great Anglo-Saxon king, but Guthrun-Athelstan, one of the Danish kings of East Anglia. i. 371-3.

^e This name is derived from *hjol* or

hjul, a wheel, and has reference to the circle of the year—Yule being the time at which the decreasing and the increasing days meet. See Thorpe, 'Northern Mythology,' ii. 50.

^f Snorro, i. 326.

^g Ib. 328-9; Münter, i. 443-4.

^h Snorro, i. 330-1. Comp. above, p. 119.

induced the Norwegian parties to enter into a reconciliation, and to turn their arms against the common enemy. From that time Haco lived in harmony with his people, not only tolerating their heathenism, but himself yielding in some degree to the influence of a heathen queen. In 963 his nephews renewed their attack, and Haco was mortally wounded. He expressed a wish, in case of recovery, to retire to some Christian land, that he might endeavour by penance to expiate his compliances, which weighed on his conscience as if he had been guilty of apostasy. But when his friends proposed that he should be carried to England for burial, he answered that he was unworthy of it—that he had lived as a heathen, and as a heathen should be buried in Norway.¹ His death was lamented by a scald in a famous song, which celebrates his reception into Walhalla, and intimates that, in consideration of the tolerance which he had shown towards the old religion, his own Christianity was forgiven by the gods.^k

Harold, the son of Eric, who now became master of the kingdom, endeavoured to spread Christianity by forcible means. After some commotions, in the course of which the son of Eric
A.D. 977. was slain, Harold Blaataud added Norway to his dominions, and appointed a viceroy, named Haco, who, unlike his master, was so devoted a pagan that he sacrificed one of his own children. The viceroy exerted himself for the restoration of paganism, and, by the help of the party who adhered to it, established himself in independence of the Danish king. But the oppressed Christians invited to their relief Olave, the son of a petty prince named Tryggve, and Haco was dethroned in 995.^m

Olave Tryggvesen is celebrated in the northern chronicles as the strongest, the bravest, and the most beautiful of men.ⁿ After a life of wild adventure, in the course of which he had visited Russia and Constantinople, and had spread terror along the coasts of the western ocean, he had been baptised by a hermit in one of the Scilly Islands, and had been confirmed by Elphege, bishop of Winchester,
A.D. 994. in the presence of the English king Ethelred.^o His Christian practice was far from perfect; for he married his stepmother, and endeavoured to obtain a knowledge of the future

¹ Snorro, i. seqq.; Münter, i. 450.

^k It is translated by Bp. Münter, i. 452-5, and by Mr. Laing, Snorro, i. 346.

^m Münter, i. 458-463.

ⁿ Snorro, i. 397. For his history, see the vith Saga. Hume confounds him with Saint Olave. i. 120.

^o Flor. Vigorn. i. 152; Snorro, i. 398.

by the arts of divination ; yet his zeal for his new religion was unbounded, and manifested itself in exertions for the spreading of the faith, which savoured less of the Christian spirit than of his old piratical habits, and of the despotism which he had seen in Russia and in the eastern empire.^p Gifts and privileges of various kinds, and even marriage with the king's beautiful sisters, were held out to the chiefs as inducements to embrace the Gospel ; while those who should refuse were threatened with confiscation of property, with banishment, mutilation, tortures, and death.^q In the most blameable of his proceedings, Olave was much influenced by the counsels of Thangbrand, a German priest from whom he had derived his first knowledge of the Gospel, but whose character was so violent that he did not scruple even to kill those who offended or thwarted him.^r The king visited one district after another, for the purpose of establishing Christianity. "Wheresoever he came," says Snorro Sturleson, in describing one of his circuits, "to the land or to the islands, he held an assembly, and told the people to accept the right faith and to be baptised. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country which he passed through was made Christian."^s Strange stories are related of the adventures which he encountered in destroying idols and temples, and of the skill and presence of mind with which he extricated himself from the dangers which he often incurred on such occasions. In one place Olave found eighty heathens who professed to be wizards. He made one attempt to convert them when they were sober, and another over their horns of ale ; and, as they were not to be won in either state, he set fire to the building in which they were assembled. The chief of the party alone escaped from the flames ; but he afterwards fell into the king's hands, and was thrown into the sea.^t Another obstinate pagan and sorcerer had a serpent forced down his throat ; the creature ate its way through his body, and caused his death.^u A less unpleasing tale relates to Olave's dealings with a young hero named Endrid, who at length agreed that his religion should be decided by the event of a contest between himself and a champion to be appointed by the king. Olave himself appeared in that character ; in a trial which lasted three days, he triumphantly defeated Endrid in swimming, in

^p Ad. Brem. ii. 38 ; Snorro, i. 427, seqq. ; Schröckh, xxi. 377-9 ; Münter, i. 468, 494.

^q Münter, i. 468 ; Neand. v. 408.

^r Neand. v. 407.

^s Münter, i. 487.

^t Snorro, i. 448.

^u i. 445.

diving, in archery, and in sword-play; and having thus prepared him for the reception of Christian doctrine, he completed his conversion by instructing him in the principles of the faith.^a The insular parts of Olave's dominions were included in his labours for the extension of the Gospel; he forced the people of the Orkneys, of the Shetland, the Faroe, and other islands, to receive Christianity at the sword's point.⁷ In obedience to a vision which he had seen at a critical time, Olave chose St. Martin as the patron of Norway, and ordered that the cup which had been usually drunk in honour of Thor should in future be dedicated to the saint.⁸ In 997, he founded the bishoprick of Nidarôs or Drontheim.

Olave's zeal for Christianity at length cost him his life. Sigrid, the beautiful widow of a Swedish king, after having resisted the suit of the petty princes of Sweden so sternly that she even burnt one of them in his castle, in order (as she said) to cure the others of their desire to win her hand,^a conceived the idea of marrying the king of Norway, and with that view visited his court. Olave was inclined to the match; but, on her refusal to be baptised, he treated her with outrageous indignity, which filled her with a vehement desire of revenge. Sigrid soon after married Sweyn of Denmark. Her new husband, and the child of her first marriage, Olave Stotkonung, combined, at her urgent persuasion, in an expedition against Norway, and their force was strengthened by a disaffected party of Norwegians, under Eric, son of that Haco whom Olave had put down. A naval engagement took place, and the fortune of the day was against Olave. His ship, the "Long Dragon," after a desperate defence, was boarded; on which the king and nine com-

panions, who were all that remained of the crew, threw themselves into the sea, in order that they might not fall into the hands of their enemies.^b Rude and violent as Olave was, he was so beloved by his subjects that many are said to have died out of grief for him, and even the heathens cherished his memory. He was believed to be a saint; it was said that he had performed miracles, and that angels had been seen to visit him while at his prayers; and legends represented him as having long survived the disastrous fight. Nearly fifty years later, it is told, a Norwegian named Gaude, who had lost his way among the sands of Egypt, was directed by a dream to a monastery, where, to his surprise, he

^a Münter, i. 474-5.

⁷ Ib. 480, 550-2; Grub, i. 246.

⁸ Schröckh, xxi. 378.

^a Snorro, i. 120.

^b Ib. 433, 469, seqq.; Münter, i. 493.

found an aged abbot of his own country. The old man's questions were such that the pilgrim was led to ask whether he were himself king Olave. The answer was ambiguous; but the abbot charged Gaude, on returning to Norway, to deliver a sword and a girdle to a warrior who had sought death with Olave but had been rescued from the waves; and to tell him that on the fatal day no one had borne himself more bravely than he. Gaude performed his commission, and the veteran, on receiving the gifts and the message, was assured that the Egyptian abbot could be no other than his royal master.^c

The progress of the Gospel in Norway was slow during some years after the end of Olave Tryggvesen's reign. But his godchild Olave the son of Harold, who became king in 1015,^d was bent on carrying on the work. Many missionaries were invited from England; at their head was a bishop named Grimkil, who drew up a code of ecclesiastical law for Norway.^e Although his own character was milder than that of Olave Tryggvesen, the king pursued the old system of enforcing Christianity by such penalties as confiscation, blinding, mutilation, and death,^f and, like the elder Olave, he made journeys throughout his dominions, in company with Grimkil, with a view to the establishment of the faith. He found that under the pressure of scarcity the people were accustomed to relapse into the practice of sacrificing to their old gods. He often had to encounter armed resistance.^g At Dalen, in 1025, the inhabitants had been excited by the report of his approach, and on arriving he found 700 exasperated pagans arrayed against him. But, although his own party was only half the number, he put the peasants to flight, and a discussion on the merits of the rival religions ensued. Grimkil—"the horned man," as the heathens called him from the shape of his cap or mitre—maintained the cause of Christianity; to which the other party, headed by a chief named Gudbrand, replied that their own god Thor was superior to the Christians' God, inasmuch as he could be seen. The king spent a great part of the following night in prayer. Next morning at daybreak the huge idol of Thor was brought to

^c Münter, i. 493-5.

^d Mr. Laing dates his accession in this year, and his death in 1030 (ii. 339). Others give the dates 1017 and 1033 respectively. Münter, i. 500.

^e Ad. Brem. ii. 55. This code, which is known by the name of *Krist-*

lætt, is now lost, although fragments exist in the laws of Iceland and in the later Norwegian law. Münter, i. 501-2.

^f Snorro, ii. 79, 147.

^g Ib. 178-9.

the place of conference. Olave pointed to the rising sun as a visible witness to his God, who created it; and, while the heathens were gazing on its brightness, a gigantic soldier, in fulfilment of orders which he had before received from the king, raised his club and knocked the idol to pieces. A swarm of loathsome creatures, which had found a dwelling within its body, and had fattened on the daily offerings of food and drink, rushed forth; and the men of Dalen, convinced of the vanity of their old superstition, consented to be baptised.^b

The forcible means which Olave used in favour of his religion, the taxes which he found it necessary to impose, and the rigour with which he proceeded for the suppression of piracy and robbery, aroused great discontent among his subjects. Canute of Denmark and England was encouraged to claim the kingdom of Norway; his gold won many of the chiefs to his interest, and Olave, finding himself deserted, fled into Russia, where he was honourably received by Yaroslaff, and was invited to settle by the offer of a province.¹ But, while hesitating between the acceptance of this offer and the execution of an idea which he had entertained of becoming a monk at Jerusalem, he was diverted by a vision, in which Olave Tryggvesen exhorted him to attempt the recovery of the kingdom which God had given him.^k The Swedish king supplied him with some soldiers; and, on his landing in Norway, multitudes flocked to his standard. Olave refused the aid of all who were unbaptised; many received baptism from no other motive than a wish to be allowed to aid him; and his soldiers marched with the sign of the cross on their shields.^m On the eve of a battle he gave a large sum of money to be laid out for the souls of his enemies who should fall; those who should lose their lives for his own cause, he said, were assured of salvation.ⁿ But the forces of the enemy were overpowering, and Olave was defeated and slain.^o

After a time his countrymen repented of their conduct towards him. It was rumoured that he had done miracles in Russia, and on his last fatal expedition; his blood had healed a wound in the hand of the warrior who killed him; a blind man, on whose eyes it had been accidentally rubbed, had recovered his sight; and other cures of a like kind were related.^p A year after his death

^b Snorro, ii. 155-160. Compare vol. i. p. 277.

¹ Snorro, ii. 154, 268, 273, 287; Flor. Vigorn. i. 184.

^k Snorro, ii. 295-6.

^m Ib. 303-9, 320.

ⁿ Ib. 313.

^o Ib. 332.

^p Ib. 297, 306, 333, 340-8; Münter, i. 513.

his body was disinterred by Grimkil, when no signs of decay appeared, and the hair and nails had grown. The remains of the king were removed to the church of St. Clement at Nidarôs, which he himself had built, and when, in the following century, a cathedral was erected by the sainted archbishop Eystein (or Augustine) they were enclosed in a magnificent silver shrine, above the high altar.¹ St. Olave was chosen as the patron of Norway; his fame was spread far and wide by a multitude of miracles, and pilgrims from distant countries flocked to his tomb for cure; tribute was paid to him by Norway and Sweden; and churches were dedicated to his honour, not only in the western countries, but in Russia and at Constantinople.²

Canute, after becoming master of Norway, encouraged religion there as in his other dominions. By him the first Benedictine monastery in the kingdom was founded near Nidarôs.³ Harold Hardrada, Olave's half-brother, a rough and irreligious man, who became king in 1047, had some differences with pope Alexander II., and with Adalbert archbishop of Bremen. The king said that he knew no archbishop in Norway except himself, and obtained ordination for bishops from England and from France; while Adalbert, declaring that he had but two masters, the pope and the emperor, paid no regard to the northern sovereign, and without his consent erected sees in his dominions.⁴ Norway, like the rest of western Christendom, submitted to the dominion of Rome.⁵

XIII. Iceland became known to the Norwegians in 860, when a Norwegian vessel was cast on its coast.⁶ In 874 the first Norwegian colonist, Ingulf, settled in the island; and in the following years many of his countrymen resorted to it, especially after the great victory of Harold the Fairhaired at Hafursfiord, in 883, by which a number of petty kings or chiefs were driven from their native land to seek a home elsewhere.⁷ The colonists were of the highest and most

¹ Snorro, ii. 315, 369; iii. 88, 108; Münter, ii. 404.

² Ad. Brem. Descr. Insularum, 32.

³ Snorro, ii. 380-2; Schröckh, xxi. 384-5. See Thorpe's 'Northern Mythology,' ii. 36, seqq.

⁴ Schröckh, xxi. 383.

⁵ Ad. Brem. iii. 16; Schröckh, xxi. 469; Alex. II. ap. Hard. vi. 1079.

⁶ See, for the character of the Norwegians, Ad. Brem. Descr. Insul. 20.

⁷ Henderson's Iceland, i. xiii. (Edinb.

1818); Rafn, 'Antiquitates Americanae,' 8 (Havniae, 1837).

⁸ Rafn, 8; Snorro, i. 280; Depping, ii. 45-7. "The period during which the settlement was going on lasted about sixty years. At the end of that time the island was as fully peopled as it has ever been since, and the number of inhabitants may be reckoned at 50,000." Dasent, Pref. to 'The Story of Burnt Njal' (Edinb. 1861), p. 45.

civilised class among the Northmen, and the state of society in the new community took a corresponding character. The land was parcelled out, and the Icelanders, renouncing the practice of piracy, betook themselves to trade—exchanging the productions of their island for the corn, the wood, and other necessities which it did not afford.^a A republican form of government was established, and lasted for four hundred years. It had its national and provincial assemblies; its chief was the “Lawman,”^b elected for life, whose office it was to act as conservator of the laws; and with this magistracy the function of priest was joined. The worship of Odin was established, but there appears to have been an entire freedom as to religion.^c

It is said that the colonists found in Iceland traces of an Irish mission—such as service-books, bells, and pastoral crooks—although the natives, having been left without any clergy, had relapsed into paganism.^d Some of the Norwegians themselves may also have carried with them such mixed and imperfect notions of Christianity as were to be gathered in the intercourse of their roving and adventurous life;^e but the knowledge of the Gospel was neither spread among the other members of the community nor transmitted to their descendants.^f In 981, an Icelander named Thorwald, who had formerly been a pirate, but even then had been accustomed to spend such part of his plunder as he could spare in redeeming captives from other pirates, brought with him to the island a Saxon bishop named Frederick, by whom he had been converted.^g A church was built, and Frederick’s instructions were well received, although most of his proselytes refused to be baptised

^a Laing, i. 56-8. But Henderson states that there is evidence that wood formerly grew in Iceland. (I. x.; comp. Encycl. Britann. art. *Iceland*.) Adam of Bremen says, “Nullæ ibi fruges, minima lignorum copia.” Descr. Insul. 35.

^b *Lǫgsögumadr*, utterer or publisher of the law. Henderson, I. xxii.; Dasent, in Oxford Essays for 1858, p. 207.

^c Schröckh, xxi. 387; Henderson, I. xvi.-xxiv.; Depping, ii. 49-50; Münter, i. 521-6.

^d The old authorities for this (Ari Frode, &c.) are collected by Rafn, 203-5. Dicuil, an Irish monk, in a treatise ‘*De Mensura Orbis*,’ written A.D. 825, shows himself acquainted with the existence of Iceland (ib. 204). See also Münter, i. 520; Laing, i. 40; Dasent,

Pref. to *Njal*, 7-8; Reeves, n. on Adamnan, ii. 42, p. 169; Professor Innes derives the earlier mission from Iona (‘*Scotland in the Middle Ages*,’ 101). Lanigan supposes that the Irish clergy remained until the arrival of the Norwegians, and were then expelled. iii. 228.

^e Thus Helgi is described as “much mixed in his faith. He trusted in Christ, but invoked Thor’s aid when sent to sea or in any difficulty.” His knowledge of Christianity had been gained in Ireland. Dasent, *Oxf. Ess.* 180.

^f Münter, i. 524-5.

^g Münter supposes Frederick to have been an ecclesiastic of Hamburg or Bremen, ordained by the archbishop for the mission. i. 527.

—being ashamed, it is said, to expose themselves naked at the ceremony, and to wear the white dress which in their country was worn by children only.^h An influential convert, named Thorkil, before submitting to baptism, desired that it might be administered by way of experiment to his aged and infirm father-in-law; and, as the old man died soon after, Thorkil put off his own baptism for some years.ⁱ The worshippers of Odin were roused to enmity by the rough manner in which Thorwald proceeded to spread his religion. After five years he and the bishop were expelled, and took refuge in Norway, where Thorwald, meeting with one of those who had most bitterly opposed him in Iceland, killed him. Frederick, hopeless of effecting any good in company with so lawless an associate, returned to his own country, and it is supposed that Thorwald, after many years of wandering, in the course of which he had visited the Holy Land, founded a monastery in Russia or at Constantinople, and there died.^k

Olave Tryggvesen—partly, perhaps, from political motives—was desirous of establishing the Gospel in Iceland, and, after some earlier attempts to forward its progress, sent Thangbrand into the island in 997. The choice of a missionary was unfortunate; Thangbrand, it is said, performed some miracles; but he proceeded with his usual violence, and, after having killed one of his opponents, and two scalds who had composed scurrilous verses on him, he was expelled.^m Olave, on receiving from Thangbrand a report of the treatment which he had met with, was very indignant, and was about to undertake an expedition for the punishment of the Icelanders, when Gissur and Hialte, two natives of the island, obtained his consent to the employment of milder measures for the conversion of their countrymen. By the promise of ^{A.D. 1000.} a sum of money (which, however, was rather a lawful fee than a bribe),ⁿ they secured the co-operation of the lawman Thorgeir, who, after addressing the national assembly in an exhortation to peace and unity, proposed a new law by way of compromise. All the islanders were to be baptised, the temples were to be destroyed, and public sacrifices were to cease; but it was to be allowed to eat horseflesh, to expose children, and to offer sacrifice in private.^o The

^h Schröckh, xxi. 388, 390.ⁱ Münter, i. 531.^k Münter, i. 532; ii. 695. See the 'Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1862, p. 129, art. 'Iceland and the Change of Faith.'^m Snorro, i. 442; Burnt Njal, ii. 63-

76; Münter, i. 535-6; Quart. Rev. 130-3.

ⁿ Dasent, n. on Njal, ii. 79.^o Snorro, i. 548; Burnt Njal, ii. 76-80; Münter, i. 541; Quart. Rev. 135-8.

proposal was accepted, and Christian instruction gradually prevailed over such remnants of heathenism as the law had sanctioned. St. Olave took an interest in the Christianity of Iceland; he sent an English bishop named Bernard to labour there, and exerted himself to procure the acceptance of Grimkil's ecclesiastical laws, and the abolition of the practice of exposing children.^p

Although Iceland was from time to time visited by bishops, the need of a fixed episcopate was felt, and in 1056 the see of Skalholt was erected. Isleif, a son of Gissur, who had been educated at Erfurt and had made a pilgrimage to Rome, was elected as bishop, and, in obedience to an order from the pope, was consecrated by Adalbert of Bremen.^q With the consent of a younger Gissur, who had succeeded his father Isleif in the bishoprick of Skalholt, a second see was founded at Holum in 1105.^r The bishops, being taken from the most distinguished families, and invested, like the priests of the old idolatry,^s with secular power, became the most important members of the community. Adam of Bremen, who draws a striking picture of the contented poverty, the piety, and the charity of the islanders, tells us that they obeyed their bishop as a king.^t In 1121 the first Icelandic monastery was founded, and at a later time the island contained seven cloisters for men and two for women.^u The Icelanders traded to all quarters; their clergy, educated in Germany, France, and England, carried back the knowledge and the civilisation of foreign countries. And in this remote and ungenial island grew up a vernacular literature of annals, poems, and *sagas* or historical legends—the oldest literature of the Scandinavians, and the only source of information as to a great part of northern history. This literature flourished for two centuries, until, on the reduction of Iceland to tribute by the Norwegians in 1261, Latin became there, as elsewhere, the language of letters.^x

XIV. From Iceland the Gospel made its way into a yet more distant region. In 982, a Norwegian named Eric the Red, who had fled to Iceland in consequence of having killed a man, and was

^p Münter, i. 544; Neand. v. 419. 416, 1096.

A revision of Grimkil's code for Iceland was executed in 1123. Henderson, I. lii.

^q Victor II. Ep. 5 (Patrol. cxliii.); Adam. Brem. Descr. Insul. 35; Münter, ii. 415. It would seem that Isleif was much troubled by foreign bishops—probably Irish—who visited his country and stirred up disaffection. Münter, ii.

^r Münter, ii. 420.

^s Dasent, Pref. to Njal, 46-8.

^t Descr. Insul. 35; cf. Girald. Cambrens. Topogr. Hiberniæ, ii. 13 (Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' &c. 721).

^u Münter, ii. 671.

^x Schröckh, xxi. 391; Münter, i. 546; Depping, ii. 191-4.

there sentenced to banishment on account of a feud in which he was involved, determined to seek out a coast which had some years before been seen by one Gunnbiorn.⁷ Four years later, when the time of his banishment was expired, Eric revisited Iceland, and induced many of his countrymen to accompany him to the land of his refuge, to which—with a design, as is said, of attracting adventurers by the promise which it conveyed—the name of *Greenland* was given.⁸ In 999, Leif, the son of Eric, made a voyage to Norway, where Olave Tryggvesen induced him to receive baptism; and on his return to Greenland he was accompanied by a priest.⁹ The colony flourished for centuries. In 1055 (a year before the foundation of the first Icelandic see), a bishop was consecrated for it by Adalbert of Bremen. There were thirteen churches in the eastern part of Greenland, four in the western, and three or four monasteries.¹⁰ Sixteen bishops in succession presided over the church of Greenland. From the year 1276 they took their title from the see of Gardar; they were subject to the archbishop of Nidarôs, and were in the habit of attending synods in Norway as well as in Iceland. And even from this extremity of the earth tribute was paid to the successors of St. Peter.¹¹ But from the earlier part of the fifteenth century Greenland was lost to the knowledge of Europeans. The ice accumulated on its shores, so as to render them inaccessible, and the seventeenth bishop destined for the church was unable to land. The pestilence known as the "Black Death" wasted the population, and it is supposed that, when thus weakened, they were overpowered by tribes of Skrällings (Esquimaux) from the continent of North America, the ancestors of the present inhabitants.¹²

⁷ Rafn, 9-11, 91; Henderson, I. xxviii.; Laing, iii. 143. On the discrepancies of the accounts, see Rafn's Preface, xii.-xiii.

⁸ "Dicebat enim, hanc rem hominibus suavissem eo demigrare, quod terra specioso nomine gauderet." (Particula de Eiriko, ap. Rafn, 14). But, although from this and other statements it would seem that the name was given on account of the rich verdure, Adam of Bremen says that it was because the inhabitants were "a salo cærulei." Descr. Ins. 36.

⁹ Snorro, i. 455, 465; Rafn, 16, 117.

¹⁰ Victor II. Ep. 5; Münter, i. 557; ii. 672-3; Laing, i. 141. The number of churches and monasteries is somewhat variously given.

¹¹ Münter, i. 556-8.

¹² Münter, i. 560, and the Bull of Nicolas V., which he quotes, p. 584; Laing, i. 145, 152-3. There were two districts in the colony—Ostre Bygd and Vestre Bygd, of which the eastern was the more flourishing. These are described as separated by a waste twelve miles in extent (Rafn, 315). Cape Farewell was long supposed by geographers to have been the point of division, and there was a belief that the eastern settlement had escaped the fate of the western, so that descendants of the Scandinavian colonists might still exist on the icebound coast of East Greenland. But a Danish expedition in 1829-30 could find no trace that East Greenland had ever been inhabited; and it seems to be now agreed that the ancient

The Northmen appear to have pushed their discoveries from Greenland to the American continent. In the year 1000, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, incited by the narrative of Biorn, the son of Heriulf, as to his adventures when in search of Greenland,^e sailed southward, and explored several coasts, to one of which the name of *Vinland* (or Wineland) was given, because one of his companions, a native of southern Germany, recognised the vine among its productions. Further explorations were afterwards made in the same direction; and settlements were for a time effected on the shores of the great western continent.^f A bishop named Eric is said to have accompanied an expedition to Vinland in 1121;^g but nothing further is known of him, and it would seem that no confidence can be placed in the conjectures or inquiries which profess to have found in America traces of a Christianity planted by the Scandinavian adventurers of the middle ages.^h

settlements were both on the coast north-west of Cape Farewell, *Ostre Bygd* being the part nearest to the cape. Laing, i. 150; Rafn, 409; Scoresby, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 8th edit. xi. 39 (art. *Greenland*).

^e Rafn, 21-7.

^f *Ib.* 261.

^g *Partic. de Graenlandis*, ap. Rafn, 35-6. An account of this voyage is interpolated in some copies of Snorro Sturleson. See Laing, iii. 344, seqq.; Adam Brem. *Descr. Insul.* 38. Vinland is supposed to have been Rhode

Island, or in its neighbourhood. (*Encycl. Brit.* ii. 698, art. *America*.) Rafn identifies it with Nantucket, xxxiv. 425.

^h See Münter, i. 562-3; Laing, i. 161, seqq. It has been said that in the 11th century an Irish bishop named John preached and was martyred in the regions thus discovered. But the story arises out of a confusion between the American Vinland and the land of the Wends in North Germany—John having been really bishop of Mecklenburg (see above, p. 473). Rafn, 461-2.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) THE relations of the papacy with secular powers, and especially with the emperors of the west, were governed rather by circumstances than by any settled principles. On each side there were claims which were sometimes admitted and sometimes denied by the other party; but even when they were admitted, the enforcement of them depended on the questions whether the claimant were strong and whether circumstances were favourable to him,

The German emperors still retained the same rights of sovereignty over Rome which had been held by the Carolingians. The imperial share in the appointment of the pope by means of commissioners continued, and popes were even glad to sanction it afresh, as a means of averting the disorders incident to an election carried on amid the fury of the Roman factions and the violence of the neighbouring nobles. A synod under John IX. in 898, when Lambert had been crowned as emperor, enacted that, for the prevention of such tumults and scandals as had taken place through the absence of imperial commissioners, the presence of commissioners should be necessary at future elections;^a and in another canon it threatens the emperor's indignation, as well as spiritual penalties, against any who should renew the disorders which had been usual on the death of a pope, when the palace was invaded by plunderers, who often extended their depredations over the city and its suburbs.^b And, although the document bearing the name of Leo VIII., which confers on Otho the Great and his successors the power of nominating to the papacy as well as to the empire, is probably spurious, its provisions agree with the state

^a C. x. ap. Pertz, *Leges*, ii. App. 158; Giesel. II. i. 210.

or Hard. vi. 489. This synod has sometimes been wrongly dated in 904. See above, p. 412; Pagi, xv. 489, 494, 529; Murat. Ann. V. i. 307; ii. 15;

^b C. xi. The plunder of a bishop's property on his death was usual elsewhere. Atto, in *Patrol.* cxxxiv. 87.

of things which actually existed at the time.^c The emperor was regarded as having the right to decide the appeals of Roman subjects who had been aggrieved by the pope.^d Emperors even deposed popes, and that not by any wanton exercise of force, but as if the proceeding were a duty attached to their office. We have seen that Otho the Great was extremely reluctant to proceed against the wretched young debauchee John XII.^e It was considered that even the pope was not irresponsible on earth, and that for the execution of manifest justice on the chief of the church the highest secular authority was entitled to intervene.^f Yet on the whole the popes were gaining, and were preparing to secure advantages for their successors.

Charlemagne, in reviving the empire of Rome, probably hoped to become master of the popes; but the event redounded to the benefit of the papacy. Leo III. surprised Charlemagne himself into receiving the crown from his hands; and although the great emperor was careful that his son should assume it in such a manner that it should appear to be held independently of the Roman sanction, Louis submitted to be crowned afresh by Stephen IV. The popes continued to crown the emperors until an opinion was settled in the minds of men that the highest of secular dignities could only be conferred by God himself through the instrumentality of His chief minister, the successor of St. Peter; and, although the possession of the Italian kingdom was regarded as implying a title to the empire, the imperial name was not assumed by the German sovereigns of Italy until after a coronation at Rome by the pope.^g

As the eastern bishops, by appealing to the emperor in their differences, had established an imperial supremacy in spiritual things, so the princes of the west, by referring their quarrels to the pope, and by asking him to ratify their conquests, contributed to invest him with a power of arbitration and control which more and more claimed a superiority over all secular government. And this was enhanced by the pope's assumption of a universal censorship of morals, and by his wielding the terrors of excommunication, which were able to make kings tremble, not only by the direct exclusion from spiritual privileges, but by the apprehension of the

^c See above, p. 418, note ¹.

^d Schmidt, ii. 167.

^e P. 416. Humbert, however, regards the extinction of the Othos in the third generation as a judgment on their in-

terference in spiritual things. Adv. Simoniacos, iii. 15 (Patrol. cxliii.).

^f Schmidt, ii. 167, 216.

^g Ducange, s. v. *Imperator*, p. 772; Planck, iii. 270.

effects which such a sentence might produce among their people. The wideness and variety of the scene on which the popes acted were also conducive to the growth of their authority, since an attempt which was foiled by the energy of one opponent succeeded elsewhere against the weakness of another, and thenceforth became a precedent for general application.^h In newly-converted kingdoms, such as Hungary and Poland, the power of the pope over the national church was from the first established as a principle;ⁱ nor did the shameful degradation of the papacy during a large portion of this period produce any considerable effect on its estimation in foreign countries, where little or nothing was heard of the pope as an individual, and he was regarded only as the successor of the chief apostle.^k

The territorial power and income of the papacy were limited by the encroachments of the Italian nobles and by the invasions of the Saracens. But the popes found new sources of wealth in the practice of annexing to their see the revenues of bishopricks and abbeys in various parts of Christendom, and in payments levied from countries which were in communion with them, such as the Peter-pence of England and the tribute paid by Poland. And a continual succession of forgeries made it appear that such territories as the see of Rome possessed were but portions of a far larger inheritance, which of right belonged to it by virtue of donations bestowed by emperors and other sovereigns from the time of Constantine the Great.^m

The policy of the popes towards the church aimed at centralising all authority in the papacy. The principles of the forged decretals were taken as a foundation of their claims. Titles more pompous than before were given by those who wished to pay court to them, and were not refused. The epithet *universal*, which Gregory the Great had declared to be unfit for any Christian prelate, was addressed to Nicolas I. by Adventius bishop of Metz and by Charles the Bald;ⁿ and it afterwards became usual. Adventius styles Nicolas "Your Majesty"^o—a phrase which was very commonly used by Peter Damiani in addressing the popes of his time.^p Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, and his suffragans address John IX. as "Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, not of a single city but of

^h Schmidt, ii. 691.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 829.

^k Ib. 270, 287, 372.

^m Schröckh, xxii. 395-6, 400.

ⁿ Hard. v. 321, 323.

^o Ib. 321, c.

^p In the 12th century, Arnulf of Lisieux uses it to Geoffrey bishop of Chartres and papal legate. Patrol. cci. 171.

the whole world.”^a Some bishops avowed that they held their episcopate from God through St. Peter.—i. e. through the apostle’s successors in the see of Rome.’ The claims involved in the new pretensions of the papacy were at first somewhat indefinite. What was meant by the pope’s universal episcopate? What was his supreme judicature? When and how was it to be exercised? But when once such vague and sounding titles had been impressed on the general mind, it was in the power of the popes to make almost any deductions whatever from them.^b The claim which Nicolas advanced for obedience to all the decrees of popes rested on a different ground from that which had sometimes been put forward by his predecessors. In earlier times, such a claim was founded on the supposition that Rome was the most faithful guardian of apostolic faith and practice, or, at the utmost, that the pope was the highest expounder of the law—not that he pretended to a power of legislation. But now it was rested simply on the ground that Rome was Rome; and the matter set forth under the sanction of such a pretension consisted of a forgery which professed to derive a new and unheard-of system of papal domination from the earliest ages of the church.^c

The party which relied on the authority of the decretals was bent on humbling the class of metropolitans. There are circumstances which seem to indicate that metropolitans had begun to assume power greater than that which had in earlier times belonged to them. But the design was not limited to reducing them within their ancient bounds; they were not to be allowed any power of judicature over bishops; and when they were stripped of their judicial power, their authority as superintendents or inspectors was not likely to be much regarded.^d It was the interest of bishops to aid the popes in a course which annihilated the power of metropolitans and provincial synods over members of the episcopate, and subjected these to the pope alone. There were even inducements which might persuade metropolitans to consent to sacrifice the independence of their own order. They, in common with other bishops, were strengthened against secular princes by an alliance with the papacy. They felt that their dignity was enhanced by a connexion with a power which exalted religion above all earthly authority;^e and the use of the pall was of great

^a Hard. vi. 483.

^b As Herivens, and a synod at Rheims, A.D. 900; Ib. 467.

^c Planck, iii. 807-8; Gieseler, II. i. 855. 254-5.

^d Planck, iii. 812-5.

^e Ib. 788, 790, 818.

^f Schröckh, xxii. 461; Planck, iii.

effect in reconciling them to the change. The pall, originally a part of the imperial attire, had been at first bestowed by the eastern emperors on the patriarchs of their capital. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was conferred on other patriarchs; and in time it was given by popes and patriarchs to bishops, although the imperial consent was necessary before the honour could be conferred on a bishop whose predecessors had not enjoyed it.⁷ The pall was sent by the popes to their vicars; it was regarded as the mark of a special connexion with the Roman see, to which the receiver was bound by a strict oath of subjection and obedience. When some metropolitans had thus received it, others, wishing to be on a level with them, made application for a like distinction; it came to be regarded as the ensign of metropolitan dignity, and that dignity came to be regarded as a gift of the pope.* Nicolas I., in his answer to the Bulgarians, lays it down that their future archbishop shall not exercise his office until he receive the pall from Rome; such, he says, is the usage in Gaul, Germany, and other countries;^a and John VIII., at the synod of Ravenna, in 877, enacted that every metropolitan should, within three months after his election, send to Rome a statement of his faith, together with a petition for the pall.^b While the metropolitans thus received some compensation for the loss of their independent power, in their special connexion with Rome, and in their exercise of jurisdiction as delegates of the pope, the pall became not only a mark of their subjection, but a source of profit to the Roman treasury. Fees were exacted for it; and so high were they in some cases that Canute, on his pilgrimage to Rome, complained to the pope of the exorbitant amount required from English archbishops, and obtained a promise of an abatement in future.^c That metropolitans submitted to heavy payments for the sake of obtaining

⁷ Planck, iii. 857-8. There is much information as to the pall in Dr. Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' vol. ii. In the east, patriarchs gave it to all bishops (135). In the west, it was attached (although, probably, not until after the time now under review) to the *bishopricks* of Ostia, Lucca, Verona, Parma, Autun, Dol, and Bamberg (157). It was buried with the person to whom it had been granted. (See Ducange, s. v. *Pallium*, 3.) Hildebert, as archbishop of Tours—which was long in continual conflict with the claims of the Breton church

to independence of its metropolitan jurisdiction—argues that the pall had been bestowed on Baldric of Dol as a personal distinction only, and was not attached to his see. (Ep. ii. 35, A.D. 1126, Patrol. clxxi.) The claim of Dol rested on a story that a British archbishop, Samson, fixed himself there, taking his pall with him. Hoveden, 453; Wendover, iii. 144.

^a Planck, iii. 863-9.

^b C. 73. Hard. v. 377.

^c C. 1. Hard. vi. 184.

^d Canut. ap. Will. Malmesb. 310.

their authority must have been strongly felt.

The metropolitans lost less in England and in Germany than elsewhere. In England the whole foundation of the church rested on the primacy of Canterbury. In Germany the metropolitans of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Salzburg, held high dignities of the empire as annexed to their sees. Yet, in the case of the great German prelates, there was the disadvantage that the popular opinion unconsciously referred their power not to their spiritual but to their secular offices.^d

In addition to their vicars, the popes appointed *legates* to exercise some of their functions, such as that of holding councils for the investigation of cases which had been referred to Rome, or in which the popes took it on themselves to interfere. These legates were sometimes ecclesiastics sent from Italy; but, as foreign ecclesiastics were regarded with suspicion by princes, it was more usual to give the legatine commission to some bishop of the country in which the inquiry was to take place.^e Even kings were sometimes invested with the authority of papal deputies, as we have seen in the instance of Charles the Bald at the council of Pontyon.^f

The claim of the pope to exclusive jurisdiction over bishops was uncontested from the time of the victory gained by John XV. and Gregory V. in the affair of Arnulf of Rheims.^g Persons nominated to bishopricks, if they found any difficulty in obtaining consecration from their own metropolitan, sought it at the hands of the pope; and a Roman synod under Benedict VI., held probably in 983, with a view to the suppression of simony, directed that not only bishops but priests or deacons should repair to Rome for ordination, if it were not to be obtained without payment at home.^h Yet to the end of the period the prelates of France and Germany resisted some attempts of the popes to encroach on their rights. The title of "universal bishop" was admitted only as implying a power of general oversight—not as entitling the popes to exercise episcopal functions in every diocese.ⁱ This resistance was especially shown when the popes attempted to interfere with the penitential discipline. Every bishop had been formerly regarded as the sole judge in cases of penance within his own diocese—as the only person who could relax the

^d Planck, iii. 795-6; Schmidt, i. 685.

^e Schmidt, i. 696; Planck, iii. 429.

^f P. 349; Schröckh, xxii. 469.

^g Planck, iii. 844.

^h Hard. vi. 712; Planck, iii. 883.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 832; Giesel, II. i. 255, 258.

penance which he had himself imposed. The bishop's power of absolution was still unassailed; there were not as yet any cases reserved for the decision of the pope alone. But the popes began to claim a jurisdiction as to penance similar to that which they were gradually establishing over the church in other respects; they asserted a right of absolving from the penance to which offenders had been sentenced by other bishops. The resort of penitents to Rome had been encouraged by various circumstances. In many instances bishops had themselves consulted the pope, or had recommended an application to him, either with a view of escaping responsibility in difficult cases, or in order that the long and toilsome journey to Rome might itself in some measure serve as a penitential exercise.^k But when penitents began to flock to Rome for the purpose of obtaining from the pope the absolution which was refused by their own diocesans, or in the belief that the absolution of St. Peter's successor was of superior virtue,^m the practice drew forth strong and frequent protests from councils and from individual bishops.ⁿ Ahyto (or Hatto) of Basel, about 820, orders that penitents who wish to visit the apostolic city should first confess their sins at home, "because they are to be bound or loosed by their own bishop or priest, and not by a stranger."^o When an English earl, who had been excommunicated by Dunstan for contracting an unlawful marriage, had succeeded, by the employment of influence and money at Rome, in obtaining from the pope a mandate that the archbishop should restore him, Dunstan firmly refused to comply. "I will gladly obey," he said, "when I see him repentant; but so long as he rejoices in his sin, God forbid that, for the sake of any mortal man, or to save my own life, I should neglect the law which our Lord has laid down for His

^k Planck, iii. 634-5.

^m Nicol. I. Ep. 208 ad Carol. Calv. ap. Hard. v. 235; Neand. vi. 151.

ⁿ See Morin. de Pœnitentia, l. vii. c. 16. A bishop who had been irregularly intruded into the see of Le Puy-en-Velay, was set aside by the Roman synod of 998 (see above, p. 429), and it was ordered that a new bishop should be consecrated by the pope (cc. 5-7). The reason of this order was, that the metropolitan, the archbishop of Bourges, had been concerned in the consecration of the intruder; but the consequence was that Sylvester II., on consecrating the new bishop, in 999, exempted him from the jurisdiction of all but the pope, and that his successors continued

to enjoy this privilege, with that of being consecrated by the pope himself, to which Leo IX., in the middle of the 11th century, added the dignity of the pall. (Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 133-4; Sylvest. II. Ep. 4, Patrol. cxxxix.) The archbishops of Toledo and Tarragona having disputed to which of them the bishop of Burgos ought to be suffragan, Urban II., in 1097, exempted it from the jurisdiction of both. The exemption was confirmed by Alexander III. and by Lucius III., and, in 1574, Burgos was made a metropolitan see by Gregory XIII. Mariana, vi. 164, and note.

^o Capit. 18 (Patrol. cv.).

church.^p And to the end of the period a like opposition to the papal assumptions in this respect was maintained.^q All that was as yet conceded to the pope was a power of granting absolution on the application, or with the consent, of the bishop by whom penance had been imposed.^r But in this, as in other matters, principles had already been introduced by which the popes were in no long time entirely to overthrow the ancient rights of the episcopal order.^s

(2.) The secular importance of bishops increased. They took precedence of counts, and at national assemblies they sat before dukes.^t In France many prelates took advantage of the weakness of the later Carolingians, or of the unsettled state of the new dynasty, to obtain grants of royalties (*regalia*)—privileges especially belonging to the crown, such as the right to coin money, to establish markets, to levy tolls, to build fortifications, and to hold courts of justice, even for the trial of capital offences.^u Towards the end of the period, however, these bishops for the most part found it necessary, for the sake of security against the aggressions of the nobles, to place themselves under the feudal protection of the sovereign, and in consideration of this the royalties were again resigned.^x

But it was in Germany that the bishops acquired the greatest power. The repeated changes of dynasty in that country were favourable to them. Each new race found it expedient to court them; and the emperors, partly out of respect for religion, partly from a wish to strengthen themselves by the support of the clergy, and to provide a counterpoise to the lay nobility,^y favoured the advance of the order by bestowing on them grants of royalties, and whole counties or even duchies, with corresponding rights of jurisdiction.^z

In proportion as the bishops became more powerful, it was more important for princes to get the appointment of them into their own hands. The capitulary of Louis the Pious, which enacted a return to the ancient system of free elections, had never taken effect to

^p Osbert. Vita Dunst. ap. Mabill. vii. 685.

^q See canons 16 and 18 of the council of Seligenstadt, A.D. 1022; a Letter of Fulbert to John XIX., in Bouquet, x. 473; and the second council of Limoges, A.D. 1031, in Hardouin, vi. 890-2.

^r Nat. Alex. xiii. 135; Planck, iii.

837, 848; Giesel. II. i. 258.

^s Planck, iii. 690, 875.

^t Ib. 486.

^u Mosh. ii. 284; Planck, iii. 459.

^x Planck, iii. 492.

^y W. Malmesb. 655.

^z Planck, iii. 496; Schröckh, xxii. 589; Luden, vii. 194; Giesel. II. i. 244.

any considerable extent. In France, in England, and in Germany, the choice of bishops was really with the sovereign; even where the right of nomination was contested (as it was by Hincmar in the cases of Cambray and Beauvais),^a the opponents allowed that the royal licence must precede the election of a bishop, and that the royal confirmation must follow on it. Although the church petitioned for free elections, it would have been well content to secure a right of rejecting persons who were unfit in respect of morals or of learning.^b Even a pope, John X., allows that, by ancient custom, the king's command is required in order to the appointment of a bishop, although he also mentions the necessity of election by the clergy, and acclamation by the laity.^c Election was for the most part nothing more than acquiescence in the sovereign's nomination; so that while Adam of Bremen always speaks of bishops as being appointed by the emperor, Thietmar generally speaks of them as elected.^d A sovereign might refuse to confirm an election, and any substitute proposed by him in such a case was sure to be accepted by the electors.^e And it was in vain that complaints were raised against the system of royal control, or that attempts were made to limit it by laying down new rules as to the qualifications requisite for the episcopate.^f

A remarkable proof of the degree in which the German sovereigns believed the disposal of bishopricks to be a right of their own office, is found in the fact that Henry the Fowler granted to Arnulf duke of Bavaria the privilege of appointing bishops within that territory.^g The saintly emperor Henry II. made bishops by direct nomination—possibly (as has been suggested) from a wish to secure the appointment of better men than the flocks would have been likely to choose for themselves; and it is said that a comparison between the bishops who owed their sees to his patronage and those who were afterwards elected by the clergy bears out the wisdom and the honesty of his policy.^h We are told that the emperors were sometimes directed by visions to promote certain deserving persons to vacant bishopricks, or to refrain from opposing their election.ⁱ

^a Pp. 323, 353.

^b Conc. Valent. III. A.D. 855, c. 7; Planck, iii. 396-8, 407; Schmidt, i. 667.

^c Ad Herim. Colon. ap. Hard. vi. 455; ad Carol. III. ib. 456. See Schröckh, xxii. 423.

^d Schröckh, xxii. 423.

^e Schmidt, ii. 206-8; Giesel. II. i.

245.

^f Planck, iii. 399, 406-9.

^g Thietmar, i. 15.

^h Schmidt, ii. 209; Schröckh, xxii. 425.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxii. 423.

In the Greek church also the emperors continued to nominate to the most important sees.^k Nicephorus Phocas enacted that no bishop should be appointed without the imperial consent, and when a see was vacant, he committed the revenues to the care of an officer, who was bound to limit the expenditure to a certain sum, and to pay over the residue to the treasury.^m The patriarch Polyeuctus refused to crown John Tzimisce, unless on condition that the law of his predecessor should be abrogated; but the emperor, immediately after his coronation, proceeded to exercise his prerogative by nominating a patriarch for Antioch.ⁿ

Bishopricks became objects of ambition for persons of noble or even royal birth, so that it was at length a rare and surprising case, and even serious objections were raised, when any one of obscure origin was elevated to such a position.^o Attempts were made to render the possession of sees hereditary in certain families; and in Germany these attempts took a peculiar and remarkable turn. A prelate was often able to secure the succession to his see for a nephew or a cousin; and the interest of families in such cases led them not to impoverish but to enrich the see, with a view to the benefit of their own members who were to hold it. It was regarded as a part of the family property, and the bishop might rely on the support of his kinsmen in all his differences and feuds with his other neighbours.^p Henry II. was fond of bestowing bishopricks on wealthy persons, who might be likely to add to the riches of their sees, such as Meinwerc, of Paderborn, of whose relations with his imperial patron and kinsman many humorous tales are told by his biographer.^q

But the disposal of bishopricks from motives of family interest naturally introduced great abuses. Atto bishop of Vercelli, who, in the earlier part of the tenth century, wrote a treatise 'On the Grievances of the Church,' tells us that the princes of his time were indifferent as to the character of those whom they nominated to high spiritual office—that wealth, relationship, and subserviency, were the only qualities which they looked for;^r and not only unfit persons but boys were appointed to sees,^s from those of Rome and

^k Schröckh, xxii. 426.

^m Cedren. 658.

ⁿ Ib. 664-5; Schröckh, xxii. 427.

^o E. g. in the case of Gerbert; of Willigis of Mentz (Thietmar, iii. 8); of Durandus of Liège (Sigeib. Gembl. A.D. 1021); of Otho of Bamberg (Pertz, xii. 751).

^p Planck, iii. 491-5.

^q Vita Meinwerci, cc. 11, &c. (Pertz, xi.)

^r De Pressuris Eccles. pt. ii. (Patrol. cxxxiv. 69). Atto held his see from 924 to 960.

^s De Press. Eccl. ii. col. 75. He says, as to the general condition of bishops

Constantinople downwards. Atto describes one of these boy prelates, at his consecration, as answering by rote the questions which were put to him, either having been crammed with the answers or reading them from a memorandum; as dreading, in case of failure, not lest he should lose the grace of consecration, but lest he should fall under the rod of his tutor; and having no conception either of the responsibilities of his office, or of the temptations which would beset him.¹ A particularly scandalous case was that of Theophylact, whom his father, the emperor Romanus, resolved to raise to the patriarchate of Constantinople on a vacancy which occurred in 928. As the prince was only eleven years of age, a monk named Trypho was made temporary patriarch; but when desired to resign his office, three years later, he was unwilling to comply. It is said that Theophanes, bishop of Cæsarea, waited on him, and, with great professions of friendship, told him that the emperor intended to eject him on the ground that he was ignorant of letters: "If," he said, "you can disprove this objection, you have nothing to fear." At the suggestion of his insidious visitor, Trypho wrote his name and style on a paper, which was afterwards annexed to another, containing an acknowledgment that he was unfit for the patriarchate, and expressing a wish to retire from it. Trypho was thus set aside, and, after a vacancy of a year and a half, Theophylact, at the age of sixteen, became patriarch in 933, being installed in his office by legates of pope John XI.² During three and twenty years Theophylact disgraced the patriarchal throne. He introduced indecent music and dances into the service of the church; but he was chiefly distinguished by his insane fondness for horses, of which he kept more than two thousand. Instead of the ordinary diet, they were fed with dates, figs, raisins, almonds, and other fruits, which were steeped in costly wines and flavoured with the most delicate spices. It is related that once, while performing the eucharistic rites on Thursday before Easter, the patriarch was informed that a favourite mare had foaled. He immediately left the church, and, after having gratified himself by the sight of the mother and her offspring, returned to finish the service of the day. In order to provide for the vast expenses of his stud, he shamelessly sold all sorts of spiritual offices. Theophylact's end was worthy of his life;

—"Irreligiose eliguntur, inaniter ordinantur, indifferenter accusantur, injuste opprimuntur, perfide dejiciuntur, crudeliter aliquando et necantur." p. 85.

¹ Col. 75.

² Theoph. Contin. ed. Bonn. 421-2; Cedren. 627-9; Finlay, ii. 356.

his head was dashed against a wall in riding, and, after having lingered two years, he died in consequence of the accident.*

Complaints of simony in the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, whether high or low, are incessant during this period.⁷ The simoniacal practices of sovereigns are supposed to have originated from the custom of offering gifts on being admitted to their presence. Those who were promoted by them to ecclesiastical dignities testified their gratitude by presents, which in course of time took the nature of stipulated payments.⁸ The working of the system became worse when bishops, instead of making payment at the time of their promotion, relied on the revenues of their sees for the means of raising the money, as in such cases they were tempted to dilapidate the episcopal property, to oppress their tenants, to engage in unseemly disputes, and to allow their churches to go to ruin.⁹ In respect of simony the German emperors were pure, as compared with other western princes; they sometimes made formal resolutions to refrain from selling their patronage, and to restrain the simoniacal practices of others;¹⁰ but their necessities interfered with the fulfilment of their good intentions.¹¹ Cardinal Humbert, who had enjoyed an opportunity of observing the Greek church when engaged on a mission to Constantinople, states that the sale of bishopricks was not practised there as in the west.¹² The practice of paying for preferments, as distinguished from ordination, found defenders; but the defence was indignantly met by such writers as Humbert¹³ and Peter Damiani. The distinction between orders and benefices, says Peter, is as absurd as if one were to say that a man is father of his son's body only, and not of his soul.¹⁴

Bishops were *invested* in their sees by the western sovereigns. Symbolical forms of investiture are mentioned as early as the time of Clovis,¹⁵ and it is said that Louis the Pious invested bishops by delivering to them the pastoral staff.¹⁶ But the use of such

* Cedren. 638-9.

⁷ As a specimen of simoniacal transactions, see the agreement for the sale of the bishopric of Albi, Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 182, and Append. 202.

⁸ Stenzel, i. 108.

⁹ Humb. adv. Simoniacos, ii. 35-6 (Patrol. cxliii.).

¹⁰ Humb. adv. Sim. iii. 7; Giesel. II. i. 250; Gfrörer, iv. 137-140.

¹¹ Such was the case of Conrad. See Wippo, c. 8; Luden, viii. 36, and note.

¹² Adv. Sim. iii. 10.

¹³ Ib. iii. 1, seqq. This work is in the

form of a dialogue between *Correptor* (the reformer) and *Corruptor* (the advocate of the existing system).

¹⁴ See Epp. i. 13; v. 13.

¹⁵ See Nat. Alex. xiii. 641; Giesel. II. i. 245. The various forms of investiture are given by Ducange, s. v. *Investitura*.

¹⁶ Adam. Brem. i. 32. Ebbo, during his intrusion into Rheims (see p. 332), is said to have consecrated with ring and staff. Conc. Suess. A.D. 853, ap. Hard. v. 51.

ceremonies does not appear to have been introduced as a regular practice until the age of the Othos,¹ and was perhaps not completely established until the end of the tenth century.^k The investiture related to the temporalities of the see, which the sovereign was supposed to bestow on the bishops. Hincmar, in his answer to Adrian II., when desired to renounce communion with Charles the Bald,^l marks the distinction between his temporalities, which were at the king's disposal, and his spiritual office, in which he regarded himself as independent. "If I were to act according to your judgment," he tells the pope, "I might continue to chant at the altar of my church, but over its property, its income, and its retainers, I should no longer have any power."^m When the feudal system was established, it was natural that bishops, as well as dukes and counts, should be invested in their possessions, and they may have found their advantage in a tie which entitled them to the protection of their liege lord.ⁿ But it became a matter of complaint that the estates and temporal privileges of bishops were conferred on them by means of instruments which symbolised their spiritual character—the ring, the figure of marriage with the church, and the crozier or crook, the ensign of pastoral authority. The use of such instruments appeared to signify that the spiritual powers of the episcopate were derived from the gift of earthly princes.^o

By the institution of investiture sovereigns gained new means of control over bishops. They not only held over them the fear lest their gifts might be withdrawn,^p but were able to use the investiture so as to secure for themselves the patronage of sees. In order to elude the royal nomination, bishops sometimes consecrated to a see immediately on the occurrence of the vacancy, and thus threw on the sovereign the difficulty and the odium of dislodging a prelate who was already in possession. But princes were now able to prevent such consecrations, by providing that on a bishop's death his ring and staff should at once be seized and sent to them by their officers; for without these insignia the consecration of a successor could not proceed.^q Hence, as we shall see hereafter, it was complained that by the system of investiture the right of canonical election was annulled. Sometimes the election of a

¹ See Humb. *adv. Sim.* iii. 11, col. 1156.

^k Mosh. ii. 347; Planck, iii. 32.

^l See p. 341.

^m Opera, ii. 697. See Planck, iii. 461, 472.

ⁿ Planck, iii. 437, 458.

^o Humb. *Adv. Sim.* iii. 6; Nat. Alex. xiii. 639. See De Rémusat, 'S. Anselme,' 281.

^p Planck, iii. 467.

^q Ebbo, in Vita Otton. Babenberg., Pertz, xii. 827.

bishop was notified to the court, with a petition for his investiture, and in such cases it was always in the prince's power to substitute another person for him who had been chosen. Sometimes investiture was given in the name of the sovereign by the prelate who took the chief part in the consecration.^r

Notwithstanding all the lofty pretensions which ecclesiastics now set up as to the superiority of spiritual over royal power,^s they did not practically gain much.^t Hincmar and his brethren of the council of Quiercy told Louis of Germany that bishops ought not, like secular men, to be bound to vassalship; that it was a shameful indignity that the hands which had been anointed with holy chrism, and which daily consecrated the Redeemer's body and blood, should be required to touch the hands of a liege-lord in the ceremony of homage, or that the lips which were the keys of heaven should be obliged to swear fealty.^u But they did not obtain any exemption in consequence of this representation; and Hincmar himself was afterwards, as a special affront, required to renew his oath of fealty to Charles the Bald.^x Although bishops were exempt from the power of all inferior judges, kings still retained their jurisdiction over them.^y Hincmar, in his greatest zeal for the immunities of the clergy, went only so far as to maintain that the royal judgment must be guided by the laws of the church.^z The enactments of some synods, that a bishop should not be deposed except by twelve members of his own order,^a are not to be regarded as withdrawing bishops from the judgment of the sovereign, but as prescribing the manner in which this should be exercised. And, in cases of treason, princes deposed by their own immediate authority.^b When Hugh Capet brought Arnulf of Rheims to trial before the synod of St. Basle, no complaint was made of his having already imprisoned him; the presiding archbishop's proposal, that before proceeding to the investigation the synod should petition for the security of Arnulf's life, is a proof that the king's power to inflict capital punishment on the accused prelate was admitted; and it was only through the weakness of Robert and through the support of the emperor Otho that the pope was able in that case eventually to triumph.^c

^r Schröckh, xxii. 434-6; Planck, iii. 469. Giesel. II. i. 246.

^s See, for example, the council of St. Macra, A.D. 881, capit. i.; and above, p. 298.

^t Ep. ad Ludov. Germ. regem, c. 15. Hard. v. 475-6.

^u See p. 349; Planck, iii. 483-5;

^v Hincmar, Quaterniones (Patrol. cxxv. 1050, &c.).

^x Ep. 40 (Patrol. cxxvi.); see Planck, iii. 439.

^y E. g. Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 10.

^z Planck, iii. 441; Giesel. II. i. 248.

^a Planck, iii. 440; Giesel. II. i. 247.

While feeble princes yielded to the hierarchy, powerful princes often dealt forcibly with its members. Otho the Great, in punishment of political misdeeds, banished an archbishop of Mentz to Hamburg, and shut up a bishop of Strasburg in the monastery of Corbey;^d and, for the offence of having received a duke of Saxony with honours too much resembling those which were paid to the imperial majesty, he obliged Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, to compound by heavy penalties—a horse for every bell which had been rung and for every chandelier which had been lighted.^e Conrad II., on his last expedition to Italy, carried about with him a train of captive bishops;^f and when Henry III. deposed Widgers from the archbishoprick of Ravenna, the act was highly extolled by the greatest zealot for the privileges of the church, Peter Damiani.^g

Although the German emperors, like the Carolingians, assembled synods, took part in them, and ratified their proceedings, they did not, like the Carolingians, publish the decrees as their own enactments.^h And the privileges of sovereigns in general with respect to such assemblies were diminished. Although it was still acknowledged that they had the power of summoning councils, their right in this respect was no longer regarded as exclusive, so that both in France and in Germany councils were gathered without asking the sovereign's permission.ⁱ Through the carelessness of the bishops, the custom of holding regular synods fell into disuse; and when they were revived in a later age, the powers which kings and emperors had formerly exercised in connexion with them were forgotten.^k

It was regarded as a right of sovereigns to found bishopricks and archbishopricks, and the German emperors exercised it by erecting and endowing sees,—some of them perhaps as much from motives of policy as of devotion.^m The consent of the prelates whose interest was affected by the new foundation was, however, regarded as necessary,ⁿ and, in order to obtain it, the founders were sometimes obliged to submit to concession and compromise. Henry II. even prostrated himself before a council at Frankfort in 1006, that he might obtain its assistance in overcoming the

^d Widukind, ii. 25 (Patrol. cxxxviii.).

^e Thietmar, ii. 18.

^f Wippo, Vita Chuonr. (Patrol. cxlii. 1245).

^g Ep. viii. 2.

^h Planck, iii. 419; Schmidt, ii. 204-6.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 420-2, 921-2.

^k Ib. 423-5, 430-1.

^m Mosheim, ii. 264; Schröckh, xxii. 427-8.

ⁿ E. g. in the case of the bishoprick of Prague, where Wolfgang, in consenting to lessen the diocese of Ratisbon, acted against the advice of all his clergy. Othlon. 29. See above, p. 468.

objections raised by the bishop of Würzburg against the proposed see of Bamberg;^o and when Otho III. took it on himself to erect the archbishoprick of Gnesen without asking the consent of the metropolitan of Posen, out of whose province that of Gnesen was to be taken, the chronicler who relates this speaks doubtfully as to the legality of the act.^p The popes now began to claim the right of confirming such foundations; but, from the fact that princes laboured to propitiate the local prelates, instead of invoking the pope to overrule their objections, it is clear that the popes were not as yet supposed to have supreme jurisdiction in such cases.^q

Towards the middle of the ninth century there were considerable dissensions on the subject of the chorepiscopi in France. They had become more and more dissatisfied with their position; they complained that their emoluments bore no proportion to their labour, as compared with those of the diocesan bishops, while on the other side there were complaints that the chorepiscopi were disposed to exceed the rights of their commission. The decretals, fabricated in the interest of the bishops, were adverse to the claims of the chorepiscopi.^r Raban Maur, however, in consequence of an application from Drogo of Metz, wrote in favour of them, and especially in support of their power to ordain priests and deacons with the licence of their episcopal superiors.^s The troubles occasioned by Gottschalk may perhaps have contributed to exasperate the difference between the two classes, for Gottschalk had been ordained by a chorepiscopus during the vacancy of the see of Rheims; and, notwithstanding the powerful authority of the German primate, the order of chorepiscopi was abolished throughout Neustria by a council held at Paris in 849.^t

In the eleventh century a new species of assistant bishops was for the first time introduced. Poppo, bishop of Treves, in 1041 requested Benedict IX. to supply him with a person qualified to aid him in pontifical acts, and the pope complied by sending an ecclesi-

^o Thietmar, vi. 23; Planck, iii. 848. As to the foundation of Bamberg see Henry's charter (Diplom. 37), *Patrol.* cxl.; *ib.* coll. 66-91; *Vita Henr.* c. 2 (*ib.*); and a letter from Arnulf, bishop of Halberstadt, entreating the bishop of Würzburg to consent (*ib.* cxxxix. 1498). The erection of the see was confirmed by John XVII. (*Hard.* vi. 769, 770) and by Benedict VIII. *Patrol.* cxxxix. 1585. See Hefele, iv. 632, *seqq.*

^p "Ut spero, legitime, sine consensu tamen præfati præsulis, &c." Thietmar, iv. 28.

^q Schmidt, ii. 222.

^r E. g. Damasus, Ep. 5 (*Hard.* i. 768, *seqq.*).

^s A.D. 847-8. *Hard.* v. 1417-1424; *Patrol.* cx. 1195, *seqq.*

^t Giesel. II. i. 69; Kunstmann's 'Hrabanus,' 146-8; Gfrörer, *Karol.* i. 211, 256-8.

astic named Gratian, who must doubtless have already received episcopal consecration.^a The novelty of the case consisted in the application to the pope, and in the fact that the coadjutor was appointed by him. It was not, however, until a later time that such coadjutors became common in the church.^z

The practice of taking part in war, which had so often been condemned by councils, became more general among bishops during this period. When the feudal relations were fully established, a bishop was bound, as a part of his duty towards his suzerain, to lead his contingent to the field in person, and it was only as a matter of special favour that a dispensation from this duty could be obtained.^y The circumstances of the time, indeed, appeared in some measure to excuse the warlike propensities of bishops, who might think themselves justified in encouraging their flocks, even by their own example, to resist such determined and pitiless enemies of Christendom as the Saracens, the Northmen, or the Hungarians.^a Some prelates distinguished themselves by deeds of prowess, as Michael, bishop of Ratisbon, in the middle of the tenth century, who, after losing an ear and receiving other wounds in a battle with the Hungarians, was left for dead on the field. While he lay in this condition, a Magyar fell on him, with the intention of despatching him; but the bishop, "being strengthened in the Lord," grappled with his assailant, and, after a long struggle, succeeded in killing him. He then with great difficulty made his way to the camp of his own nation, where he was hailed with acclamations both as a priest and as a warrior, and his mutilation was thenceforth regarded as an honourable distinction.^a

(3.) Although donations of land were still made to the church, its acquisitions of this kind appear to have been less than in earlier times—partly, perhaps, because such gifts may have seemed to be less required.^b The clergy, therefore, felt the necessity of turning to

^a Bened. IX. Ep. 5 (Patrol. cxli.). Papebroche, improbably, supposes this Gratian to have been the same who bought the papacy of Benedict. N. in loc. ^z Planck, iii. 783-6.

^y Ib. 464; Giesel. II. i. 247.

^a Neand. vi. 83.

^a Thietmar, ii. 17. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, under A.D. 1056, give an account of a warlike bishop of Hereford, Leofgar, who was slain in battle by the Welsh, with some of his clergy. Abbots also fought against the Northmen, and some of these mo-

nastic warriors were encouraged by the apparition of St. Benedict—as Hugh of Fleury, A.D. 878 (Aimoin, de Miraculis S. Ben. i. 1; Patrol. cxxxix.), and the monks of Monte Cassino (Chron. Casin. ii. 71). Against clergy going to war, see Fulbert, Ep. 112 (Patrol. cxli.).

^b Planck, iii. 620-3. Gerhoh contrasts the earlier emperors, from Constantine to Louis the Pious, with "the Othos, Henries, and such like"—"The former enriched churches, the latter plundered them." De Aedif. Dei, 9 (Patrol. exciv.).

the best account the revenues to which they were already entitled, and especially the tithes. Tithe had originally been levied from land only, but the obligation of paying it was now extended to all sorts of income. "Perhaps," says the council of Trosley, "some one may say, 'I am no husbandman; I have nothing on which to pay tithe of the fruits of the earth or even of flocks.' Let such an one hearken, whosoever he be—whether a soldier, a merchant, or an artisan:—The ability by which thou art fed is God's, and therefore thou oughtest to pay tithes to Him."^c Many canons are directed to the enforcement of tithes on land newly brought into cultivation;^d and many are directed against claims of exemption. Such claims were sometimes advanced by persons who held lands under ecclesiastical owners, and pretended that it was an oppression to require a second rent of them under another name.^e The council of Ingelheim, held in 948, in the presence of Otho I., enacted that all questions as to tithes should be subject to the decision of the bishops alone; and a great council at Augsburg, four years later, confirmed the rule.^f

The amount thus added to the revenues of the clergy must, after all possible deductions for difficulties of collection, for waste, and for other allowances, have been very large; but the individual members of the body were not proportionally enriched. The number of the clergy was greatly increased; and, although the principle had been established that "benefice is given on account of office or duty,"^g it was considered to be satisfied by imposing on the superfluous clerks the duty of reading the church-service daily, and thus they became entitled to a maintenance.^h The bishops, as their state became greater, found themselves obliged to keep a host of expensive retainers. Knights or persons of higher rank who were attached to the households of the great prelates—often by way of disarming their hostilityⁱ—were very highly paid for their services; the free men whom the bishops contributed towards the national force, or whom they hired to fight their feuds, were costly, and, as the prelates found themselves considered at the national musters in proportion to the number of their followers, they often, for the sake of supporting their dignity, led more than the required

^c C. 7. Hard. vi. 521 (A.D. 909).

^d Planck, iii. 629.

^e Ib. 627-8.

^f Conc. Ingilb. c. 9; Conc. August. A.D. 952, c. 10; Planck, iii. 635.

^g "Beneficium datur propter officium."

^h Planck, iii. 639, 652.

ⁱ Gerboh. de Aedif. Dei, 6; Schmidt, ii. 496.

number with them.^k According to the system of the age, all these adherents were paid by fiefs, which were either provided out of the estates of the church or by assigning them the tithes of certain lands. Such fiefs in general became hereditary, and the episcopal revenues were thus consumed by the expense of establishments which it was impossible to get rid of.^m

The vidames or advocates in particular pressed heavily on the church. The wealth and privileges of the clergy continually excited the envy and cupidity of their lay neighbours, who were apt to pick quarrels with them in order that there might be a pretext for seizing their property. Every council has its complaints of such aggressions, and its anathemas against the aggressors. But the denunciations of councils, or even of popes, were of little or no avail; force alone could make any impression on the rough and lawless enemies of the clergy. The vidames, therefore, if they discharged their office faithfully, had no easy task in defending the property of the churches or monasteries with which they were connected. But not only was the price of their assistance often greater than the damage which they averted; they are charged with neglecting their duty, with becoming oppressors instead of defenders, with treating the property of the church as if it were their own.ⁿ The oppression of the advocates was especially felt by monastic bodies, which often found it expedient to pay largely to the sovereign for the privilege of being able to discharge these officers. The advocateship became hereditary; in some monasteries it was reserved by the founder to himself and his heirs, who thus, by the power of preying not only on the original endowment, but on such property as the community afterwards acquired, were in no small degree indemnified for the expense of the foundation. In some cases, the advocates appointed deputies, and thus the unfortunate clients had two tyrants under the name of defenders.^o Vast, therefore, as the revenues of the church appear, much of its wealth was merely nominal. A large part passed from the clergy to lay officials, and the rest was exposed to continual danger in such rude and unsettled times.^p

The condition of the Greek clergy is described by Liutprand as inferior to that of their Latin brethren. Their manner of life struck

^k Schmidt, ii. 192; Planck, iii. 656-660.

^o Ducange, s. v. *Advocatus*, p. 109;

^m Planck, loc. cit.; Giesel. II. i. 248.

Schmidt, ii. 189-190; Planck, iii. 661-2.

ⁿ Abbo Floriac. can. 2, ap. Mabill. Analecta, ii. 255, ed. 12mo.; Planck, iii.

^p Planck, iii. 613.

him as sordid. The bishops were obliged to pay tribute to the emperor; the bishop of Leucate swore that his own tribute amounted to a hundred pieces of gold yearly; and Liutprand claims that this was a manifest injustice, inasmuch as Joseph, when he taxed all the rest of Egypt, exempted the land which belonged to the priests.¹

(4.) An important change took place in the canonical bodies, which, as we have seen, had originated towards the end of the preceding period. Although the canonical life was attractive as offering almost all the advantages of monasticism with an exemption from some of its drawbacks, the restraints and punctilious observances of Chrodegang's rule were felt as hardships by many who had been accustomed to the enjoyment of independence. The canons had taken a high position. From living with the bishop they were brought into a close connexion with him: their privileged body acquired something like that power which in the earliest ages had belonged to the general council of presbyters; and they claimed a share in the government of the diocese.² The bishop, however, had at his disposal the whole revenues of the church, and although he might be obliged to set aside a certain portion for the maintenance of the canons, he had yet in his hands considerable means of annoying them. He could stint them in their allowances, he could increase their fasts, he could be niggardly in providing for occasions of festivity. Complaints of bishops against canons and of canons against bishops became frequent.³

The first object of the canons was to get rid of the bishop's control over their property. The composition made between Gunther of Cologne and his chapter, at a time when he had especial reason to court the members, is the earliest instance of its kind. By this the canons got into their own hands the management of their estates, and were even enabled to bequeath their houses or other effects to their brethren without any reference to the archbishop.⁴ The instrument was confirmed by a great council held at Cologne in 873 under archbishop Willibert, whose reasons for consenting to it are unknown; and the new arrangement was soon imitated elsewhere.⁵

¹ Legatio, 63.

² Schröckh, xxii. 498; Planck, iii. 642, 751-5.

³ Planck, iii. 756-7.

⁴ Hard. vi. 139. See p. 326.

⁵ Hard. vi. 137-142; Planck, iii 642-8; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 368; ii. 92-3.

Hefele (iv. 492) supposes this arrangement to relate, not to the cathedral but to collegiate churches, which had until this depended on it. The text, however, seems corrupt, and as incapable of yielding the one sense as the other without some alteration; while the

After having gained this step, the canons in various places, and more or less rapidly, advanced further. They abandoned the custom of living together, and of eating at a common table; each had a separate residence of his own within the precincts of the cathedral. They divided the estates of the society among themselves, but in such a way that the more influential members secured an unfair proportion; while many of them also possessed private property.^{*} The canons purchased special privileges from kings and emperors, from bishops and from popes. The vacancies in each chapter were filled up by the choice of the members, and nobility of birth came to be regarded as a necessary qualification. Marriage and concubinage were usual among this class of clergy; and their ordinary style of living may be inferred from the statement of Ratherius, bishop of Verona, that the simplicity of his habits led his canons to suppose him a man of low origin, and on that account to despise him.[†] At length the duties of the choir—the only duties which the canons had continued to acknowledge—were devolved on “prebendaries” engaged for the purpose, and the canons, both of cathedral and of collegiate churches, lived in the undisturbed enjoyment of their incomes.[‡]

Thus by degrees the system which Chrodegang had instituted became extinct. The revivals of it which were attempted by Adalbero of Rheims,[§] by Willigis of Mentz, and other prelates, were never of long continuance;^{||} and in a later time that which had been a violation of the proper canonical discipline became the rule for the foundation of cathedral chapters on a new footing.[¶]

(5.) The dissolute morals of the clergy are the subject of unceasing complaint. The evils which arose out of the condition of domestic chaplains increased, notwithstanding all the efforts of bishops and of councils to introduce a reform. The employers of these chaplains engaged them without any inquiry as to their morals, their learning, or even their ordination; they claimed for them the

usual interpretation appears the more probable.

^{*} *Ratherii Judicatum* (*Patrol.* cxxxvi.); Gerhoh. in *Pa.* lxiv. 35, 125 (*ib.* cxciv.); Schröckh, xxii. 499; Planck, iii. 764. Peter Damiani wrote two tracts against the abuses in the canonical life—*Opusc.* xxiv. ‘*Contra clericos regulares proprietarios*’; *Opusc.* xxvii. ‘*De comuni vita canonicorum*.’

[†] *Rather. Qualitatis Conjectura*, 2.

[‡] Schmidt, ii. 493; Planck, iii. 768.

[§] Richer, iii. 24.

^{||} *Mabill.* VII. p. viii.; Pagi, xvi. 33; Planck, iii. 765. Yet the Saxon annalist says that the canons of Hildesheim, down to the eleventh century, lived with the strictness of monks; they had daily to exhibit some tasks to the dean “*ut timidus in clauastro quam in scholis manum ferulæ subducere viderentur*.” Pertz, vi. 686.

[¶] Planck, iii. 766.

same exemption from episcopal jurisdiction which was allowed to the clergy of the royal chapel, and every employer considered it a point of honour to support his chaplain in any violation of canons or defiance of bishops.^d

The mischiefs connected with this class of clergy were in great measure chargeable on the practice of the bishops themselves in conferring orders without assigning a particular sphere of labour to the receiver. The origin of such ordinations has been already traced ;^e but now even the higher orders of the ministry were thus bestowed, for the sake of the fees which had become customary.^f Canons were passed that no one should be allowed to officiate in a church without the bishop's licence, and without producing a certificate of his ordination ; while other canons forbade the appointment of chaplains without the bishop's consent.^g The council of Ravenna, under John VIII., in 877, enacted that every presbyter should at ordination be appointed to some particular church ;^h but the custom of ordaining without such a title was already too firmly established.

Among the many abuses which arose out of the sale of spiritual preferments was the practice of patrons who insisted on presenting their nominees without allowing the bishop to inquire into their qualifications, or even into the validity of their ordination.ⁱ In opposition to this the council of Seligenstadt, in 1022, ordered that no layman should present a clerk without submitting him for examination to the bishop.^k

But the chief subject of complaint and of ecclesiastical legislation is the neglect of celibacy and chastity by the clergy. The older canons, which forbade clergymen to entertain in their houses any women except their nearest relations, were found, instead of acting as an effective restraint, to tempt them to more frightful kinds of sin ; and even the company of mothers, aunts, and sisters was now prohibited.^m Riculf, bishop of Soissons, ordains, in 889, that, lest the sins of Absalom and of Lot should be repeated, not even the

^d Planck, iii. 565-8, 575. See in Thietmar, vi. 59, the account of the outrage offered by some retainers of Gero, marquis of Magdeburg, to Arnulf, bishop of Halberstadt, for remonstrating with one of their master's chaplains as to the uncanonical amusement of falconry (A.D. 1013). In that case, indeed, both the marquis (although he was not, as Planck says, personally concerned) and his men were severely punished by Henry II.; but it was probably not often that any such

interposition of the sovereign took place.

^e P. 199.

^f Planck, iii. 570-2 ; IV. ii. 313-4.

^g Ib. iii. 573-8.

^h C. 14.

ⁱ Planck, iii. 779.

^k C. 13.

^m Conc. Namnet. (undated), c. 3, ap. Hard. vi. 457. [Perhaps this ought to have been cited in the preceding book ; as the canons, while dated by some about 895, are referred by others to a council held at Nantes in 658. Hefele, iii. 97.] Cf. Giesel. II. i. 321.

nearest kinswomen of the clergy should dwell with them; if a clergyman should invite his mother, his sister, or his aunt to dinner, the women must return before nightfall to their own home or lodging, which must be at a distance from the parsonage.^a As experience seemed to point out more and more the expediency of relaxing the law of celibacy, councils became stricter in their requirements. Subdeacons were required at ordination to promise that they would never marry, or, if already married, they were required to renounce their wives;^b a council at Augsburg in 952 enacted that all manner of clerks of mature age should be compelled to observe continency, "even although unwilling."^c

The clergy, however, when forbidden to marry, indemnified themselves by living in concubinage—sometimes, as appears from a canon passed at Poitiers in 1000, resorting to strange expedients for the purpose of concealing their female companions;^d and they married in contempt of the prohibitions. Atto describes clergymen as openly living with *meretriculæ*—a term which he would probably have applied to wives as well as to unmarried companions—as making them the heads of their establishments, and bequeathing to them the money which had been gained from the holy oblations; thus diverting to harlots that which of right belonged to the poor. In consequence of these scandals, he says, many persons, to their own spiritual hurt, withheld their oblations; and the clergy, when called to account for their misconduct by bishops, had recourse to secular protectors, whose alliance enabled them to defy their ecclesiastical superiors.^e From the bishops downwards, it was common both in Germany and in Italy for the clergy to have wives, and that without any disguise;^f and the same was the case in Normandy, as well as in the independent church of Brittany.^g In order to judge fairly of such persons we must not regard them from the position of either the modern opponents or advocates of

^a Constit. Riculfi, c. 14 (Hard. vi. 417).

^b Conc. Bituric. A.D. 1031, c. 6.

^c C. 11 (Pertz, Leges, ii.).

^d "Nullus presbyter neque diaconus feminam in sua domo teneat, neque in cellario, neque in secreto loco." C. 6.

^e Ep. 9 (Patrol. cxxxiv.). He earnestly warns against all society with women: "Difficile evadere potestis, nisi ab earum consortio declinetis. Quem enim compta crines, venusta facies, nictatio palpebrarum, elisio oculorum, affabilitas sermonum, garrula modulatio,

risus facilis, blanda suasio, præclara monilia, schemata vestium, olfactio unguentorum, mollis incensus, ac totius corporis luxur non resolveret in flagitium?" Col. 118.

^f Theiner, i. 479; Giesel. II. i. 322-3; Gfrörer, iv. 155-6.

^g Vita Herluini, Patrol. cl. 699. St. Anselm writes to Urban II. that a bishop of Beauvais is persecuted for keeping the sons or chosen heirs of his canons from succeeding to their benefices. Ep. ii. 33, p. 354.

clerical celibacy. Living and holding office as they did under a law which forbade marriage, we cannot respect them for their violation of that law. Yet if they believed the prohibition to be merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and not enforced by the Divine word,—if they saw that the inexpediency of such discipline was abundantly proved by experience,—and if they found that those who were charged with the maintenance of the canons were willing to tolerate a breach of them in this respect, provided that it were managed without any offence to public decency, we may suppose that the clergy in question were reasonably justified to their own consciences. We may hold them excusable, if we cannot join with those who would admire them as heroic or enlightened.

The acts of Dunstan in England have been already related, and we have seen that his reformation, which for the time appeared to be triumphant, was not of any long continuance—at least in its full extent. Reformers in other quarters failed to obtain even a temporary success. Among the most remarkable of these was Ratherius, a native of Liège, who acquired great fame for learning, eloquence, and strictness of life, and in 931 was advanced to the see of Verona by Hugh the Great of Provence, in fulfilment of a promise which Hugh was disposed to evade, but which was enforced by the authority of the pope.^a Ratherius represents the Italian clergy in the darkest colours: ^x they were, he says, so grossly ignorant that many of them did not know the Apostles' Creed,^y while some were anthropomorphites;^z and their obstinate unwillingness to chant the Athanasian Creed suggested suspicions of Arianism.^a They were stained by all manner of vices;^b the bishops were altogether secular in their manners, and even in their dress—hunting, hawking, gaming, delighting in the company of jesters, minstrels, and dancing-girls.^c They were luxurious in their food and drink; they were utterly careless of their duties, and set the church's laws at nought;^d instead of dividing their revenues according to the canons, they appropriated all to themselves, so that the poor were robbed, and churches, which had suffered from the negligence of

^a Hugh consented, in the belief that Ratherius was dying, and was angry at his recovery. Rather. Ep. v. 4 (Patrol. cxxxvi.); Vogel, 'Ratherius von Verona und das zehnte Jahrhundert,' Jena, 1854, i. 52.

^x De Contemptu Canonum, i. 4; ii. 2-4; Discordia, 1.

^y Itinerarium, 6.

^z Serm. ii. 29.

^a Itiner. 7.

^b Ib. 5; Vogel, i. 242, 292; Theiner, i. 509, seqq., 521.

^c Prasloq. v. 6-7, 11, 18-9.

^d Ib. 12; De Cont. Can. i. 6.

bishops or from the violence of pagans, lay in ruins;* they despised all who showed the fear of God; they took pride in splendid furniture and equipages, without any thought of Him who was laid in a manger and rode on an ass.^f Unhappily Ratherius was altogether wanting in the prudence which would have been requisite for dealing with such persons; his intemperate zeal, his personal assumption, his passionate impatience of opposition, his abusive language and unmeasured severity in reproof alienated the clergy, laity, and monks, with whom he had at first been popular, while his independent spirit and his determination to maintain the rights of his see provoked the licentious and cruel king.^g Hugh, A.D. 934. on a charge of treason, imprisoned him at Pavia for two years and a half,^h while the bishoprick was given to Manasses, archbishop of Arles, who also held the sees of Trent and Mantua, and had the effrontery to justify his pluralities by alleging that St. Peter had been bishop of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch.ⁱ In 939, Hugh for reasons of policy restored Ratherius; but the bishop was again obliged to leave his see,^k and his impracticable character provoked his expulsion or compelled his withdrawal from other preferments which he successively obtained—from Liège, to which he had been promoted by the influence of Bruno of Cologne;^m a third time from Verona, which he had recovered through the patronage of Otho the Great, by the ejection of a more popular bishopⁿ (A.D. 963); from the abbey of St. Amand, which he is said to have purchased of king Lothair; from the abbey of Hautmont, and from that of Lobach or Lobbes, on the Sambre, the place of his education, which he had held with the bishoprick of Liège, and of which in his latter days he again became the head through the expulsion of his predecessor Folcuin.^o Ratherius died

* Præloq. v. 7; Synodica; Lib. Apolog. 5.

^f Præloq. v. 9-10.

^g Vogel, i. 54. See the 'Qualitatis Conjectura,' 2, seqq.

^h Epp. v. 4-5; Hist. Litt. vi. 341.

ⁱ Liutprand. Antap. iv. 6.

^k Vogel, i. 124-9.

^m Phrenesis, 1; Folcuin. Gesta Abbat. Lob. 23 (Patrol. cxxxvii.); Vogel, i. 180-4, 192-4.

ⁿ Ep. v. 8; Privileg. Ottonis (Patrol. cxxxv. 539); Folcuin, 24; Vogel, i. 255, 302, 306, 411-420.

^o Ib. 182, 426-7, 430-1; Hist. Litt. vi. 452; Schröckh, xxii. 513-522. It is Folcuin who gives the story as to the

purchase of St. Amand. (C. 28; cf. Rather. Præloq. v. 33; Ballerini, Præf. in Præloq. l. v.) Mabillon thinks it a calumny, imposed on the abbot by some one who wished to flatter his dislike of Ratherius (vii. 479); but Vogel maintains its truth, while he contends that the transaction was not inconsistent with the abhorrence of simony which Ratherius professed (i. 427-8). After one of his expulsions from Verona, the bishop became tutor to a young nobleman, for whose benefit he wrote a grammar with the title of 'Sparadorsum' (*Spareback*), so called because the pupil by learning it might escape chastisement. Folc. 20; Vogel, i. 101.

at Namur, in 974, at the age of 82.^p He was throughout a vehement opponent of marriage among the clergy; yet he seems at last to have been convinced that the attempt was hopeless, and to have contented himself with endeavouring to preserve the hierarchy from becoming hereditary, by desiring that the married priests should choose laymen as husbands for their daughters, and should not allow their sons to become clerks.^q

It was not on religious grounds only that the celibacy of the clergy was enforced; for the possessions of the church were endangered by the opposite practice. The married clergy often contrived to make their livings hereditary; or they alienated ecclesiastical property to their children, whom, in order to render such alienations secure, they placed under vassalage to some powerful layman.^r Clergymen of servile birth were careful to choose women of free condition for wives and concubines, so as to ensure for their offspring the privileges of freemen, by virtue of the legal principle that the child must follow the condition of the mother. Benedict VIII., at a council held at Pavia about 1012, inveighed with great severity against those who by such means impoverished the church.^s "Let the sons of clergy be null," he says; "and especially the sons of such clerks as belong to the family" (*i. e.* to the serfs^t) "of the church. Yea, let them—let them, I say—I say they shall—be null." They shall neither follow their mother in freedom nor their father in inheritance; they shall be serfs of the church for ever, whether born of wives or of concubines; they may in mercy be allowed to serve as Nethinims—hewers of wood and drawers of water—but must not aspire to any higher ministry. Their mothers shall be driven out, and shall be compelled to leave behind them all that they have gotten from the church.^u The pope's address to the council is followed by canons which enact that no member of the clergy shall have a wife or a concubine; that the children of clerks shall be condemned to hopeless servitude; and that no judge shall, under pain of anathema, promise them freedom or the power of inheriting.

Some canons forbade, not only that any one should give his

^p Vogel, i. 434.

^q De Nuptu Illicito, 4; Vogel, i. 347. "Si multum a clericali repellerem," he asks, "quem nisi puerulos in ecclesia relinquerem? Si mazeret abjicerem, quem ex eis puerulis stare in choro permetterem?" Itinerar. 5.

^r Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853 e); Planck, iii. 600; Theiner, i. 458-9; Giesel, II. i. 326.

^s Hard. vi. 805, seqq.

^t Ducange, s. v. *Familia*.

^u Hard. vi. 809-813.

daughter in marriage to a clerk, but that any lay person should intermarry with the child of a clerk;² and there were canons which forbade the ordination of the sons of clergymen, as being an "accursed seed."³ In this respect, however, the humaner principle that the innocent should not suffer for the sins of their parents appears to have more generally prevailed.⁴

Dearly as the benefit was bought, we must not overlook one great good which resulted from the enforcement of celibacy—that to this is chiefly to be ascribed the preservation of the clergy during the middle ages from becoming, like other classes whose dignity had at first been personal and official, a hereditary caste.⁵

II. *Monasticism.*

During the earlier part of this period, the monastic life was on the decline. Some of the abuses which had arisen among the Greeks may be gathered from the canons of the synod which was held at Constantinople in 861, and which is known as the "First and Second."⁶ It is there stated that many persons professed to consecrate their substance by founding monasteries, yet contrived to make such foundations a source of profit; and that some assumed the monastic habit with the view of gaining a reputation for piety, but lived with the freedom of laymen. In order to guard against these evils, it is enacted that no monastery shall be built

² Conc. Bitur. A.D. 1031, cc. 19-20.

³ Ib. c. 8.

⁴ Neand. vi. 92. See Alexand. II. Ep. 133 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Gesta Epp. Cenoman. c. 33, ap. Mabill. Anal. 307. Gratian, Decr. I. dist. 56; Theiner, ii. 327. There is a letter from Theobald of Etampes to Roscellin (as to whom see hereafter, Book V. c. viii.) remonstrating against his opinion that the sons of clerks ought to be *exleges*, and excluded from ordination. Patrol. clxiii. 767.

⁵ Luden, viii. 566-7; Palgrave, Hist. Anglo-Sax. 242; Ozanam, 90. There has been much controversy as to a letter in bold defence of clerical marriage, which is said to have been addressed by Ulric bishop of Augsburg to Nicolas I. (Patrol. cxliii. 1361-6). The absurd story which it contains, that Gregory the Great found in his fishpond *six thousand heads of priests' children*, is given up by all reasonable persons as a fable, although similar tales on a less

extravagant scale are found elsewhere, as in Hugh of Flavigny, who states the discovery of *nine* heads in a pond near a nunnery at Verdun (ii. 29). As the famous St. Ulric of Augsburg lived long after Nicolas I., the defenders of the letter are reduced to suppose that it was either written by an earlier Ulric or addressed to a later Nicolas. Gieseler thinks that Nicolas II. is meant, and that the letter is a forgery of the time of Hildebrand, executed in the interest of the opposite party (II. i. 329). Floto agrees in this view, and supposes it to have been written about 1076 (ii. 39). Comp. Gerhoh, in Patrol. cxclv. 1387; Bayle, art. *Grégoire I.*, n. Q.; Eccard, Præf. in Cod. Udalrici (Corp. Histor. t. ii.); Schröckh, xxii. 550-5; Theiner, i. 467-470; Maitland on Fox's Acts and Monuments, Brit. Mag. xiii. 254. The letter was condemned by Gregory VII. in his synod of 1079. Bernold, ap. Pertz, v. 436.

⁶ See p. 362.

without leave of the bishop in whose diocese it is situated, and that no one shall be admitted to the monastic profession until after a noviciate of three years. Another canon orders that bishops shall not dilapidate the property of their sees for the purpose of founding monasteries.^c

In the west, the reform undertaken by Louis the Pious soon passed away. The practice of impropriating the revenues of abbeys (an abuse which was also largely practised in the Eastern church)^d increased. Abbacies were granted by French kings to laymen as hereditary possessions; some of them were even assigned to queens or other ladies.^e Kings took the revenues of abbeys into their own hands, and bishops were not slow to imitate the example; thus Hatto of Mentz, who died in 912, annexed to his archiepiscopal dignity the abbacies of twelve monasteries,^f and some abbacies were fixedly attached to certain sees.^g The want of due superintendence which arose from this practice combined with other causes to produce a great decay of monastic discipline. Such was this decay in France that the monks are said to have been generally unacquainted with the rule of St. Benedict, and even ignorant whether they were bound by any rule whatever.^h In many monasteries the abbots openly lived with wives or concubines.ⁱ

The council of Trosley, in 909, laments the general corruption. Some monasteries, it is said, have been burnt or destroyed by pagans, some have been plundered of their property, and those of which the traces remain observe no form of a regular institute. They have no proper heads; the manner of life is disorderly; some monks desert their profession and employ themselves in worldly business; as the fine gold becomes dim without the workman's care, so the monastic institution goes to ruin for want of regular abbots. Lay abbots with their wives and children, with their soldiers and their dogs, occupy the cloisters of monks, of canons, and of nuns; they take it on themselves to give directions as to a mode of life with which they are altogether unacquainted, and the inmates of monasteries cast off all regard for rule as to dress and diet. It is

^c *Cc.* 1, 2, 5, 7.

^d *Ducange*, s. v. *Abbas*, pp. 11-12.

^e *Giesel*. II. i. 294. See p. 409.

^f *Ekkehard*, de *Casibus S. Galli*, in *Pertz*, ii. 83.

^g *Thomassin*, II. iii. 3. 37; *Planck*, iii. 725. An instance of the bad effects of such annexation in the case of St.

Emmeran's at *Ratisbon* may be found in the *Life* of *St. Wolfgang*, who reformed the abuse. *C.* 15. *Pertz*, iv. 522.

^h *Schröckh*, xxiii. 25; *Planck*, iii. 696.

ⁱ *Theiner*, i. 526-7; *Giesel*. II. i. 296.

the predicted sign, the abomination of desolation standing in the place where it ought not.^k

Soon after this a reformation was set on foot in various quarters. The lead was taken by Berno, abbot of Beaume, and founder and abbot of Gigni.^m He had already established a reform in these two societies, when in 912ⁿ he was invited to Cluny by William, duke of Auvergne or Upper Aquitaine, who desired him to choose a spot within the dukedom for the foundation of a monastery;^o and Berno made choice of Cluny itself. A society of canons had been founded there in the preceding century,^p but the buildings were then occupied by the duke's hunting establishment. In his "testament," or charter, William declares that he gives the estate for the foundation of a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul; first, for the love of God, then for the souls of the late king Odo, of his own wife, kindred, and friends, for the good of the Catholic faith, and of all orthodox Christians in times past, present, or to come. Berno is to be the first abbot, and after his death the monks are to enjoy the uncontrolled election of their superior. They are to be exempt from all interference of the founder and his family, of the king's majesty, and of every other earthly power. The duke solemnly charges all popes, bishops, and secular princes to respect their property; he prays the two apostles and the pope to take the monastery under their special protection, and imprecates curses on any one who shall invade it.^q

Berno, like St. Benedict and other monastic founders,^r began with a company of twelve monks.^s The institutions of Cluny excited emulation, and other monasteries were committed to the abbot for reform. In 927, Berno was succeeded by his disciple Odo, whose fame so much eclipsed that of his master that even some members of the Cluniac order have spoken of Odo as their founder.^t To the rule of St. Benedict Odo added many minute observances.^u Thus the monks were required at the end of meals to gather up and consume all the crumbs of their bread. There was at first

^k Cap. 3. Hard. vi. 510-3.

^m Baron. 912-18; Mabill. vii. 70. Berno was probably a count, but this is not certain. Mab. 66.

ⁿ Pagi, xv. 575.

^o Vita Bernon. ap. Mabill. vii. 76.

^p See Mabill. 74-5.

^q Hard. vi. 547, seqq. The confirmation by pope Agapetus, *ibid.* 601. See also Alex. II. Ep. 43, ad Hugon. Abbat.

Clun., *ib.* vi. 1109. For the early history of Cluny, see Maitland's 'Dark Ages,' c. 18.

^r See vol. i. p. 543.

^s Radulph. Glab. iii. 5.

^t See Baron. 912-17; Pagi, xv. 576; Mabill. vii. 127.

^u See, e. g., the rules as to shaving. Antiq. Consuetud. Clun. iii. 16 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

a disposition to evade this regulation; but when a dying monk exclaimed in horror that the devil was holding up in accusation against him a bag of crumbs which he had been unwilling to swallow, the brethren were terrified into obedience.^{*} Periods of strict silence were enforced; and stories are told of the inconveniences to which the Cluniacs submitted rather than break this rule—as that one allowed his horse to be stolen, and that two suffered themselves to be carried off prisoners by the Northmen. For their communications among themselves at such times a code of signals was established, which the novices were obliged to learn.⁷ The monks were bled five times a year, and it is doubtful whether Odo permitted the use of any medical treatment except bleeding² and the application of cautery. When two of his monks entreated him to allow them some medicine, he consented, but told them in anger that they would never recover; and the result justified his foresight, if not his humanity.³

The fame of Cluny spread. Odo, at the request of popes, thrice visited Italy for the purpose of reconciling princes, and he availed himself of these opportunities to introduce his reforms in that country.^b Under his successor, Aymard, no fewer than 278 charters, either bestowing or confirming gifts, attest the wealth which was attracted to the monastery by the spectacle which it exhibited of revived austerity.^c A series of conspicuous saints maintained and advanced the renown of the Cluniacs. Majolus, or Mayeul, who, in consequence of Aymard's having lost his sight, was appointed his coadjutor in 948,^d and became sole abbot in 965, had before joining the congregation refused the archbishoprick of Besançon,^e and on the death of Benedict VI., in 974, he declined the popedom.^f The fifth abbot, Odilo, was equal to any of his predecessors in reputation and in influence. Popes treated him as an equal; kings and emperors sought his friendship and were guided by his advice; bishops repaired to Cluny, to place themselves as monks

^{*} Vita S. Odonis, ap. Mabill. vii. 159.
⁷ Antiq. Consuet. ii. 3-4; Mabill. vii. 129; Vita, ib. 167.

² Consuet. ii. 21.

³ Nalgold. ap. Mabill. vii. 196. In the chapter "De Infirmis" meat is allowed, but there is no mention of medicine (Consuet. iii. 27). St Gualbert excommunicated a monk who had died through neglecting to take care

of himself after receiving medicine from him. Atto, c. 43. ap. Mabill. ix. 285.

^b Hist. Litt. vi. 232-3.

^c Mabill. vii. 316.

^d Patrol. cxxxvii.; Syrus, Vita Majoli, iv. 1-2, ib.

^e Syrus, i. 12.

^f Ib. iii. 8.

under his government.⁵ His contemporary Fulbert of Chartres styles him "the archangel of the monks;"⁶ another contemporary, the notorious Adalbero of Laon, in a satirical poem calls him "*King Odilo of Cluny*."⁷ He was believed to have the power of miracles, and an extraordinary efficacy was ascribed to his prayers. Benedict VIII., it is said, appeared to John bishop of Porto, telling him that he was suffering torments, but that he could be delivered by the prayers of Odilo. The abbot, on being informed of this, engaged in the charitable work, and after a time the release of the pope was shown in a vision to one of the monks of Cluny.⁸ In days when the popes were far from saintly, the people looked away from them to the great head of the monastic society, whose position was such that he refused to exchange it for an archbishoprick, or even for St. Peter's chair.⁹

The reform begun at Cluny extended far and wide. When a revival of the true monastic asceticism had been displayed in any province, a regard for public opinion and for self-preservation urged the imitation of it on the other communities of the neighbourhood.¹⁰ A general zeal for monachism sprang up; multitudes of men became monks, many offered their children, some even devoted themselves and their posterity as serfs to a monastery, in the hope of a reward in heaven.¹¹ Princes or bishops often employed the Cluniacs in carrying out a forcible reformation; many monasteries of their own accord conformed to the Cluniac rule, and placed themselves in connexion with the mother society.¹² The nature of this connexion was various; in some cases the affiliated monastery was in strict subjection, so that it not only looked to Cluny for its abbots and priors, but did not even receive a novice without a reference to the "arch-abbot;" in other cases the lesser monastery enjoyed independence in the administration of its own

⁵ Sylvest. II. Ep. ii. 12 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Jotsald. Vita Odilon. i. 8, ap. Mabill. viii. 600; Schröckh, xxiii. 37.

⁶ Fulb. ap. Bouquet, x. 456.

⁷ A monk is represented as saying—

"Rex est namque meus Rex Odilo Cluniacensis."

Adalb. Carm. ad Rodbert. regem, 115.

(Bouquet, x. 67.)

Comp. the notes, ib. 81-2.

⁸ Jotsald, ii. 14; P. Damiani, Vita Odil., Patrol. cxliv. 937.

⁹ Schröckh, xxiii. 36. Odilo refused Lyons, and was blamed on that account by John XVIII. (Hard. vi.

838; Radulph. Glaber, v. 4, and notes in Bouq. x. 61.) Peter Damiani, in his Life of Odilo, states that he was mild in imposing penances, and that, when blamed for this, he used to say—"If I am to be damned, I would rather that it should be for mercy than for harshness or cruelty." Col. 930.

¹⁰ Chron. S. Benig. Divion. (Patrol. clxii. 815, 837); Planck, iii. 702.

¹¹ Planck, iii. 707-8; Giesel. II. i. 302. See Ducange, s. v. *Oblati*.

¹² Syrus, Vita Majoli, ii. 21; Planck, iii. 713-5.

concerns and in the choice of its superiors, while it acknowledged the great abbot as its chief, and regarded him as invested with a supreme authority and authorised to watch over its discipline.^a Thus was formed the "Congregation of Cluny," the first example in the west (if we except the peculiar system of St. Columba) of an organisation which had been introduced into Egypt by Pachomius in the earliest age of monasticism.^b The work of establishing this organisation was accomplished by the sixth abbot, Hugh, who succeeded Odilo at the age of twenty-five in 1049, and governed the society for sixty years.^c The number of monasteries connected with Cluny, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, and in Spain, amounted by the end of the twelfth century to two thousand.^d

Another famous society was founded by Romuald, a nobleman descended from the ducal family of Ravenna. Romuald's early life was dissolute, but at the age of twenty he was suddenly reclaimed from it. His father, Sergius, had been engaged in a dispute as to some property with a kinsman. The two met, each at the head of his partisans, and Sergius slew his opponent. Romuald, who had been concerned in the fray, although he had not himself shed blood, was so much shocked by the result, that he entered the monastery of St. Apollinaris with the intention of doing penance for forty days, and while there, he was determined, by visions in which the patron saint of the house appeared to him, to embrace the monastic life.^e After having spent three years in the monastery, he placed himself under the tuition of a hermit named Marinus, who was in the habit of daily reciting the whole psalter, saying thirty psalms under one tree and forty under another. Romuald was required to respond in these exercises, and whenever he failed (as often happened from his slowness in reading), he received a blow from the hermit's staff. By the frequent repetition of this, he lost the hearing of his left ear, whereupon he humbly begged that the chastisement might be transferred to the right ear. Although he used afterwards to relate the story of his training as a matter of

^a Mabill. VII. xxvii.; Planck, iii. 714-5.

^b See vol. i. pp. 316, 543; Mabill. VII. xxv.

^c Mabill. VII. xxii.-xxvii.; Hist. Litt. ix. 466. There is a Life of Hugh in Hildebert's works, pp. 909-944, ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1706, or Patrol. clix.

^d Schröckh, xxiii. 40; Planck, iii. 711-2. The Cluniac houses in England were all under the government of Frenchmen, while the abbot of Cluny drew 2000*l.* yearly from them. Monast. Angl. V. iii.-iv.

^e Pet. Damiani, Vita S. Romualdi, cc. 3-5. (Opera, ii. 188, seqq.)

amusement,* his own piety savoured too much of his eccentric master's zeal. When living on the borders of Spain as a hermit, he heard that his father, who had withdrawn into a monastery, was inclined to return to the world, and he resolved to prevent such a step. The people of the neighbourhood, on learning that he was about to leave them, were unwilling to lose so holy a man, and, by a strange working of superstition, laid a plan for murdering him, in order that they might possess his relics. Romuald escaped by feigning madness, and made his way barefoot to Ravenna, where he assailed his father with reproaches and blows, fastened his feet in stocks, and loaded him with chains until the old man was brought to a better sense of the monastic duty of perseverance.⁷ Throughout his life Romuald was involved in a succession of troubles with monks in various places, on whom he attempted to force a reform with too great violence and rigour. He was once silent for seven years.⁸ Stirred to emulation by the labours of his friend Bruno or Boniface, who had been martyred by the heathens of Prussia, he undertook a mission to Hungary. On the way he fell ill, and thought of returning, whereupon he suddenly recovered; but as often as he resumed his intention of proceeding, his sickness again attacked him. At length he yielded to what he supposed to be a providential intimation that the work was not for him; but fifteen of his companions went on, and laboured in Hungary with good effect.⁹

Romuald's great work was the foundation of Camaldoli among the Apennines in the year 1018.^b He began by building five cells and an oratory. The inmates were to live as hermits, and were not to associate together except for worship. Their duties as to devotion, silence, and diet, were very rigid; but Romuald, although he often passed days in entire abstinence, would not allow his disciples to attempt a like austerity; they must, he said, eat every day, and always be hungry. A vision of angels ascending Jacob's ladder induced him to prescribe a white dress, whereas that of the Benedictines was black.^c Romuald died in 1027, at the age of a hundred and twenty.^d Rudolf, who was

* "Hilariter." Ib. 8.

⁷ Ib. 19-21.

⁸ Ib. 79.

⁹ Ib. 63-4.

^b Schröckh, xxiii. 46. Mabillon says it was not before 1023. IX. xxxiii.

^c Schröckh, xxiii. 47. On monastic dress, see Mabill. VII. xxx. seqq.

^d P. Damiani, 101; Pagi, xvi. 363. It is conjectured that by *Aqua Bella*, in c. 72, Damiani means Camaldoli; but, with the exception of this slight and doubtful mention, the biographer says nothing of Romuald's most remarkable deed. See Mabillon's Preface, and note on the passage (vol. viii.).

“general” of the Camaldolese from 1082, mitigated the severity of the rule, and added to the hermits an institution of *cœnobites*, whose habits gradually became very different from those of the original foundation. These monks became an order, with monasteries affiliated to Camaldoli, but it did not spread to any great extent, although it has continued to the present day.*

Another monastic reformer was John Gualbert, a Florentine of noble birth, whose conversion, like that of Romuald, arose out of one of the feuds which were characteristic of his age and country. Having been charged by his father to avenge the death of a kinsman, he met the murderer in a narrow pass on Good Friday, and was about to execute his vengeance; but when the guilty man threw himself from his horse and placed his arms in the form of a cross, as if expecting certain death, Gualbert was moved to spare him in reverence for the holy sign and for the solemn day.^f On halting to pay his devotions in the monastic church of St. Miniato, near Florence, he saw, while engaged in prayer, a crucifix incline its head towards him, as if in acknowledgment of the mercy which he had shown, and he resolved to become a monk.^g His father, on hearing of this, rushed to St. Miniato, assailed Gualbert with reproaches, and threatened to do mischief to the monastery. Gualbert, however, persevered in his resolution, and distinguished himself so much by his asceticism that ten years later his brethren wished to elect him abbot.^h But he declined the dignity, and, after a sojourn at Camaldoli, fixed himself at Vallombrosa, where he founded a society of hermits in 1039.ⁱ To these *cœnobites* were afterwards added, and the organisation of the order was completed by the institution of lay-brethren, whose business it was to practise handicrafts and to manage the secular affairs of the community, while by their labours the monks were enabled to devote themselves wholly to spiritual concerns.^k The rigour of the system was extreme; novices were obliged to undergo a year of severe probation, during which they were subjected to degrading employments, such as the keeping of swine, and daily cleaning out the pigsty with their bare

* Schröckh, xxiii. 48-9.

^f Atto (general of Vallombrosa, who died in 1153), *Vita Gualb.* c. 2 (Mabill. ix.); Andreas, *Vita Gualb.* 2-4 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

^g Atto, 3. Cæsarius of Heisterbach, in the 13th century, tells a story somewhat like this. *Dialog.* viii. 21.

^h Atto, 5-9.

ⁱ Ib. 12; Mabill. IX. 274.

^k Andreas, 26-7; Mabill. IX. xl. Martene carries back the institution of lay-brethren (*Frates conversi*) in monasteries to the 5th century, when they appear to have existed at Lérins. *Coll. Ampl.* vi. Præf. 87-97.

hands;^m and Gualbert carried his hatred of luxury so far as to condemn the splendour of monastic buildings.ⁿ His anger against offences is said to have been so violent that delinquents "supposed heaven and earth, and even God Himself, to be angry with them;" but to the penitent he displayed the tenderness of a mother.^o He deviated from the Benedictine rule by attiring his monks in gray, but the colour was afterwards changed to brown, and eventually to black. Gualbert built and reformed many monasteries,^p and in obedience to pope Alexander II. he reluctantly became head of the order which he had founded. His death took place in 1093.^q

In Germany the attempts at monastic reform met with much stubborn resistance. The monks often rose in rebellion against their reforming abbots, beat them, blinded them, or even attempted their lives.^r The general feeling of his class is expressed by Widukind of Corbey, who gravely tells us that a "grievous persecution" of the monks arose about the year 945, in consequence of some bishops having said that they would rather have a cloister occupied by a few inmates of saintly life than by many careless ones—a saying which the chronicler meets by citing the parable of the tares.^s Yet in Germany some improvement was at length effected. Among the agents of this improvement William abbot of Hirschau is especially eminent. He raised the number of his monks from fifteen to a hundred and fifty, founded some new monasteries, reformed more than a hundred, and in 1069 formed the monks into a congregation after the pattern of Cluny, adopting the system of lay-brethren from Vallombrosa.^t The virtues of William were not limited to devotion, purity of life, and rigour of discipline; he is celebrated for his gentleness to all men, for his charity to the poor, for the largeness of his hospitality, for his cheerful and kindly behaviour, for his encouragement of arts and learning. He provided carefully for the transcription of the Bible and of other useful books, and, instead of locking them up in the library of his abbey, endeavoured to circulate them by presenting copies to members of other religious houses. The sciences included in the Quadrivium, especially music and mathematics,

^m Andreas, 17; Theiner, ii. 82.

ⁿ Atto, 40.

^o Andreas, 28.

^p Atto, 23-4, 33.

^q Ib. 73; Schröckh, xxiii. 51.

^r See instances in Planck, iii. 702-4; Theiner, i. 527; Giesel. II. i. 299.

^s Widuk. ii. 37 (Pertz, iii. 448).

^t Heymo, Vita Wilh. Hirsaug. 22-3, ap. Mabill. ix.; Mabill. ib. 717-9. It was for William's use that Ulric, a monk of Cluny, put into writing the Customs of Cluny. Patrol. cxlix. 635, 643.

were sedulously cultivated at Hirschau, and under William the monks were distinguished for their skill in all that relates to the ornament of churches—in building, sculpture, painting, carving of wood, and working in metals.*

In the course of these reforms, the lay impropriations were very generally got rid of. Many of the holders spontaneously resigned their claims; others were constrained by princes to do so, and new grants of like kind were sparingly made.† The practice, however, was not extinct, and monasteries, as we have seen, suffered grievously from the exactions of the advocates whose duty it was to protect them.‡ Kings often interfered in their affairs, and the privileges of free election which monastic bodies had received, or even purchased, from bishops, from princes, and from popes, were found in practice to be utterly unavailing against a royal nomination of an abbot.‡

The change of dynasty in France had a very favourable effect for monasteries. Hugh Capet, before his elevation to the throne, had held the abbacies of St. Denys and St. Germain, and was styled *abbot-count*.§ But, from a wish, probably, to secure to himself the interest of the monks, he resigned his abbacies, restored to the monastic communities the power of choosing their superiors, and on his deathbed charged his son Robert to refrain from alienating monastic property, and from interfering with the right of free election.¶

The power of bishops over monasteries was diminished during this period. Any impression which the decay of monastic discipline might have made on the popular mind in favour of episcopal superintendence was neutralised by the sight of the disorders which prevailed among the bishops themselves, and by the fact that many of them, by impropriating the revenues of abbacies, contributed largely to the evils in question.¶ And when the monks had been restored to reputation and influence by the reforms of the tenth century, they began to set up claims against the episcopal authority. Abbo of Fleury led the way by refusing to make the customary profession of obedience to his diocesan, the bishop of Orleans.¶ A

* Bernold, A.D. 1091 (the year of the abbot's death), ap. Pertz, v.; Voigt, 'Hildebrand,' 140; Maitland, 'Dark Ages,' 327-332.

† Planck, iii. 706; Gfrörer, iv. 189-190.

‡ P. 511; Schröckh, xxiii. 99-101.

§ Planck, iii. 721-2.

¶ "Abbacomes." See Ducange, s. v.

¶ Helgald. Vita Roberti, c. 14 (Bouquet, x. 104); Mabill. VII. lxvi.; VIII. ii.

¶ Planck, iii. 724-5.

¶ Mabill. VIII. vii.; Planck, iii. 70-1.

spirit of strong hostility arose between the two classes, and was signally displayed when a council at St. Denys, in 997, proposed to transfer to the parochial clergy the tithes which were held by monastic bodies, as well as those which were in the hands of laymen. The monks of St. Denys rose in tumult, and with the aid of the populace dispersed the assembled prelates; the president of the council, Siguin archbishop of Sens, as he fled, was pelted with filth, was struck between the shoulders with an axe, and almost killed. Abbo, as the leader of the monastic opposition, was charged with having instigated the rioters; and, although he vindicated himself in a letter addressed to king Hugh and his son, it is evident, from the relish with which his biographer relates the flight of the bishops, that the monastic party were not unwilling to see their opponents discomfited by such means.^e Abbo went to Rome for the assertion of the monastic privileges, and afterwards, when sent on a mission as to the question of the archbishoprick of Rheims, he obtained from Gregory V. a grant that the bishop of Orleans should not visit the monastery of Fleury except by invitation from the abbot.^f

Monastic communities were naturally disposed to connect themselves immediately with the papal see—since the pope was the only power to which they could appeal against bishops and princes. Some of them, as that of Cluny, were placed by their founders under the special protection of the pope, and a small acknowledgment was paid to Rome in token of such connexion.^g Yet the exemption which monasteries thus obtained from the control of their diocesan bishops was not as yet intended to debar the bishop from exercising his ordinary right of moral oversight, but to secure the monks against abuses of the episcopal power—against invasion of their property, interference in the choice of abbots, unfair exactions, or needless and costly visitations.^h And

^e See Aimoin. Vit. S. Abbonis, c. 9; Mabill. viii. 39; Hard. vi. 755.

^f Aimoin, 12. See above, p. 429.

^g Planck, iii. 734-8. Thus Vendome paid twelve *solidi* yearly. Alex. II. Ep. 13 (Patrol. cxlvi.); cf. Godef. Vindoc. Ep. i. 9 (ib. clvii. 49).

^h Thomassin, I. iii. 37; Planck, iii. 736; Giesel II. i. 303. Gregory VII. says that such exemptions were granted "propter infestationem præsidentium." Ep. ii. 69 (ad Cunib. Taurin.). The proofs of a monastery being subject to a

bishop were—(1) Obedience; (2) *Synodals*, the payment of yearly dues; (3) *Procurations*, the bishop's right of being entertained at the cost of the monks; (4) *Solemn processions*, his right of celebrating mass and of holding meetings within the monastery. The ordination of monks, the benediction of abbots, the giving of chrism, the consecration of churches and altars, were distinct rights, independent of the question of subjection. Mabill. IX. xii.

were set aside. Sylvester II. acknowledged, in a question as to a monastery at Perugia, that a monastic body could not transfer itself to the pope's immediate jurisdiction without the consent of the diocesan.¹ The contest between the abbey of Fleury and its diocesans was not concluded by the grant bestowed on Abbo; but some years later we find John XVII. complaining to king Robert

A.D. 1008. that the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Orleans treated the apostolical privileges with contempt, and had even ordered Gauzelin, the successor of Abbo, to throw them into the fire; while Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who endeavoured to act as a mediator, declares that it was impossible for the abbot to escape from his duty of canonical obedience.² Gregory V. failed in an attempt to exempt Hirschau from the authority of the bishop of Constance; and when a later pope, John XVIII., granted the abbot of Hirschau a licence to say mass in the episcopal habit (for this was one of the forms in which the assumption of abbots displayed itself), the bishop complained to Conrad the Salic.

A.D. 1033. Pressed at once by the emperor and by the bishop, the abbot was obliged to give up to his diocesan the episcopal staff and sandals which he had received from the pope, and these insignia were publicly burnt at the next diocesan synod.³ In 1025, at the synod of Anse (near Lyons) a complaint was made by the bishop of Mâcon, within whose diocese Cluny was situated, that the archbishop of Vienne had officiated at consecrations and ordinations in the abbey. The abbot, Odilo, produced a privilege from the pope, authorising the brotherhood to invite any bishop whom they might choose for the performance of such offices; but the council declared that no privilege could be valid against the ancient canons which invested bishops with jurisdiction over the monasteries within their dioceses.⁴ As the question continued to be disputed, Alexander II., in 1063, committed the investigation of it to cardinal Peter Damiani, who (as might have been expected) gave a decision in favour of the abbot; and the pope renewed the grant, allowing the Cluniacs to call in any other bishop than their diocesan, and ordering that no bishop should lay them under interdict or excommunication.⁵ Although the time was not yet

¹ Planck, iii. 741.

² Joh. XVII. Ep. 12 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Fulb. Epp. 16-7 (ib. cxli.).

³ Herm. Contr. A.D. 1032; Mabill. VIII. xii.-xiii.

⁴ Hard. vi. 840.

⁵ Alex. II. Epp. 14-5 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Synodalis Definitio (ib. cxlv. 859); P. Dam. 'Iter Gallicum,' cc. 13, 18 (ib.). Among other offences, the bishop of

ripe for the full display of monastic independence, the course of things was rapidly tending in that direction.

The continued popularity of monachism is shown, among other instances, by the means which secular persons took to connect themselves with it. Carrying out the principle of the brotherhoods which from the sixth century had been formed for the purpose of commending their deceased members to the Divine mercy by prayers and masses,^p it became usual to seek enrolment as *confraters* of a monastery, and by such a connexion the confrater was entitled to expect spiritual benefits from the prayers of the society. In this manner Conrad I. was associated with St. Gall, and Henry II. with Cluny.^q Another practice, which has been traced by some as high as the seventh century, was that of putting on the monastic habit in dangerous sickness—a new form, apparently, of the obligation to penance which had been more anciently undertaken in such circumstances. If one who had taken the habit, on recovering, returned to secular life, his relapse was disapproved;^r but it was sometimes found that even the monastic habit, where it was retained, was no security against a return to the sins of the earlier life.^s

In the eleventh century, then, monasticism was again in the fullness of its influence. The scandals of its past decay were more than retrieved by the frequent and widely extended reformations which had taken place—each of them displaying in freshness and fervour a zeal and a rigour which for the time captivated the minds of men, and forbade them to admit the thought that that which was now so pure might itself also in time decline.

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The ninth century saw the rise of a class of Ritualists, who wrote commentaries on the services of the church. The first of them was Amalhart or Amalarius, a chorepiscopus of Metz (already mentioned in the history of the predestinarian controversy),^t who

Mâcon, being uncertain as to the extent of his jurisdiction, had stationed himself outside the abbey, and exclaimed, "If there be in this monastery any whom I am entitled to excommunicate, them I excommunicate!" (ib. 861).

^p See p. 229; Conc. Attiniac. A.D. 765; Conc. Dingolfing. A.D. 772 (?), cc. 13-4; Mabillon, *Analecta*, 159-161; Martene, *Thes.* i. 255-9. Monasteries or monastic orders were often connected by the bond of mutual intercession.

^q Ducange, s. v. *Fraternitas*; Giesel. II. i. 303.

^r Pet. Damian. *Opusc.* xvi. 2 (Patrol. cxlv.); Mabill. VI. xcix.-cii., IX. xliii.; Schröckh, xxiii. 94. Those who thus took the habit were in Spain styled *confessors*. (Ducange, s. v. *Confessor*.) The practice seems to have been offensive to the secular clergy. See Chron. Casin. iv. 72.

^s Neand. vii. 326.

^t P. 312.

about 820 composed a treatise "On the Offices of the Church," in which he applied to these the system of mystical torture which had long been exercised on Holy Scripture.* All the incidents of Divine service, every attitude and gesture, the dresses of the clergy, the ornaments of the church, the sacred seasons and festivals, were expounded as pregnant with symbolical meanings. Raban Maur, and Walafrid Strabo,^v abbot of Reichenau, followed with liturgical writings in a similar style before the middle of the century; but another eminent writer of the time, Agobard, had taken a strongly different line. Being offended by the mass of irrelevant matter which he found in the service-books of the church of Lyons, he ejected from them all hymns and anthems but such as were taken from Scripture. For this he was censured by Amalarius in a book "On the Order of the Antiphonary;" and he replied in tracts which, with much display of indignation against his opponent, maintain the principle on which his liturgical reforms had been executed.^x The archbishop declares the pieces which he had expunged to be "not only unfit and superfluous, but even profane and heretical;" he denounces the practice of devoting excessive attention to music, while the study of Scripture is neglected—a practice, he says, which puffs up clerks who know nothing but music with a conceit of their accomplishments;^y and, when Amalarius published his work on the Divine Offices, Agobard not only reprobated the idle character of his comments, but charged him with errors in doctrine.^z At a later time, Florus, master of the cathedral school at Lyons, who had been opposed to Amalarius in the case of Gottschalk,^a assailed him with much asperity for his ritual system,^b and cited him before two councils, the second of which, on finding that his mystical theories rested on no better a foundation than his own fancy, pronounced them to be dangerous.^c But the style of exposition which Amalarius introduced was followed by the ritualists of the middle ages; it has been kept up in the Roman church; and an attempt (which, however, can hardly be regarded as serious) has even been made to revive it in the English church of our own day.

(2.) In the ninth century were formed some collections of Lives of Saints, arranged according to the order of the calendar, and

* 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis,' Patrol. cv.

^v I. e. The Squinter. He died in 849. Fabric. in Patrol. cxiii. 9.

^x 'De Divina Psalmodia.'—'De Correctione Antiphonarii,' Agob. Opera, ii.

^y De Corr. Ant. 18.

^z 'Adv. Amalarium,' Opera, ii. 101, seqq.

^a P. 317.

^b He styles it "Error insanus et vanus, fidei et veritatis inimicus, religioni et saluti contrarius." Opusc. adv. Amal. (Patrol. cxix. 73).

^c Ib. 94; Hist. Litt. iv. 215.

bearing the title of *Martyrologies*. Among the compilers of these were Florus,^d Ado, archbishop of Vienne,^e Usuard, a monk of St. German's, at Paris,^f and Notker of St. Gall.^g Biographies of individual saints were produced in vast numbers. Older lives were re-written; new legends were composed, as substitutes for the more authentic records which had perished in the ravages of the Northmen; many narratives, with the holy men and women who were the subjects of them, sprang from the invention of the monks. Not only was there much likeness of detail between stories of this kind, but even the whole accounts of some saints were identical in everything except the names.^h Few men in those days shared the scruples of Letald, a monk of Mici, who, in the preface to a biography, blames the practice of attempting by falsehoods to enhance the glory of the saints, and says that, if the saints themselves had been followers of lies, they could never have reached their perfection of holiness.ⁱ A.D. 980.

From the time when St. Dionysius, the martyr of Paris, was identified with the Areopagite,^k other churches endeavoured to invest their founders with a like venerable character. Among them was the church of Limoges, which, as its first bishop, Martial, had been reckoned by Gregory of Tours with the companions of Dionysius in the third century,^m now referred him, as well as the founder of the see of Paris, to the apostolic age. At a council held at Limoges in 1023, a question arose as to the proper designation of the saint: the bishop, Jordan, was for styling him *confessor*, but Hugh, abbot of St. Martial's, insisted that his patron was entitled to be called *apostle*, as having been one of the seventy disciples. Among the most strenuous advocates of the abbot's view was the chronicler Ademar, who had received his education in the monastery of St. Martial: in a vehement letter on the subject, he professes his belief in a legendary life of the saint, as being of apostolic antiquity, and no less authentic than the four

^d Patrol. xciv., cxxiii.-iv.

^e Ib. cxxiii.; Hist. Litt. v. 465.

^f Patrol. cxxiii.-iv.; Hist. Litt. v. 497.

^g Patrol. cxxxi.; Schröckh, xxiii. 214-221. This Notker (*Babruks*) must be distinguished from another (*Labeo*), who lived in the eleventh century, and is famous for a vernacular paraphrase of the Psalms.

^h Giesel. II. i. 313. Guibert of Nogent, in the end of the twelfth century,

says that he himself had often been asked to write imaginary biographies of saints for whom the most venerable antiquity was pretended ('De Pignoribus Sanctorum, l. 3; Patrol. clvi. 624).

ⁱ Ep. Dedic. ad Vit. Juliani (Patrol. cxxvii. 782). See, however, for other instances, Digby, 'Mores Catholici,' x. 517-9, ed. 1.

^k See vol. i. 154; vol. ii. 313.

^m Greg. Turon. i. 18.

deprive of the apostolical dignity one whom St. Peter himself reveres as a brother apostle.* The matter was taken up by councils at Poitiers and at Paris; whosoever should refuse the title of apostle to St. Martial was branded as being like the Ebionites, who, out of enmity against St. Paul, limited the number of apostles to the original twelve; and John XVIII., on being appealed to, declared that it would be madness to question the saint's right to a name which was given not only to the companions of the first apostles, but to St. Gregory for the conversion of England, and to others for their eminent labours as missionaries.² The apostolic dignity of Martial, which raised him above martyrs, to whom as a confessor he would have been inferior, was confirmed by councils at Bourges and at Limoges in 1031, and bishop Jordan acquiesced in the decision.³

The number of saints had increased by degrees. Charlemagne, as we have seen, found it necessary to forbid the reception of any but such as were duly accredited;⁴ but the multiplication went on, the bishops being the authorities by whom the title of sanctity was conferred.⁵ In the end of the tenth century, a new practice was introduced. At a Roman council, held in 993, Ludolf, bishop of Augsburg, presented a memoir of Ulric, one of his predecessors who had died twenty years before, and referred it to the judgment of the bishops who were present, as being an assembly guided by the Holy Spirit. The holiness of Ulric was attested by stories of miracles, wrought both in his lifetime and after death; and the pope, John XV., with the council, ordered that his memory should be venerated as that of a saint, in words which, while they refer all holiness and religious honour to the Saviour, yet contain the dangerous error of interposing his saints as mediators between Him and mankind.⁶

This was the first instance in which *canonisation* (i. e. the insertion of a name in the *canon* or list of saints)⁷ was conferred

* Patrol. cxli. 93-6.

² Ib. 106.

³ Hard. vi. 837-8; Pagi, xv. 590; Mosh. ii. 386; Schröckh, xxiii. 145-8; Giesel. II. i. 315.

⁴ Hard. vi. 852, seqq. It is worth noticing that Alban Butler, in his account of St. Martial (June 30), says nothing of all these proceedings, but contents himself with the account given by Gregory of Tours, which places the

saint in the third century.

⁵ P. 234.

⁶ Mosh. ii. 294-5. See the complaints of Guibert of Nogent, De Pign. Sanctorum, i. 1 (col. 614).

⁷ Hard. vi. 727. A Life of Ulric is in Mabill. vii., Pertz, iv., and the Patrol. cxlii.

⁸ The word was not used until the twelfth century. Mabill. VII. xlv.

by the decree of a pope. The effect of such a decree was to entitle the saint to reverence throughout the whole of Western Christendom whereas the honour bestowed by bishops or provincial councils was only local.^a But the pope did not as yet claim an exclusive right; metropolitans continued to canonise, sometimes with the consent of popes, sometimes by their own sole authority, until Alexander III., in 1170, declared that, "even although miracles be done by one, it is not lawful to reverence him as a saint without the sanction of the Roman church."^b Yet, in whatever hands the formal sanction might be lodged, the character of saintship was mainly conferred by the people. When a man of reputed holiness died, miracles began to be wrought or imagined, an altar was built over the grave, and an enthusiasm was speedily raised which easily made out a case for canonisation. Bishops and popes felt the expediency of complying with the popular feeling, and the catalogue of saints was continually swelled by fresh additions.^c

Stories of miracles done by the saints abounded, and they show how the belief in such interpositions, as probable in every variety of occasions and circumstances, was likely to place these lower mediators in the way of the Author of all miracles. The oppressiveness of too frequent miracles, and the bad effects which the possession of wonder-working relics produced on monks, were felt by many abbots, and some of them, like Hildulf^d of Moyon-Montier in an earlier time, took means to deliver their monasteries from such dangerous privileges.^e

(3.) The honours paid to the Blessed Virgin were continually advancing to a greater height. The most extravagant language was used respecting her, and was addressed to her. Peter Damiani speaks of her as "deified,"^f as "exalted to the throne of God the Father, and placed in the seat of the very Trinity:"^g "To thee," he says, "is given all power in heaven and in earth; nothing is impossible to thee, to whom it is possible even to raise again the desperate to the hope of bliss. For thou approachest the golden altar of man's reconciliation, not only asking but commanding; as a mistress, not as a handmaid."^h He revels in the mystical language of the Canticles, which he interprets as a song

^a Ib. 416.

^b Alex. III. ap. Greg. IX., Decretal. xlv. 1; Mabill. VII. xiv. liii.-liv.; Schröckh, xxviii. 172; Planck, IV. ii. 704-9.

^c Schröckh, xxiii. 141. (See Guib.

Novig. de Pignorib. SS. i. 1 (Patrol. clvi. 614).

^d See p. 232.

^e See instances in Gieseler, II. i. 310.

^f Serm. 44, p. 100, col. 2, e.

^g Serm. 40, p. 91, col. 1, e.

^h Serm. 43, p. 101, col. 1, a.

day was regarded as especially consecrated to the Virgin,^g and offices of prayer to her were framed. The *Ave*, or Angelic Salutation, became an ordinary part of devotion,^h and traces are found of what was afterwards styled the *Rosary*—the repetition of a certain number of prayers (as the Paternoster fifteen times, and the Ave a hundred and fifty times) in her honour.ⁱ New titles were invented for her; thus Odo of Cluny styled her "Mother of Mercy." The newly converted Hungarians were taught by a Venetian, on whom king Stephen had bestowed a bishoprick, to call her "lady" or "mistress," and they were placed under her special protection as "the family of St. Mary."^k

(4.) The festival of All Saints, which had been instituted at Rome in the eighth century,^m and had been already known in England, was in 835 extended to France, Germany, and Spain, by Gregory IV.ⁿ In the end of the tenth century a new celebration was annexed to it. A French pilgrim, it is said, in returning from Jerusalem, was cast on a little island of the Mediterranean, where he met with a hermit who told him that the souls of sinners were tormented in the volcanic fires of the island, and that the devils might often be heard howling with rage because their prey was rescued from them by the prayers and alms of the pious, and especially of the monks of Cluny. On reaching his own country, the pilgrim, in compliance with the hermit's solemn adjuration, reported this to abbot Odilo, who in 998 appointed the morrow of All Saints to be solemnly observed at Cluny for the repose of all faithful souls, with psalmody, masses, and a copious distribution of alms and refreshment to all poor persons who should be present.^o The celebration was early in the next century extended to the whole Cluniac order; and eventually a pope (it is not certain who) ordered its observance throughout the church.^p

^g "Epithalamium." Serm. 11, p. 23, col. 1, d. These passages (which I have verified) are given, with others, by Gieseler, II. i. 316-7. Peter has a strange legend as to devotion to the Virgin. Ep. vi. 29.

^h See P. Dam. 'De Bono Suffragiorum,' Opusc. xxiv. 4.

ⁱ Ib. 3; Mabill. VII. lix.

^j Ib. lxi.-lxiii.; Schröckh, xxiii. 154; Giesel. II. i. 317-9; ii. 472.

^k Vita Steph. 16 (Patrol. cli.); Schröckh, xxiii. 153.

^m See p. 231.

ⁿ Sigeib. Annal. 835 (Patrol. clx.); Martene, iii. 215; Mosh. ii. 248.

^o Statut. Odilonis (Patrol. cxlii. 1037); Antiq. Consuet. Cluniac. i. 42 (ib. cxlix.); Jotsald. Vita S. Odil. ii. 14 (Mabillon, viii.); P. Dam. Vita S. Odil. (Opera, ii. 183). The story is somewhat differently told by another biographer. (Mabill. viii. 585.) Gieseler thinks the legend as to the origin of the festival later than Odilo's time. II. i. 320.

^p Augusti, iii. 276; Giesel. II. i. 319-321. The Chronicle of Hildesheim

(5.) The passion for relics was unabated, and was gratified by the "invention" (as it was somewhat ambiguously called) of many very remarkable articles. Among those discovered in France during the tenth century were one of our Lord's sandals at St. Julien in Anjou, part of the rod of Moses at Sens,⁴ and a head of St. John the Baptist (for more than one such head were shown) at St. Jean d'Angely.⁷ Vendome boasted the possession of one of the tears shed by our Lord over Lazarus, which had been caught by an angel.⁸ The discoveries extended far back into the Old Testament history; there were relics of Abraham, and hairs of Noah's beard; for of any additional improbability arising from the greater remoteness of time, the age was altogether insensible. These relics drew vast crowds of pilgrims, and became important sources of wealth to the monasteries or churches which possessed them. For the sake of such sacred objects, theft had always been reckoned venial; and now, as we have seen, the peasantry of Catalonia were even ready to murder St. Romuald in the hope of obtaining benefits from his remains.⁶

The impostures connected with this superstition were numberless, and in some cases they were detected. Relics were sometimes tested by fire, as those found in the Arian churches on the conversion of Spain to orthodoxy had been.⁹ Radulf the Bald gives an account of a fellow who went about under different names, digging up bones and extolling them as relics of saints. At a place in the Alps he displayed in a portable shrine some fragments which he styled relics of a martyr, St. Just, and pretended to have discovered by the direction of an angel. A multitude of cures were wrought—a proof, says the chronicler, that the devil can sometimes do miracles; and the people of the neighbourhood flocked to the relics, "each one regretting that he had not some ailment of which he might seek to be healed." The impostor grew into high favour with a marquis who had founded a monastery at Susa; and when a number of bishops had met for the consecration, the pretended relics, together with others, were placed in the church; but in the course of the following night, some monks who were watching saw a number of figures, black as Ethiops, arise out of

mentions its introduction there by Hermann, who became bishop in 1063. *Leibn. i. 747.* rum,' I. iii. 2 (*Patrol. clvi.*); '*Gesta Dei per Francos*,' i. v. (ib.)

⁴ Radulf, *Glab. iii. 6.*

⁷ Ademar, iii. 56 (*Pertz, iv.*). See Guib. Novig. '*De Pignoribus Sancto-*

⁸ Schröckh, xxiii. 180-3.

⁹ P. 525.

⁶ Giesel. II. i. 311. See vol. i. p. 566.

the box and take to flight. Although, however, the fraud was thus miraculously discovered, we are told that the common people for a time adhered to their belief in the relic-monger.² Nor were the dealers in relics the only persons who practised on the popular credulity in this respect; another class made it their trade to run about from one shrine to another, pretending to be cured by the miraculous virtue of the saints.⁷

Contests sometimes arose as to the genuineness of relics. The monks of St. Emmeran, at Ratisbon, disputed with the great French abbey of St. Denys the possession of its patron's body.² The monks of Monte Cassino denied the genuineness of the remains which had been translated to Fleury as those of St. Benedict;⁴ and we have seen that both Gnesen and Prague claimed to possess the real body of St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia.⁵

(6.) Pilgrimages were more frequent than ever. Rome was, as before, the chief resort, and the hardships of the way were sometimes enhanced by voluntary additions, such as that of walking barefoot.⁶ Compostella became another very famous place of pilgrimage from the time when the relics of St. James the Greater were supposed to be found there in 816.⁴ Many ventured to encounter the dangers of the long and toilsome journey to Jeru-

² Rad. Glab. iv. 3 (A.D. 1027).

⁷ Giesel. II. i. 311.

² The German claim is said to have arisen out of the fact that Charles the Simple gave one of the saint's hands to Henry the Fowler; but it was pretended that the whole body had been stolen from St. Denys by one Gisalbert, from whom it was said to have been obtained and transferred to Ratisbon by the emperor Arnulf (Patrol. cxliii. 789-790; Pagi, xvii. 667). The pretensions of Ratisbon were attested by many miracles, and a diploma, which bears the name of Leo IX., A.D. 1052, professes to decide in favour of them, after full inquiry on the spot (Hard. vi. 965). But the document is spurious (Cossart, ib. 1032; Pagi, xvii. 68; Hefele, iv. 727). The monks of St. Denys, fearing that Leo was about to be drawn into the interest of their rivals, requested him to suspend his judgment until they should have examined the tomb in their own abbey, and the result of a solemn opening was in their favour. 'Detectio corporum SS. Dionysii, &c.' (Bouquet, xi. 470-4; Pertz, xi. 343-375).

⁴ Chron. Casin. ii. 48; iv. 29 (Pertz,

vii.). See above, p. 215. There is a letter of pope Zacharias, desiring the monks of Fleury to restore the stolen body to Monte Cassino (Ep. 17. Patrol. lxxxix.).

⁴ P. 469. See for other instances, Giesel. II. i. 316; Vogel, 'Ratharius,' i. 255-7. The citizens of Benevento, on being asked by Otho III. to give him the body of the apostle St. Bartholomew, palmed off on him the less precious relics of St. Paulinus of Nola; and the emperor, on discovering the fraud, besieged the city, although without success. Chron. Casin. ii. 24.

⁶ Schröckh, xxiii. 202.

⁴ Hist. Compostell. i. 2 (Patrol. clxx.); Schröckh, ii. 107, xxiii. 202. The History of Compostella states that the apostle's head was stolen from a church near Jerusalem by Bardinus, bishop of Coimbra (afterwards antipope under the name of Gregory VIII.), and was added to the treasures of Compostella in the beginning of the twelfth century. But, according to the editor, that head had really belonged to St. James the Less.

saalem, where, from the ninth century, was displayed at Easter the miracle of the light produced without human hand—"considering the place, the time, and the intention, probably the most offensive imposture to be found in the world."^a This pilgrimage was often imposed as a penance; and the enthusiasm for voluntarily undertaking it was intensely excited by the approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth, and the general expectation of the end of the world. Beginning among the humblest of the people, the feeling gradually spread to the middle classes, and from them to the highest—to bishops, counts, and marquises, to princes and noble ladies; to die amid the hallowed scenes of Palestine was regarded as an eminent blessing, as an object of eager aspiration; and, after the alarm of the world's end had passed away, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem still continued to be frequented. In 1010 the church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by the caliph Hakem, a frantic tyrant, who invented a new religion, still professed by the Druses of Lebanon.^b It was believed that the caliph was instigated to this by some western Jews, who alarmed him by representing the dangers likely to result from the interest with which the Sepulchre was regarded by Christians;^c and the Jews of France and other countries paid heavily in blood and suffering for the suspicion.^d After the assassination of Hakem the caliphs resumed the former system of toleration. Hakem's mother, a Christian, began the rebuilding of the church; increasing crowds of pilgrims flowed eastward, carrying with them gifts in aid of the work, and returning laden with relics;^e and the fashion continued to become more general, until in the last years of the century it produced the crusades.

(7.) The beginning of the eleventh century was marked by an extraordinary activity in church-building. There had been little disposition to undertake such works while the expected end of all things forbade the hope of their endurance; but when the thousandth year was completed, the building of churches became a passion. It was not limited to the work of providing for necessity, by the

^a Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' 464. See the French pilgrim Bernard (about A.D. 870) in Patrol. cxxi. 572; Rad. Glab. iv. 6, p. 51; Guib. Novig. 'Gesta Dei,' viii. 10 (Patrol. clvi. 827); Duncange, s. v. *Ignis*, p. 758; Mabill. iii. 172; Schröckh, xxiii. 203-4. There is a treatise on the history of the "holy fire," by Mosheim.

^f Wilken, i. 34.

^g Gibbon, v. 400, with Milman's notes; Jowett's 'Christian Researches in Syria,' 41, Lond. 1826. Döllinger, 'Muhammed's Religion,' &c., München, 1838, p. 122.

^h Michaud, i. 29.

ⁱ Sismondi, iv. 152-3; Wilken, i. 31.

^k Rad. Glab. iii. 7.

erection of new buildings or by enlargement of the old, nor even to the addition of embellishments; but churches which had in every way been found amply sufficient were destroyed in order that more costly structures might be raised in their stead. "It was," says a chronicler, "as if the world were re-awaking, as if it everywhere threw away its old dress, and put on a white vesture of churches."^m And the effect on the art of architecture was important. Charlemagne's cathedral at Aix had been copied from the Byzantine type, as exhibited at Ravenna, and after it many churches along the Rhine had displayed Byzantine features, especially the surmounting cupola.ⁿ St. Mark's at Venice, a church thoroughly Byzantine in style, was built between 976 and 1071.^o But in general the ecclesiastical architecture of the west was Roman, and the plan of the basilica was preserved.^p The churches of the eleventh century maintain the continuity of Roman art, but have yet a new character of their own. It is no longer Roman art in debasement, but a style fresh and vigorously original, the solemn, massive, and enduring architecture which, in its various modifications, has been styled Romanesque, Lombard, or Norman.^q

It would appear that the staining of glass, which afterwards became so important in the decoration of churches, was already invented. The first mention of it has been supposed to be in a passage of Richer's History, where Adalbero, the patron of Gerbert, is said to have adorned the cathedral of Rheims with windows "containing divers histories."^r But by other authorities the art is carried up to the time between Charlemagne and Charles the Bald.^s

^m Rad. Glab. iii. 7.

ⁿ Hope, 112, 128, 217; Ampère, iii. 244. The term *Byzantine* must not, however, be too strictly taken here. See Fergusson, 'Handbook of Architecture,' 512.

^o Hope, 123. Mr. Fergusson, however, thinks that, from the connexion of St. Mark with Alexandria, the church is more likely to have been imitated from an Alexandrian model; although, as the Christian architecture of Egypt has perished, there can be no evidence in the case. 963-4.

^p Ampère, iii. 248.

^q See Martin, iii. 38-41; Caumont, *Abécédaire*, i. 54; Ampère, iii. 464; Fergusson, 533, 597.

^r Richer, iii. 23. Gozbert, abbot of Tegernsee, about the year 1000, thanks

Count Arnold for a gift of this kind: "*Ecclesiae nostrae fenestrae veteribus pannis usque nunc fuerunt clausae. Vestris felicibus temporibus auricomus sol primum infulsit basilicae nostrae pavimenta per discoloria picturarum vitra; cunctorumque insipientium pertentant multiplicia gaudia, qui inter se mirantur insoliti operis varietates.*" Ep. 3 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

^s Eméric David, quoted by Ampère, iii. 252, 342. M. de Montalembert (ii. 291) infers from Venantius Fortunatus that the church of St. Germain-des-Prés, at Paris, had not only organs (see above, p. 225) but stained glass windows, about the year 600. But the only lines in which there is anything on which such a statement as to the windows could be founded, are these:—

(8.) The system of Penance underwent some changes. Things which had been censured by councils in the earlier part of the ninth century became authorised before its end; thus the penitential books, proscribed (as we have seen) by the council of Châlons in 813,¹ are named by Regino among the necessary furniture of a parish priest's library, as to which the bishop is to inquire at his visitation.^a By means of these books any re-enactments of old canons, or any new canons which appeared to increase the severity of penance, were practically evaded.² The rich could commute their penance for payments to churches—for works of public utility, such as the building of bridges and making of roads—for alms to the poor, for liberation of slaves or redemption of captives; for the purchase of masses and psalms;³ while for the poorer classes the Penitentials provided such commutations as pilgrimages, recitation of psalms or other devotional exercises, visiting the sick and burying the dead.⁴ The system of vicarious penances, which has been already noticed as existing in England,^a was, with some varieties, practised in other countries also.^b Councils might and did enact, that with the outward acts which were prescribed the right dispositions of the heart should be joined. But how were these to be secured or ascertained?—how were the penitents to be preserved from the delusions which a formal prescription of external acts, as equivalent to penance, could hardly fail to engender? And the dangers of such a system were the more serious, because, by a departure from the view taken in the early ages, penance was now supposed able not only to restore the offender to the church on earth, but to assure him of the divine forgiveness.^d

With a view of increasing the hold of church-discipline on the

^a *Prima capiti radios vitreos oculata fenestris, Artificisque manu (al. manus) clausit in arce diem.*

Cursibus aurorae vaga lux laquearia complet, Atque suis radia et sine sole micat.

Ven. Fortun. Miscell. ii. 14 (Patrol. lxxxviii.).

And the real meaning of them does not imply anything beyond *plain* glazing (which was then a rarity) and a roof ornamented with gilding. Compare the prose description, in note, l. c.

¹ P. 238.

^a *Inquis. Episcopi*, 95 (*Patrol. cxxxii.* 191). They are prescribed by Rathe-rius and by Ulric of Augsburg (*ib.* cxxxv. 1274; cxxxvi. 564).

² *Planck*, iii. 672-5.

³ That *Planck* (iii. 678) was mistaken

in supposing the clergy to have had as yet no pecuniary interest in the commutation, see *Gieseler*, II. i. 316.

^b See the *Laws of Edgar*, cc. 14-19, in *Thorpe*, 412-4; *Planck*, iii. 477-480.

^c P. 238.

^d E. g. *Regino de Discipl. Eccl.* ii. 438-446 (*Patrol. cxxxii.*). See *Planck*, iii. 681; *Neand.* vi. 150; *Giesel*, II. i. 336.

^e *Planck*, iii. 682; *Fleury, Disc.* at end of b. lix. c. 16.

^f *Schröckh*, xxiii. 137. See a letter from a citizen of Spire to Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, on the new assumptions of the clergy as to absolution (about A.D. 1000). *Patrol. cli.* 693-8.

minds of men, a distinction was invented between *excommunication* and *anathema*, and the assistance of the secular power was called in to enhance by civil penalties the terror of these sentences. Excommunication was exclusion from the privileges of the church; the heavier doom of anathema placed the offender under a curse.* The council of Pavia in 850 enacted that the excommunicate person should be incapable of holding any military office or any employment in the service of the state, and should be debarred from ordinary intercourse with Christians.^f But anathema inflicted further punishments;—the culprit against whom it was pronounced could not be a party in ecclesiastical suits, he could not make or establish a will, he could not hold any property under the church, he could not even obtain justice in secular courts where an oath was required, because he was not admissible to swear. No priest would bless the marriage of such a person; the last sacraments were denied to him, and he was to be shut out from Christian burial—penalties which, if the sinner himself were unmoved by them, were likely to act powerfully on the minds of some who were connected with him, and often drew from these large offers of payment for the reconciliation which it was supposed that the church could bestow even after the offender had passed from the world.^g The forms of curse became more elaborately fearful, and tales are told of the effect which they took on the unhappy men against whom they were launched, causing them to die suddenly in their impiety, or to wither away under the tortures of long and hopeless disease.

There were, however, some for whom the disabilities annexed to anathema or excommunication had little terror. Emperors and kings, counts and dukes, were strong enough to get justice for themselves, although under a sentence which would have debarred meaner men from it; they could obtain the ministrations of religion from chaplains, in defiance of all ecclesiastical sentences; they held their secular positions unaffected by the denunciations of the

* Planck, iii. 504-9; Giesel. II. i. 169.

^f Conc. Regioticin. c. 12.

^g Planck, iii. 512-5; Giesel. II. i. 342. It is said that Gerard, bishop of Toul, who died in 994, used every evening, at his devotions, secretly to take off all the excommunications which he had uttered, lest any of the guilty persons should die unabsolved during the night; and that he imposed the sentence afresh in the

morning. Vita, c. 2, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 1054.

^h See, for example, the curse uttered by a synod at Rheims against the murderers of archbishop Fulk, A.D. 900 (Hard. vi. 465), with Richer's account of the death of Winemar, one of the murderers (i. 18). There is a collection of forms in Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, ii. 322-5.

church.¹ In order to bring such powerful offenders under control, the *Interdict* was devised—a sentence which placed a whole district or kingdom under ban, closing the churches, silencing the bells, removing the outward tokens of religion, and denying its offices to the people, except in such a measure and with such circumstances as tended to impress the imagination with a deeper horror.² The infliction of penalties which involved alike the innocent and the guilty had been disapproved in earlier days.³ The first known attempt at imposing an interdict—that of the younger Hincmar—was defeated by his metropolitan and by his brother-bishops;⁴ and the earliest certain instance in which a bishop actually enforced such a sentence was that of Alduin, bishop of Limoges, in 994.⁵ An interdict pronounced against a sovereign was expected to act on him less in a direct way than by exciting the minds of his subjects; but the terrors of its indirect action were found to be such as few of the boldest, or of those who were least sensible to spiritual impressions, would venture to provoke or to defy.⁶

(9.) In the earlier part of the eleventh century, a remarkable attempt was made by the clergy of France to mitigate the violence and the discords of the time.⁷ Radulf the Bald dates its origin from 1033, when the promise of an abundant harvest, after three years of terrible famine, appeared likely to open men's minds to the religious impressions connected with the completion of a thousand years from the Saviour's passion.⁸ But it would seem that the movement had really begun somewhat earlier, and that the subject had already been treated by councils, as by that of Limoges in 1031—the same which decreed the apostolic dignity of St. Martial.⁹

With a view of putting an end to the feuds or private wars which had long wasted the population and the soil of France, it was proposed to bind men to the observance of peace; that they should abstain from wrong-doing and revenge, that every one should be

¹ Planck, iii. 515.

² For an elaborate description of the effects of an Interdict, see Hurter, 'Gesch. Innocenz III.' i. 374, seqq. ed 2.

³ See St. Augustine's remonstrance with Auxilius. Ep. 250 (t. ii. col. 1066).

⁴ See p. 343.

⁵ Ademar. A.D. 994; Giesel. II. i. 342.

⁶ Planck, iii. 518, 529; Martin, iii. 563.

⁷ See Datt, 'Volumen Rerum Germanicarum,' Ulm. 1698, pp. 11-13; Se-

michon, 'La Paix et la Trêve de Dieu,' Paris, 1857; Kluckholm, 'Gesch. des Gottesfriedens,' Leipz. 1857; and for documents, see Bouquet, xiv. 389, seqq.

⁸ Planck, IV. i. 4.

⁹ See Hard. vi. 891; Cossart, ib. 894; Giesel. II. i. 346; Gfrörer, iv. 302. M. Semichon (?) and Dr. Kluckholm (16) trace back its origin to the council of Charroux in 989, which forbade the carrying off of animals belonging to husbandmen, and all violences against ecclesiastics.

should shelter all but those who should be guilty of breaking the "Peace of God." At the council of Limoges it was ordered that, if the chiefs of the district refused to comply, it should be laid under an interdict; that during the interdict no one, with the exception of the clergy, beggars, strangers, and infants, should receive Christian burial; that the offices of religion should be performed as if by stealth;¹ that the churches should be stripped of their ornaments, that no marriage should be celebrated, that mourning habits should be worn, that no wine should be drunk on Friday, and no flesh should be eaten on Saturday." When the movement became more general, a bishop professed to have received a letter from heaven, commanding the observance of the

a.d. 1034. peace. Gerard, bishop of Cambrai (the same who has been mentioned as having converted a party of heretics to the church²) alone opposed the scheme, as he had opposed a somewhat similar project some years before. He maintained that it was an interference with matters which belonged to the state; that the exercise of arms was sanctioned by Scripture; that it was lawful to require the restoration of things taken by violence, and amends for bodily injuries; that the proposed fasts ought not to be enforced on all, inasmuch as men were neither alike able to bear them nor alike guilty so as to require such chastisement. The bishop's enemies, however, were able to misrepresent his conduct in such a manner that his flock rose against him as being an enemy to peace; and he found it advisable to withdraw his opposition.³ The people, it is said, were eager to accept the proposal, as if it had been a revelation from heaven, and from Aquitaine the movement spread into other provinces of France. A harvest equal to that of five years was gathered in; another and another fruitful season followed. But the enjoyment of plenty wore out the popular enthusiasm; violence and vice became more rife than ever,⁴ and the decrees of councils were little heeded.

In 1038, Aimo, archbishop of Bourges, as if distrusting the

¹ "Latenter."

² Hard. vi. 885; Rad. Glab. iv. 5. Baronius is very angry with the councils for presuming to undertake such business without the pope's sanction. 1034. 5-6.

³ P. 450.

⁴ Gesta Pontiff. Camerac. iii. 27, 52-4 (Patrol. cxlix.); Sigebert. Gemblac. A.D. 1034 (ib. clx.); Hard. vi. 893. Dr.

Kluckholm seems to be right in holding that the first notice in the 'Gesta Pont. Camer.' relates to a time about ten years earlier than the second notice. pp. 25-7, 31.

⁵ Rad. Glab. iv. 5. See a document published from a Vatican MS. by De Certain, and reprinted by Kluckholm, 35-7.

efficacy of purely spiritual threats, assembled the bishops of his province, and agreed with them that an oath should be exacted from their people, by which every male above the age of fifteen should bind himself to wage implacable war against all robbers, oppressors, and enemies of holy church. The clergy were not exempted from the oath, but were to carry their sacred banners on the expeditions undertaken for the pacification of the country; and in consequence of this compact, many castles, which had been the strongholds of violence and tyranny, were destroyed, and ruffians, who had been a terror to their neighbours, were reduced to live peaceably. About the year 1041, a modified scheme was brought forward under the name of the "Truce of God." It was now proposed, not that an unbroken peace should be established, but that war, violence, and all demands of reparation should be suspended during Advent, Lent, and certain festival seasons, and also from the evening of Wednesday in each week to the dawn of the following Monday—a time which included the whole interval from the Saviour's betrayal to his resurrection.^a And in connexion with this other decrees were passed for the protection of the weaker classes—the clergy, monks, nuns, and women—for securing the privilege of sanctuary, and for mitigating the injuries which were inflicted on the labours of husbandry,—as that shepherds and their flocks should not be injured, that olive-trees should not be damaged, that agricultural tools should not be carried off, or, at least, should never be destroyed.^b

Henry I. of Neustria refused to sanction this project, and it is said that, in punishment of his refusal, his dominions were visited by an extraordinary disease, a "fire from heaven," which was

^a Rad. Glab. v. 1, pp. 59-60. The wars against which the Truce was directed were not public but private wars (De Marca, 649). Dr. Kluckholm maintains that the word *Treva* ought to be understood according to its etymology, which relates to the *truth* (*Treue*) with which the truce was to be observed, and denies that this is distinguished from the *Pax* as being limited in time, whereas the *pax* was permanent (42, 52). But it seems pretty clear that, at the time when the *Treva* or *Treuga Dei* was instituted, the etymology was not regarded; and something of the modern distinction between *truce* and *peace* runs through the documents, although this distinction is not uniformly

marked. Sometimes *pax* means the scheme of unbroken peace, as distinguished from the intermittent truce; sometimes the two words are applied to different parts of the system—*pax* being the permanent exemption of the defenceless classes from violence, and *treuga* the temporary suspension of war (see Conc. Narbon. A.D. 1054; Conc. Lateran. III., A.D. 1179, cc. 21-2). Sometimes, however, they were identified—"Pax ipse treva Dei appellatur," says Hugh of Flavigny (l. ii., Patrol. cliv. 262). See Datt, l. c.; Ducange, s. v. *Treva*; Pagi, xvi. 605; Giesel. II. i. 345-7.

^b Conc. Narbonn. A.D. 1054, cc. 9-10; Sismondi, iv. 249.

But the Truce, which found zealous and powerful advocates, such as Odilo of Cluny, was received throughout the rest of France and in other countries;^d and it became usual for the inhabitants of a diocese, or a district, to bind themselves by compact to the observance and to organise measures for the enforcement of it.^e The weekly period of rest was, however, too long to be generally adopted. A council held in 1047 at Elne, an episcopal city of the Spanish march, reduced it to the interval between the ninth hour on Saturday and the daybreak of Monday;^f and in this form it appears in the laws of Edward the Confessor.^g Yet after this we again find the longer weekly rest of four days enacted by councils;^h and it was in this form that the Truce received for the first time the papal sanction from Urban II. at the council of Clermont, and was confirmed in the second and third councils of the Lateran.ⁱ The frequent re-enactments of the Truce would, if there were no other evidence, be enough to show that it was but irregularly observed. Yet, imperfect as was the operation of this measure, its effects were very beneficial in tending to check the lawlessness and disorder of the times by the influence of Christian humanity and mercy. "We must," says a historian nowise favourable to the church of the middle ages, "regard it as the most glorious of the enterprises of the clergy, as that which most conduced to soften manners, to develope the sentiments of compassion among men without injury to the spirit of bravery, to supply a reasonable basis for the point of honour, to bestow on the people as much of peace and happiness as the condition of society would then admit, and, lastly, to multiply the population to such a degree as was able afterwards to supply the vast emigrations of the Crusades."^k

IV. *Chivalry.*

It was in these times that the institution of Chivalry, so powerful in its influence on the middle ages, grew up, and at the end of

^c Rad. Glab. v. i. p. 60; Hugo Flav. l. ii. (Patrol. cliv. 262).

^d Hugo Flav. l. c. See Kluckholm as to Germany, England, Italy, and Spain.

^e Ivo, Ep. 90 (Patrol. clxiii.). See Semichon.

^f See Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 183. Some place this council in 1027. See Hard. vi. 842; Giesel. II. i. 346. The see of Elne was afterwards translated to Perpignan.

^g A.D. 1054 (?). Thorpe, 190.

^h E.g. Conc. Narbonn. A.D. 1054, c. 2 (Hard. vi. 1032); Conc. Helen. A.D. 1065 (?) (ib. 1148).

ⁱ Conc. Claramont. A.D. 1095, c. 1; Conc. Lat. II. A.D. 1139, c. 12; Conc. Lat. III. A.D. 1179, c. 21. Cf. Conc. Lat. I. A.D. 1123, c. 13; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1131, c. 11; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 75, &c.

^k Sismondi, iv. 248.

the period embraced in this book the system was nearly complete.^m

We have seen that during the distractions of France castles multiplied throughout the land ; that each castle became an engine of aggression and defence, a centre of depredation.ⁿ In this state of society every man's hand was against every man ; the lord of the castle lived within its walls, cut off from intercourse with his neighbours, and only sallying forth for war, for private feuds, or for plunder.^o Yet the isolation of the nobles was not without its good effects. Debarred from other equal society, the feudal lord was obliged to cultivate that of his wife and children ; and hence resulted a peculiar development of the family life. The lady, who in her husband's absence acted as the guardian of the castle, was invested with new responsibilities and a new dignity ;^p while the training of youth occupied much of the time which might otherwise have hung heavily. The sons of vassals were sent to be educated under the roof of the superior, where they grew up together with his own sons ; and thus a tie was formed which at once assured the lord of the fidelity of his vassals, and the vassals of their lord's protection.^q The nobly-born youths were able, like the deacon in the church, to perform offices of service without degradation.^r In the evening hours they were admitted to the society of the ladies, and from such intercourse a general refinement of manners arose among the higher classes.^s

That among the Germans the admission of a young man to the rank of warriors was marked by a public investiture with arms, we know from the evidence of Tacitus ;^t and the continuance of the custom after the Frankish conquest of Gaul is to be traced from time to time in the annals.^u This ancient national usage now acquired a new importance, and assumed a form which at once signified the admission of the youth to the order of Knighthood, and symbolised the tie between the vassal and the superior.^v It was celebrated with religious ceremonies which gave it the cha-

^m Guizot, iii. 91.

ⁿ P. 407.

^o Guizot, i. 68-72 ; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 125-9.

^p Hallam, ii. 465. See Guizot, iii. 91, and his picture of the mother of Guibert of Nogent, in the middle of the eleventh century (92-5), from Guib. De Vita Sua (Patrol. clvi.).

^q Sismondi, iv. 205-6 ; Guizot, iii. 102.

^r Ste. Palaye, 'Mém. sur l'Ancienne

Chevalerie,' i. 18, Paris, 1781 ; Sismondi, iv. 204. The relation of apprentice to master among the trading class was afterwards copied from this.

^s Ste. Palaye, i. 16 ; Sismondi, ii. 206.

^t Germania, 13 ; Scott, 'Essay on Chivalry,' Miscell. Works, vi. 6.

^u Ste. Palaye, i. 67-8 ; Guizot, iii. 103 (whose view here differs from Sismondi's).

^v Guizot, iii. 105.

racter of a military ordination. The candidate—a son of the lord or of one of his vassals—was stripped of his dress, was bathed as if in a baptism, was clothed afresh with garments of symbolical meaning; he watched his arms in the castle chapel; he confessed and communicated; his armour was put on, his weapons were blessed, an exhortation as to his duties was addressed to him; he solemnly vowed to serve God, to protect the ladies and the weak, to be faithful and humble, gentle, courteous, honourable, and disinterested. According to a practice which was common in attesting documents and the like, he received a blow in remembrance of his new obligations, and by this blow, for which a stroke of the sword was afterwards substituted, the ceremony was completed.⁷

The nature of these ceremonies proves that the clergy had taken up the old Teutonic rite of initiation, and had converted it to purposes of religion and humanity; and this is no less evident from the engagements to which the knight was bound—differing so widely as they did from the general character of the laity in the times when they were introduced.⁸ And poetry as well as religion soon threw itself around the new institution. The legends of saints, which for centuries had been the only popular literature, were now rivalled by lays and romances of knightly adventure;⁹ and the ideal embodied in these compositions—"noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship"¹⁰—became the model which the knights aspired to imitate. The history of the ages in which chivalry prevailed shows indeed a state of things far unlike the pure and lofty precepts of the institution; yet, however the reality may have fallen short of the ideal, it was a great gain for civilisation that such a pattern should be established as authoritative—that men should acknowledge a noble and elevating standard in their hearts, although their actual lives too commonly presented a sad and discreditable contrast to it.¹¹

⁷ Martene, l. ii. c. 12; Ste. Palaye, i. 71, seqq.; Scott, vi. 11; Guizot, iii. 107-111; Sismondi, iv. 202. The blow was not intended as an affront (as has been wrongly supposed), but appears to have been given for the purpose mentioned in the text. (See Chart. pro Monast. Pratellensi, ap. Bouquet, xi. 387; Ordre de la Chevalerie, quoted by Ste. Palaye, Dissert. ii. n. 25; Sismondi, 203.) Even in our own time means of this kind are used for impressing on

the mind the remembrance of parish boundaries. Ducange, however (s. v. *Alapa*), rather derives the chivalric blow from that anciently given at the manumission of a slave.

⁸ Guizot, iii. 111.

⁹ See Hist. Litt. vi. 16.

¹⁰ Pref. to 'Mort d'Arthur,' quoted by Digby, 'Broad Stone of Honour,' i. 17.

¹¹ Hallam, ii. 459-462; Mackintosh, i. 174-8; Martin, iii. 385, seqq.

B O O K V.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI. TO THE
DEATH OF POPE CELESTINE III. (A.D. 1046-1198).

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATES OF CLEMENT II., DAMASUS II., LEO IX., VICTOR II.,
STEPHEN IX., NICOLAS II., AND ALEXANDER II. (A.D. 1046-1073).

THE deposition of Gregory VI. and his rivals by the council of Sutri left the papacy vacant. It was said that the Roman clergy were almost universally disqualified for the dignity by ignorance, simony, or concubinage,^a and Henry III. resolved to bestow it on one of the prelates who had accompanied him from Germany—Suidger, a Saxon by birth, and bishop of Bamberg. The nomination of Suidger is said by some authorities to have taken place at Sutri;^b but his formal inauguration was, according to ancient custom, reserved to be performed at Rome. On Christmas-eve, 1046, the day after his arrival in the city, Henry desired the Romans, assembled in St. Peter's, to proceed to the election of a pope. They answered that they were bound by an oath to choose no other pope during the lifetime of Gregory, but they begged that the king would give them one who might be useful to the church. Henry was invested with the ensigns of the patriciate, and in the character of chief magistrate of Rome presented Suidger to the assembly. In answer to his question whether any worthier pope could be named from among the Roman clergy, no voice was raised by way of objection; and the king, leading Suidger by the hand, seated him in St. Peter's chair, where he was hailed with acclamations as Clement the Second.^c On Christmas-day, the

^a Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853); Bonizo, 802. who prefers Benzo. Bonizo (802) is not clear.

^b For this supposition, see Luden, viii. 640, who follows Hermann the Cripple; against it, Stenzel, ii. 25, i. 232. ^c Herm. Contr. A.D. 1046; Victor III. Dial. iii. p. 854; Bonizo, 802; Höfler,

with extraordinary splendour and solemnity.^d

The emperor was earnestly bent on a reformation of the church, and had selected Suidger as a fit agent for the execution of his plans. Soon after his election, the pope held a council Jan. 1047. with a view to the correction of abuses, and it was decreed that any one who had received ordination from a simoniac, knowing him to be such, should do penance for forty days.^e But beyond this, little or nothing is known of Clement, except that he visited the south of Italy, and that after a pontificate of less than ten months he died in October 1047;^f whereupon Benedict IX., supported by his kinsmen, and by Boniface, the powerful marquis of Tuscany, seized the opportunity of again thrusting himself for a time into possession of the vacant see.^g

The emperor had returned to Germany in June 1047, carrying with him the deposed pope, Gregory. At a great assembly of bishops and nobles, which appears to have been held at Spire, Henry strongly denounced the simony which had generally prevailed in the disposal of church preferment. He declared himself apprehensive that his father's salvation might have been endangered by such traffic in holy things. The sin of simony, which infected the whole hierarchy, from the chief pontiff to the doorkeeper, had drawn down the scourges of famine, pestilence, and the sword; and all who had been guilty of it must be deposed. These words spread consternation among the prelates, who felt that they were all involved in the charge, and implored the emperor to have pity on them. He replied by desiring them to use well the offices which they had obtained by unlawful means, and to pray earnestly for the soul of Conrad, who had been a partaker in their guilt. An edict was published against all simoniacal promotions, and Henry solemnly pledged himself to bestow his ecclesiastical patronage as freely as he had received the empire.^h

But while the emperor projected a reformation of the church by means of his own authority, there was among the clergy a party which contemplated a more extensive reform, and looked to a different agency for effecting it. This party was willing for the time to accept Henry's assistance;ⁱ for his sincerity was unques-

^d Höfler, i. 234-250.

^e Hard. vi. 923-5.

^f See Pagi, xvii. 10-11; Luden, viii. 218; Stenzel, i. 118.

^g Annales Romani, ap. Pertz, v. 469.

^h Rad. Glab. v. 5. See Stenzel, ii. 132. Pagi (xvii. 7) thinks that Clement was present at this assembly.

ⁱ See Pet. Damiani, 'Lib. Gratissimus,' c. 36.

tionable, his power was an important auxiliary, and his objects were in some degree the same with its own. Like the emperor, these reformers desired to extirpate simony, and to deliver the papacy from the tyranny of the Italian nobles. But their definition of simony was more rigid than his; with simony their abhorrence connected the marriage and concubinage of the clergy, offence which Henry (perhaps from a consciousness that his own character was not irreproachable as to chastity)^k did not venture to attack and above all things they dreaded the ascendancy of the secular power over the church. To the connexion of the church with the state, to the feudal obligations of the prelates, they traced the grievous scandals which had long disgraced the hierarchy—the rude and secular habits of the bishops, their fighting and hunting, their unseemly pomp and luxury, their attempts to render ecclesiastical preferments hereditary in their own families. And what if the empire were to achieve such an entire control over the papacy and the church as Henry appeared to be gaining? What would be the effect of such power, when transferred from the noble, conscientious, and religious emperor to a successor of different character? The church must not depend on the personal qualities of a prince; it must be guided by other hands, and under a higher influence; national churches, bound up with and subject to the state, were unequal to the task of reformation, which must proceed, not from the state, but from the hierarchy, from the papacy, from heaven through Christ's vicegerent, the successor of St. Peter; to him alone on earth it must be subject; and for this purpose all power must be centered in the papacy.^m

Henry had exacted from the Romans an engagement, for which he is said to have paid largely, that they would not again choose a pope without his consent.ⁿ A deputation in the interest of the reforming party now waited on him with a request that he would name a successor to Clement. They would have wished for the restoration of Gregory VI.; but, as such a proposal was likely to offend the emperor, they begged that he would appoint Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, who was well known and highly esteemed at Rome in consequence of frequent pilgrimages to the "threshold

^k See Rad. Glab. v. 1. Luden disbelieves this charge, viii. 644.

^m Voigt, 'Hildebrand,' 8-9; Rémusat, 'S. Anselme,' 186.

ⁿ Vita Halinardi, c. 7 (Mabill. ix.);

Annal. Rom. (Pertz, v. 469). The continual mention of the influence of money at Rome is a remarkable feature in these Annals.

of the apostles.”^o Halinard, however, had no wish for the promotion, and sedulously abstained from showing himself at the imperial court. Henry requested the advice of Wazo, bishop of Liège, whose wise and merciful views as to the treatment of heretics have been mentioned in a former chapter;^p the answer recommended the restoration of Gregory, whose deposition Wazo ventured to blame on the ground that the pope could not be judged except by God alone. But before this letter reached the

Dec. 25, emperor, his choice had already fallen on Poppo, bishop
1047. of Brixen, who assumed the name of Damasus II.^q The

new pope was conducted to Rome by Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and Benedict fled at his approach; on the 17th of July, 1048, he was installed in St. Peter's chair; and on the 9th of August he was dead.^r The speedy deaths of two German popes were ascribed by some to poison;^s the opinion of another party is represented by Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, who tells us, in the fierceness of national and religious hatred, that Damasus, “a man full of all pride,” was appointed by the patricial tyranny of Henry, and that within twenty days after his invasion of the pontifical chair he “died in body and in soul.”^t

The emperor was again requested to name a pope, and fixed on his cousin Bruno. Bruno had been chosen as bishop by the clergy and people of Toul, and had accepted that poor see against the will of Henry, who had destined him for higher preferment; he enjoyed a great reputation for piety, learning, prudence, charity, and humility; he was laborious in his duties, an eloquent preacher, a skilful musician.^u From unwillingness to undertake the perilous dignity which was now offered to him, he desired three days for consideration, and openly confessed his sins with a view of proving his unfitness. But the emperor insisted on the nomination, and at a great assembly at Worms, in the presence of the Roman envoys, Bruno was invested with the ensigns of the papacy.^x After revisiting Toul, he set out for Italy in pontifical state; but at Besançon it is said that he was met by Hugh abbot of Cluny,

^o Vita Halin. c. 7; Chron. S. Benign. Divion. ap. Pertz, vii. 237.

^p P. 453.

^q Anselm. Gesta Episc. Leod. c. 65 (Pertz, vii.).

^r Herm. Contr. A.D. 1048, and note, Pertz, v. 128; Jaffé.

^s Lupus Protospatharius asserts this

as to Clement, ascribing the crime to Benedict IX. (A.D. 1047, Patrol. clv.); Benno, as to Damasus (ap. Goldast. Apol. Henrici, 13).

^t Bonizo, p. 803; Luden, viii. 221.

^u Wibert, Vita Leonis, ii. 8-13 (Mabill. ix.).

^x Ib. ii. 2.

accompanied by an Italian monk named Hildebrand; and the result of the meeting was memorable.⁷

Hildebrand, the son of a carpenter, was born at or near Suana (now Sovana), an ancient Etruscan city, and the seat of a bishoprick, between 1010 and 1020.^a From an early age he was trained for the ecclesiastical profession under an uncle, who was abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine, at Rome.^a He embraced the most rigid ideas of monachism, and, disgusted with the laxity which prevailed among the Italian monks, he crossed the Alps, and entered the austere society of Cluny, where it is said that the abbot already applied to him the prophetic words, "He shall be great in the sight of the Highest."^b After leaving Cluny, he visited the court of Henry,^c and on his return to Rome he became chaplain^d to Gregory VI., whose pupil he had formerly been. On the deposition of Gregory, Hildebrand accompanied him into Germany, and at his patron's death, in the beginning of 1048, he again withdrew to Cluny.^e There it may be supposed that he

⁷ The interview is not mentioned by Wibert, and is therefore questioned by Pagi (xvii. 20), Stenzel (i. 121), and others. Some place it at Cluny (as Otho of Freisingen, vi. 33); some at Worms, where they suppose Hildebrand to have been at the time of the pope's nomination; others say that Leo sent for him. I follow Bonizo (803) in referring the meeting to Besançon. (See Schröckh, xxi. 339; Theiner, ii. 6; Neand. vi. 50; Giesel. II. i. 231; Voigt, 8; Luden, viii. 227; Bowden, i. 139; Höfler, ii. 6; Gfrörer, iv. 448; Hefele, iv. 679). Floto argues against the story, and supposes Hildebrand to have been not the master but the pupil of Bruno (i. 173-4). He seems to prove that Hugh could hardly have been present, as he had been only just chosen abbot, and was not yet installed; but his argument against the alleged route rests on the mistake of supposing *Augusta* to mean Augsburg, instead of Aosta.

^a Mabill. Acta SS. ix. 406; Voigt, 1. [I have not seen Gfrörer's late Life of Hildebrand, which extends to seven volumes!]

^b Paul. Bernriedensis, Vita Gregorii, c. 9, ap. Mabill. ix. Fables as to his early years may be found in the Annal. Saxo. (Pertz, vi. 701.)

^c Paul. Bernr. 2 (who wrongly calls the abbot Majolus, instead of Odilo).

^d Ib. 7. A legend in the Annals of Pölde (Pertz. xvi. 69, 70) represents the

beginning of his acquaintance with the court as earlier.

^e Some readers may (like a critic of this volume) require to be informed that domestic clerks, of whatever order, were the *chaplains* of the persons to whose household they were attached. Thus Norbert, the founder of the Præmonstratensians, while a subdeacon, is styled the *capellanus* of Henry V. Hermann. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Mart. Tornac. 85 (Patrol. clxxx.).

^e Hildebrand says of himself, at the Roman synod of 1080, that he accompanied Gregory VI. over the Alps "unwillingly" (Hard. vi. 1589); hence there is a question whether, on account of some unknown share in the late affairs of Rome, he was included in the order for his master's banishment, as is asserted by Benno (ap. Goldast. 13); or whether his "unwillingness" merely relates to his dissatisfaction on account of the treatment of Gregory. See Luden, viii. 207-8, 643. Voigt thinks it probable that he went at Gregory's request (31). Floto, altering *nostri* to *vestri* in Greg. Ep. i. 79, supposes that the deposed pope and his companion lived at Cologne (i. 155). The statement that Hildebrand was prior of Cluny (Godefr. Viterb. in Patrol. cxcviii. 973) seems to have arisen from a confusion between him and another of the same name. Mabill. ix. 407.

secular power which had been exemplified in the deprivation and captivity of Gregory; and that those theories became matured in his mind which were to influence the whole subsequent history of the church and of the world.

The character of Hildebrand was lofty and commanding. His human affections had been deadened by long monastic discipline; the church alone engrossed his love. Filled with magnificent visions of ecclesiastical grandeur, he pursued his designs with an indomitable steadiness, with a farsighted patience, with a deep, subtle, and even unscrupulous policy. He well knew how to avail himself of small advantages as means towards more important ends, or to forego the lesser in hope of attaining the greater. He knew how to conciliate, and even to flatter, as well as how to threaten and to denounce. Himself impenetrable and inflexible, he was especially skilled in understanding the characters of other men, and in using them as his instruments, even although unconscious or unwilling.

In his interviews with Bruno, Hildebrand represented the unworthiness of accepting from the emperor that dignity which ought to be conferred by the free choice of the Roman clergy and people. His lofty views and his powerful language prevailed; the pope laid aside the ensigns of the apostolical office, and, taking Hildebrand as his companion, pursued his journey in the simple dress of a pilgrim. His arrival at Rome, roughly clad and barefooted, excited a sensation beyond all that could have been produced by the display of sacerdotal or imperial pomp; it is said that miracles marked his way, and that at his prayer the swollen waters of the Teverone sank within their usual bounds.^f In St. Peter's he addressed the assembled Romans, telling them that he had come for purposes of devotion; that the emperor had chosen him as pope, but that it was for them to ratify or to annul the choice.^g The hearers were strongly excited by his words; they could not but be delighted to find that, renouncing the imperial nomination as insufficient, he chose to rest on their own free election as the only legitimate title

Feb. 12. to the papacy. Nor was Bruno an unknown man among

them; for yearly pilgrimages to Rome had made them familiar with his sanctity and his virtues;^h and he was hailed with universal acclamations as Pope Leo the Ninth.

Hildebrand was now the real director of the papacy. Leo

^f Wibert, *Vita Leonis*, ii. 2.

^g *Ib.*; Bonizo, 803.

^h Wibert, ii. 1.

the church, with other preferments. Among these was the abbey of St. Paul, which he restored from decay and disorder, and to which he was throughout life so much attached that, whenever he met with a check in any of his undertakings, he used to send for some of the monks, and ask them what sin they had committed to shut up God's ear against their intercessions for him.¹ The party of which Hildebrand was the soul was further strengthened by some able men whom Leo brought from beyond the Alps, and established in high dignities—such as the cardinals Humbert, Stephen,² and Hugh the White, Frederick, brother of Godfrey duke of Lorraine, and Azolin, bishop of Sutri. But beyond all these was conspicuous an Italian who was now introduced among the Roman clergy—Peter Damiani.³

This remarkable man was born at Ravenna, in the year 1007.⁴ His mother, wrought to a sort of frenzy by the unwelcome addition to a family already inconveniently large, would have left the infant to perish; but when almost dead, he was saved by the wife of a priest, whose upbraidings recalled the mother to a sense of her parental duty.⁵ Peter was early left an orphan, under the care of a brother, who treated him harshly, and employed him in feeding swine; but he was rescued from this servitude by another brother, Damian, whose name he combined with his own in token of gratitude.⁶ Through Damian's kindness he was enabled to study; he became famous as a teacher, pupils flocked to hear him, and their fees brought him abundant wealth. His life meanwhile was strictly ascetic; he wore sackcloth secretly, he fasted, watched, prayed, and, in order to tame his passions, he would rise from bed, stand for hours in a stream until his limbs were stiff with cold, and spend the remainder of the night in visiting churches, and reciting the psalter.⁷ In the midst of his renown and prosperity, Peter was struck by the thought that it would be well to renounce his position, while in the full enjoyment of its advantages, and his resolution was determined by the visit of two brethren from the hermit society of Fonte Avellano in Umbria. On his giving them a large silver cup as a present for their abbot, the monks begged him to exchange it for something lighter and more portable; and, deeply moved

¹ P. Bernried. 13-4; Bonizo, 803.

² See Hist. Litt. viii. 1.

³ Bonizo, 803.

⁴ Murat. Ann. VI. i. 39.

⁵ Vita, c. 2, prefixed to his works.

⁶ Although he is sometimes called Petrus Damianus, the name is more properly Damiani—the brother of Damian. Murat. Annal. VI. i. 39.

⁷ Vita, 2.

knowledge of his friends, and became a member of their rigid order.[†] Peter soon surpassed all his brethren in austerity of life, and even gained the reputation of miraculous power. He taught at Fonte Avellano and in other monasteries, and was raised to the dignity of abbot.[‡]

The elevation of Gregory VI. was hailed by Damiani with delight, as the dawn of a new era for the church.[§] His hopes from that pope were soon extinguished by the council of Sutri; but he continued to exert himself in the cause of reform, and he was employed by Henry III. to urge on Pope Clement the necessity of extirpating the simony which the emperor had found everywhere prevailing as he returned homewards through northern Italy.^{||}

The character of Damiani was an extraordinary mixture of strength and of weakness. He was honest, rigid in the sanctity of his life, and gifted with a ready and copious eloquence; but destitute of judgment or discretion, the slave of an unbounded credulity and of a simple vanity, and no less narrow in his views than zealous, energetic, and intolerant in carrying them out. His reading was considerable, but very limited in its nature, and in great part of a very idle character. His letters and tracts present a medley of all the learning and of all the allegorical misinterpretations of Scripture that he can heap together; his arguments are seasoned and enforced by the strangest illustrations and by the wildest and most extravagant legends. The humour which he often displays is rather an oddity than a talent or a power; he himself speaks of it as "buffoonery,"[¶] and penitentially laments that he cannot control it. In our own age and country such a man would probably be among the loudest, the busiest, the most uncharitable, and the most unreasonable enemies of Rome; in his actual circumstances Peter Damiani was its most devoted servant. Yet his veneration for the papacy did not prevent him from sometimes addressing its occupants with the most outspoken plainness,[‡] or even from remonstrating against established Roman usages, as when he wrote to Alexander II. against the decretal principle that a bishop should not be accused by a member of his flock, and against the practice of annexing to decrees on the most trivial subjects the awful threat of an anathema.[‡]

[†] Vita, 4. See also Opusc. xiv. t. iii. 140-3. There is a dissertation by Grandi in the "Patrologia," cxliv., written to show that this society belonged to the order of Camaldoli.

[§] Vita, 5-13.

[‡] See p. 445.

^{||} P. Dam. Ep. i. 3.

[¶] "Scurrilitas," Ep. v. 2.

[‡] E. g. Ep. i. 5, to Victor II.

[‡] Ep. i. 12. See Schmidt, ii. 298-9.

In such cases it would seem that he was partly influenced by strong and uncompromising feeling of right, and partly by his passion for exercising in all directions the office of a monitor and a censor. If Hildebrand understood how to use men as his tools Peter was fitted to be a tool.^a He felt that Hildebrand was his master, and his service was often reluctant; but, although he vented his discontent in letters and in epigrams, he obeyed his "hostile friend," his "saintly Satan."^b

The superstitions of the age had no more zealous votary than Damiani. His language as to the Blessed Virgin has already been noticed for its surpassing extravagance.^c From him, too, the practice of voluntary flagellation, although it was not altogether new,^d derived a great increase of popularity. He recommended it as "a sort of purgatory," and defended it against all assailants. If, he argued, our Lord, with his apostles and martyrs, submitted to be scourged, it must be a good deed to imitate their sufferings by inflicting chastisement on ourselves; if Moses in the Law prescribed scourging for the guilty, it is well thus to punish ourselves for our misdeeds; if men are allowed to redeem their sins with money, surely those who have no money ought to have some means of redemption provided for them.^e Cardinal Stephen ventured to ridicule this devotion, and induced the monks of Monte Cassino to give up the custom of flogging themselves every Friday, which had been adopted at the instance of Peter;^f but the sudden and premature deaths of Stephen and his brother soon after gave a triumph to its champion, who represented the fate of the brothers as a judgment on the cardinal's profanity.^g

In addition to other writings, Damiani contributed to the cause of flagellation a Life of one Dominic, the great hero of this warfare against the flesh.^h Dominic had been ordained a priest; but, on discovering that his parents had presented a piece of goat-skin leather to the bishop by whom he had been ordained, he was struck with such horror at the simoniacal act, that he renounced all priestly functions, and withdrew to the rigid life of a hermit. He afterwards placed himself under Damiani, at Fonte Avellano,

^a See Ep. ii. 8.

^b I. e. adversary or accuser. Ep. i. 11.

^c P. 535.

^d It is mentioned by Regino (*De Discipl. Eccles.* ii. 442, seqq., *Patrol.* cxxxii.). See Mabill. VIII. xvi.;

Schröckh, xxiv. 132; Giesel. II. i. 340.

^e Epp. v. 8, vi. 21; *Opusc.* xlii.,

^f *De Laude Flagellorum.*

^g *Chron. Casin.* iii. 20.

^h *Opusc.* xlii. c. 2.

ⁱ *Opera*, ii. 210, seqq.

brethren. Next to his skin he wore a tight iron cuirass,¹ which he never put off except to chastise himself. His body and his arms were confined by iron rings; his neck was loaded with heavy chains; his scanty clothes were worn to rags; his food consisted of bread and fennel; his skin was as black as a negro's from the effects of his chastisement.^k Dominic's usual exercise was to recite the psalter twice a-day, while he flogged himself with both hands at the rate of a thousand lashes to ten psalms. It was reckoned that three thousand lashes were equal to a year of penance; the whole psalter, therefore, with this accompaniment, was equivalent to five years. In Lent, or on occasions of special penitence, the daily average rose to three psalters; he "easily" got through twenty—equal to a hundred years of penance—in six days; once, at the beginning of Lent, he begged that a penance of a thousand years might be imposed upon him, and he cleared off the whole before Easter. He often performed eight or even nine psalters within twenty-four hours, but it was long before he could achieve ten; at length, however, he was able on one occasion to accomplish twelve, and reached the thirty-second psalm in a thirteenth.^m These flagellations were supposed to have the effect of a satisfaction for the sins of other men.ⁿ In his latter years, for the sake of greater severity, Dominic substituted leathern thongs for the bundles of twigs which he had before used in his discipline. He also increased the number of the rings which galled his flesh, and the weight of the chains which hung from his neck; but we are told that sometimes, as he prayed, his rings would fly asunder, or would become soft and pliable.^o The death of Dominic took place in the year 1062.^p

The marriage of the clergy was especially abominable in the eyes of Peter Damiani. He wrote, preached, and laboured against it; his language on such subjects is marked by the grossest and most shameless indecency. Soon after Leo's accession, he presented to him a treatise the contents of which may be guessed from its frightful title—'The Book of Gomorrha.'^q The statements here given as to the horrible offences which resulted from the law of clerical celibacy might have suggested to any reasonable mind a plea for a relaxation of that discipline; but Peter urges them as an

¹ Hence the epithet by which he is known, *Loricatus*.

^k Vita, 11.

^m Ib. 8-10.

ⁿ Fleury, l. 62.

^o Vita, 10-12.

^p Mabill. ix. 149.

^q Opusc. ix. See Theiner, ii. 24.

unchaste clergy, and demands the deposition of all the guilty. Leo thanked him for the book, but decided that, although all carnal intercourse is forbidden to the clergy by Scripture and the laws of the church, all but the worst and the most inveterate sinners should be allowed, if penitent, to retain their offices.* A later pontiff, Alexander II., obtained possession of the manuscript under pretence of getting it copied; but he showed his opinion of its probable effects by locking it up, and the author complains that, when he attempted to reclaim it, the pope jested at him and treated him like a player."

The act of Leo in renouncing the title derived from the imperial nomination might have been expected to alarm and offend Henry. His kinsman, the object of his patronage, had become the pope of the clergy and of the people, and might have seemed to place himself in opposition to the empire. But the emperor appears to have regarded Leo's behaviour as an instance of the modesty for which he had been noted. He made no remonstrance; and Hildebrand was careful to give him no provocation by needless displays of papal independence.†

Leo found the treasury so exhausted that he even thought of providing for his necessities by selling the vestments of the church." But by degrees the rich and various sources which fed the papal revenue began to flow again, so that he was in a condition to carry on his administration with vigour, and to undertake measures of reform. A synod was held at which he proposed to annul the orders of all who had been ordained by ^{A.D. 1049.} simoniacs. It was, however, represented to him that such a measure would in many places involve a general deprivation of the clergy, and a destitution of the means of grace. The definition of simony had in truth been extended over many things to which we can hardly attach the idea of guilt. The name was now no longer limited to the purchase of holy orders, or even of benefices; it was simony to pay anything in the nature of fees or first-fruits, or even to make a voluntary present to a bishop or a patron; it was simony to obtain a benefice, not only by payment, but as the reward of service or as the tribute of kindness. "There are three

* Leo IX. Ep. 15 (Hard. vi. 976).

† Ep. ii. 6, where he requests Hildebrand to help him in recovering it.

‡ Luden, viii. 239; Bowden, ii. 146.

§ Wibert, ii. 3.

kinds of gifts," says Peter Damiani; "gifts of the hand, of obedience, and of the tongue."^x The service of the court he declares to be a worse means of obtaining preferment than the payment of money;^y while others give money, the price paid by courtly clerks is nothing less than their very selves.^z In consideration of the universal prevalence of simony, therefore, Leo found himself obliged to mitigate his sentence, and to revert to the order of Clement II., that all who had been ordained by known simoniacs should do penance for forty days.^a It would seem also that at this assembly the laws for the enforcement of celibacy were renewed—the married clergy being required to separate from their wives, or to refrain from the exercise of their functions, although it was probably at a later synod that Leo added A.D. 1051? cogency to these rules by enacting that any "concupines" of priests who might be discovered in Rome should become slaves in the Lateran palace.^b

Leo entered on a new course of action against the disorders of the church. The bishops were so deeply implicated in these that from them no thorough reformation could be expected; the pope would take the matter into his own hands, and would execute it in person. Imitating the system of continual movement by which Henry carried his superintendence into every corner of A.D. 1049. the empire, he set out on a circuit of visitation. On the way he visited Gualbert of Vallombrosa, an important ally of Hildebrand and the reforming party.^c He crossed the Alps, and, redressing wrongs, consecrating churches, and conferring privileges

^x Ep. ii. 1. This classification seems to have become current. See, e. g., Chron. Casin. iv. 120. ^y Ep. i. 13.

^z Opusc. xxii. c. 2; cf. Lib. Gratissim. c. 35 (Opera, iii. 36, seqq.). This book was written against the opinion that orders given by simoniacs are invalid. Peter argues that the grace of ordination does not depend on the man who gives it, but on his office. The children of blind or deformed persons do not inherit the defects of their parents (c. 28). Even miracles have been done by simoniac and incontinent bishops and clergy, and by persons who had been ordained by such bishops (28-9). Humbert, on the other hand, maintained that, as the sacraments of heretics are invalid, and simony is heresy, the ordination given by simoniacs, even although it be gratuitous, conveys nothing but

condemnation (Adv. Simoniacos, ii. 26, &c., Patrol. cxliii.). In the next generation, Bruno, bishop of Segni and abbot of Monte Cassino, wrote a tract in answer to the idea that, through the universal simony, the Christian ministry had perished. He lays down that the grace of ordination depends on the receiver; as, if a simoniac be ordained by a catholic, the bishop's blessing is turned into a curse; so, if a catholic be ordained by a simoniac, that which for the giver's sin would be a curse, becomes a blessing to the faithful receiver. Patrol. clxv. 1133. ^a Hard. vi. 991.

^b P. Damiani, Opusc. xviii. (Patrol. cxlv. 411); Bonizo, l. 5 (ib. cl. 821); Bernold. A.D. 1049 (ib. cxlviii.). See Theiner, ii. 31; Hefele, iv. 682.

^c Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. c. 26 (Mabill. ix.).

on monasteries as he proceeded, he reached Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. At Aix he effected a reconciliation between the emperor and Godfrey, duke of Lower Lorraine, who for some years had disturbed the public peace. The duke was sentenced to restore the cathedral of Verdun, which he had burnt; he submitted to be scourged at the altar, and laboured with his own hands at the masonry of the church.^d

As bishop of Toul (which see he still retained, as Clement II. had retained Bamberg) Leo had promised to attend the consecration of the abbey church of St. Remigius at Rheims. He now announced his intention of fulfilling the promise, and from Toul issued letters summoning the bishops of France to attend a synod on the occasion.^e The announcement struck terror into many—into prelates who dreaded an inquiry into their practices, and into laymen of high rank whose morals would not bear examination; and some of these beset the ears of the French king, Henry I. It was, they said, a new thing for a pope to assume the right of entering France without the sovereign's permission; the royal power was in danger of annihilation if he allowed the pope to rule within his dominions, or countenanced him by his presence at the council. Henry had already accepted an invitation, but these representations alarmed him. He did not, however, venture to forbid the intended proceedings, but excused himself on the plea of a military expedition, and begged that Leo would defer his visit until a more settled time, when the king might be able to receive him with suitable honours. The pope replied that he was resolved to attend the dedication of the church, and that, if he should find faithful persons there, he intended to hold a council.^f

The assemblage at Rheims was immense. The Franks of the east met with those of Gaul to do honour to the apostle of their race, the saint at whose hands Clovis had received baptism; and even England had sent her representatives.^g There were prelates and nobles, clergy and monks, laymen and women of every condition, whose offerings formed an enormous heap. All ranks were mingled in the crowd; they besieged the doors of the

^d Lambert, Hersfeld. A.D. 1046, 1049 (Partz, v.); Gesta Epp. Virdun., Patrol. cciv. 926. There were other examples of such flagellation in that age. Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, was flogged at the altar for simony by Guy, abbot of Pomposa (Donizo, Vita Mathildis, i. 16, ap. Partz, xii.); and Henry III. him-

self submitted to chastisement by Hanno of Cologne. Vita Annonis, ib. xi. 469.

^e Hard. vi. 993-4.

^f Ib. 996. See Hefele, iv. 686. Humbert strongly charges Henry with simony (Adv. Sim. iii. 7).

^g Ang. Sax. Chron. p. 242.

church on the eve of the ceremony, and thousands passed the night in the open air, which was brilliantly lighted by their tapers.^h The pope repeatedly threatened to leave the great work undone, unless the multitude would relax its pressure. At length the body of St. Remigius was with difficulty borne through the mass of spectators, whose excitement was now raised to the uttermost. Many wept, many swooned away, many were crushed to death. The holy relics were lowered into the church through a window, as the only practicable entrance, whereupon the crowds, excluded by the doors, seized the hint, and swarmed in at the windows. Instead of being at once deposited in its intended resting-place, the body was placed aloft above the high altar, that its presence might give solemnity to the proceedings of the council.ⁱ

On the day after the consecration the assembly met.^j Some of the French bishops and abbots who had been cited were
Oct. 3-5. unable to attend, having been compelled to join the royal army;^k but about twenty bishops and fifty abbots were present—among whom were the bishop of Wells, the abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the abbot of Ramsey.^m The pope placed himself with his face towards the body of St. Remigius, and desired the prelates to sit in a semicircle on each side of him. It was announced that the council was held for the reformation of disorders in the church and for the general correction of morals; and the bishops were required to come forward and to swear that they had not been guilty of simony either in obtaining their office or in their exercise of it. The archbishops of Treves, Lyons, and Besançon took the oath. The archbishop of Rheims requested delay; he was admitted to two private interviews with the pope, and, at the second session, he obtained a respite until a council which was to be held at Rome in the following April.ⁿ

Of the bishops, all but four took the oath; of the abbots, some swore, while others by silence confessed their guilt.^o Hugh, bishop of Langres, was charged with many and grievous offences: witnesses deposed that he had both acquired and administered his office simoniacally; that he had borne arms and had slain men; that he had cruelly oppressed his clergy, and even had used torture as a means of exacting money from them; that he had been guilty of adultery and of unnatural lust. After having been allowed to

^h Hard. vi. 998.

ⁱ Ib. 999-1000.

^k Ib. 996.

^m Ib. 1002; Collier, i. 520; Lingard, Hist. Eng. i. 334.

ⁿ Hard. 1003.

^o Ib.

confer with the archbishops of Lyons and Besançon, he requested that these prelates might be admitted to plead his cause. The archbishop of Besançon, on standing up for the purpose, found himself unable to utter a word, and made a sign to Halinard of Lyons, who acknowledged his client's simony and extortion, but denied the other charges.^p The bishops of Nevers and Coutances professed that their preferments had been bought for them by their relations, but without their own knowledge or consent, and, on their submission, were allowed to retain their sees. The bishop of Nantes, who confessed that he had purchased the succession to his father in the bishoprick, was degraded to the order of presbyter.^q

At the end of the first session it was asked, under the threat of anathema, whether any member acknowledged any other primate of the church than the bishop of Rome. The pope's claim, and the lawfulness of his proceedings, were admitted by a general silence; and he was then declared to be primate of the whole church and apostolic pontiff.^r

At the second session it was found that the bishop of Langres had absconded during the night. The archbishop of Besançon acknowledged that his dumbness when he had attempted to defend the delinquent on the preceding day was the infliction of St. Remigius; the pope and the prelates prostrated themselves before the relics of the saint, and Hugh of Langres was deposed.^s The council lasted three days. Twelve canons were passed, of which the first declared that no one should be promoted to a bishoprick without the choice of his clergy and people. Excommunications were pronounced against the archbishop of Sens and other prelates who, whether from fear of the pope's inquisition, or in obedience to the king's summons, had neglected the citation to the council; and we are told that within a year the judgments of heaven fell heavily on the counsellors who had influenced Henry against the pope. The bishop of Compostella was excommunicated for assuming the title of apostolic, and attempting to set up an independent Spanish papacy.^t The Breton bishops, whose church had long been separate from that of Rome, and whose chief styled him-

^p Hard. vi. 1004.

^q Ib. 1006.

^r Ib. 1003; Planck, iv. 23-5.

^s Hard. vi. 1005. He afterwards, by a very humble submission at Rome, obtained his restoration to the episcopal

order, and became a monk of St. Vanne's at Verdun, where he died. Chron. S. Vit. Virdun. ap. Lanfranc. ed. D'Achery, Append. p. 67.

^t Hard. vi. 1007.

self archbishop of Dol, had been summoned to Rheims, but, as they did not attend, were charged to appear at Rome.^a

From Rheims Leo proceeded to Mentz, where a council was
 Oct. 19? held in the emperor's presence;^a and in this assembly
 1049. Sibicho, bishop of Spire, purged himself of a charge of adultery by receiving the holy eucharist.^b

The pope returned to Italy in triumph. He had assured himself of the support of Germany, and had crushed the tendencies to independence which had appeared in the churches of France and Spain.^c The system of visitations which he had thus commenced was continued throughout his pontificate, and its result was greatly to increase the influence of Rome. He practically and successfully asserted for himself powers beyond those which had been ascribed to the papacy by the forged decretals. The pope entered kingdoms without regard to the will of the sovereign; he denounced the curses of the church against prelates whose allegiance to their king interfered with obedience to his mandate. He was not only to judge, but to originate inquiries; and these were carried on under the awe of his personal presence, without the ordinary forms of justice. Bishops were required by oath to accuse themselves, and the process of judgment was summary.^d Yet, startling as were the novelties of such proceedings, Leo was able to venture on them with safety; for the popular feeling was with him, and supported him in all his aggressions on the authority of princes or of bishops. His presence was welcomed everywhere as that of a higher power come to redress the grievances under which men had long been groaning; there was no disposition to question his pretensions on account of their novelty; rather this novelty gave them a charm, because the deliverance which he offered had not before been dreamt of. And the manner in which his judgments were conducted was skilfully calculated to disarm opposition. Whatever there might be of a new kind in it, the trial was before synods, the old legitimate tribunal; bishops were afraid to protest, lest they

^a Hard. vi. 1004. For the later history of the Breton church, which became united to Rome, and subject to the metropolitan see of Tours, see Leo, Ep. 40 (Patrol. cxliii.); Urban II. Ep. 77, 113 (ib. cli.).

^b Leo, Ep. 22 (Patrol. cxliii.); Heffele, iv. 695, seqq.

^c Lambert of Hersfeld (A.D. 1050) and Adam of Bremen (iii. 29) speak as

if Sibicho were successful in the ordeal. Wibert says that his cheek was affected with palsy during the rest of his life; his inference, however, is, not that the bishop was guilty, but that even for the innocent such trials are fearful. De Ob. Leon. c. 6.

^d Milman, ii. 444.

^e Planck, iv. 17-8.

should be considered guilty; and, while the process for the discovery of guilt was unusually severe, it was, in the execution, tempered with an appearance of mildness which took off much from its severity. Offenders were allowed to state circumstances in extenuation of their guilt, and their excuses were readily admitted. The lenity shown to one induced others to submit, and thus the pope's assumptions were allowed to pass without objection.^b

Leo again crossed the Alps in 1050, and a third time in 1052. This last expedition was undertaken in part for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between the emperor and Andrew, king of Hungary, who had become a Christian, and had re-established the profession of the Gospel in his dominions; but the pope's mediation proved unsuccessful.^c Another object of the journey was to request the emperor's aid against the Normans. These had now firmly established themselves in southern Italy; they warred against both empires, or took investiture from either, according to their convenience. Their neighbours were never safe from their aggressions; they invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, assaulted the pope's own train, and threatened Rome itself.^d They spared neither age nor sex; the pope was deeply afflicted by the sight of miserable wretches who crowded into the city from the Apulian side, having lost eyes or noses, hands or feet, by the barbarity of the Normans; while reports continually reached him of monasteries sacked or burnt, and their inmates slain or cruelly outraged.^e His grief and indignation overflowed, and, finding remonstrances, entreaties, and denunciations vain, he endeavoured to engage both the Greek and the German emperors in a league against the Normans.^f

The pope found that, by allying himself with the Italian party, he had excited the jealousy of his own countrymen, a feeling which was significantly shown at Worms, where he spent the Christmas of 1052 with the emperor. On Christmas-day, as Luitpold, archbishop of Mentz, and metropolitan of the diocese, was officiating at mass in the cathedral, a deacon chanted a lesson in the German fashion, which was different from that of Rome.^g Leo, urged by the Italians of his train, commanded him to stop; and, as the order was unheeded, he called the deacon to him at the end of the

^b Planck. iv. 26-34; Giesel. II. i. 229.

^c Wibert, ii. 8.

^d Gibbon, v. 331-2; Schröckh, xxii. 346.

^e Wibert, ii. 10.

^f Ep. 7, ad. Constant. Monomach. (Hard. vi. 959).

^g It seems as if the Roman fashion were to read it.

lesson, and degraded him from his office. The German primate begged that he might be restored, but met with a refusal. The service then proceeded; but at the end of the offertory, Luitpold, indignant at the slight offered to the national usage, declared that it should go no further unless the deacon were restored; and the pope found himself obliged to yield.^b

A feeling of jealousy against Rome would seem also to have dictated the answer to a request which the pope made for the restoration of the bishoprick of Bamberg, and of the abbey of Fulda, to St. Peter, on whom they had been bestowed by Henry II.^c Instead of these benefices, which might have given a pretext for interfering with his German sovereignty, the emperor conferred on the pope the city of Benevento, the adjoining territory having already been granted to the Normans.^d

The success of Leo's application for aid against the Normans was frustrated by the emperor's chancellor, Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt. Whether from apprehension of danger on the side of Hungary,^e from overweening contempt of the Normans,^f or from German jealousy of the papacy, he persuaded Henry to recall the troops which had already been placed at the pope's disposal; and Leo on his return to Italy was followed by only seven hundred men, chiefly Swabians and Lotharingians, but including many outlaws and desperate adventurers from other quarters.^g It was the first time that a pope had appeared as the leader of an army against a professedly Christian people. Although Leo, when a deacon, had led the contingent of Toul in the imperial force,^h his own synods had renewed the canons against warrior bishops and clergy,ⁱ and Peter Damiani was scandalised at the indecency of the spectacle:—Would St. Gregory, he asked, have gone to battle against the Lombards, or St. Ambrose against the Arians? But as Leo moved along, multitudes of Italians flocked to his standard, so that, when

^b Ekkehard, A.D. 1073 (Pertz, vi.). "Qua in re," says the chronicler, "et pontificis [i. e. archiepiscopi] auctoritas et apostolici considerata est humilitas, dum et ille officii sui dignitatem defendere contendebat, et iste, licet majoris dignitatis, metropolitano tamen in sua diocesi cedendum perpendebat."

^c See p. 440.

^d Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Chron. Casin. ii. 46; Giannone, ii. 198-201. It was not until 1077 that the popes got actual possession of Benevento, on the

death of the last Lombard prince. Ib. 241.

^e Luden, viii. 277.

^f Höfler, ii. 156.

^g Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Gibbon, v. 333. ^h Wibert, i. 7, p. 56.

ⁱ E. g. Conc. Rem. A.D. 1049, c. 6.

^j Ep. iv. 9 (Patrol. cxliv. 316). Baronius (1053. 13) tries to refute him; others, to explain the words away. See Schröckh, xxi. 530. Bruno of Segni, in his Life of Leo, also disapproves of his going to war. Patrol. clxv. 1116.

the armies met near Civitella, he had greatly the advantage in numbers, while his sturdy Germans derided the inferior height and slighter forms of the enemy. The Normans attempted to negotiate, and offered to hold their conquests under the apostolic see; but they were told that the only admissible terms were their withdrawal from Italy and a surrender of all that they had taken from St. Peter.* No choice was thus left them but to fight with the courage of despair.† The armies engaged on the 18th of June, 1053; the pope's Italian troops ran away; his Germans stood firm, and were cut to pieces; he himself fled to Civitella, but the gates of the town were shut against him, and he fell into the hands of the Normans.‡ But defeat was more profitable to the papacy than victory could have been. The victors—some, probably from rude awe, and others from artful policy—fell at the captive's feet; they wept, they cast dust on their heads, they poured forth expressions of penitence, with entreaties for his forgiveness and blessing.§ An accommodation was concluded, by which Leo granted them the conquests which they had already made, with all that they could acquire in Calabria and Sicily, to be held under the holy see. Thus the Normans, who had hitherto been regarded as a horde of freebooters, obtained the appearance of a legal, and even a sanctified, title to their possessions; while the pope, in bestowing on them territories to which the Roman see had never had any right (except such as might be derived from Constantine's fabulous donation*), led the way to the establishment of an alliance which was of vast importance to his successors, and of a claim to suzerainty over the kingdom of Naples which has lasted down to our own times.¶

Leo was carried to Benevento, where he was detained in a sort of honourable captivity. His hours were spent in June, 1053—
mournful thoughts of the past and of the future. He March 12, 1054.
engaged in the strictest practices of asceticism and devotion; he performed mass daily for the souls of the soldiers who had fallen on his side, and at length was comforted by a vision

* Guil. Appul. ii. 95-108.

† Ib. 137, seqq.

‡ The accounts of this vary in some respects. See Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Malaterra, i. 14, ap. Muratori, v.; Chronique de Rob. Viscart, i. 11 (published with Amatus by Champollion-Figeac); Gibbon, v. 333; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 179; Höfler, ii. 175; Jaffé, 377. Benno

says that Hildebrand, in league with Benedict IX., betrayed Leo to the enemy (ap. Goldast. 14).

* Milman, ii. 461.

† Guil. Appul. ii. 261; Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 470.

* Murat. Ann. VI. i. 245.

* Giannone, ii. 203-6; Sismondi, R. I. i. 179.

which assured him that, as having been slain for the Lord, they were partakers in the glory of martyrs.^b At the end of nine months, feeling himself seriously ill, he obtained leave to return to Rome. He caused his couch to be spread in St. Peter's, and his tomb to be placed near it. To the clergy, who were assembled around him, he addressed earnest exhortations to be watchful in their duty, and to exert themselves against simony; he commended his flock to Christ, and prayed that, if he had been too severe in dealing the censures of the church on any, the Saviour would of His mercy absolve them. Then, looking at his tomb, he said with tears, "Behold, brethren, how worthless and fleeting is human glory. I have seen the cell in which I dwelt as a monk changed into spacious palaces; now I must again return to the narrow bounds of this tomb." Next morning he died before the

April 19, altar of St. Peter.^c Tales of visions and miracles were
1054.

circulated in attestation of his sanctity, and the doubts which some expressed on account of the part which he had taken in war were overpowered by the general veneration for his memory.^d

During the last days of Leo IX., important communications were in progress between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. From the time of Photius these churches had regarded each other with coolness, and their intercourse had been scanty. But the eastern emperors were induced by political interest to conciliate the pope, whose hostility might have endangered the remains of their Italian dominion; and about the year 1024 a proposal was made to John XVIII., on the part of Basil II. and of the Byzantine patriarch, that the title of *Universal* should be allowed alike to the patriarch and to the bishop of Rome.^e The gifts with which the bearers of this proposal were charged made an impression on the notorious cupidity of the Romans, and the pope was on the point of

^b Wibert, ii. 11-12; Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 470; Anon. Haserensis, ib. vii. 265.

^c De Obitu S. Leonis, Mabill. ix. 78-80.

^d Ibid.; Victor. III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 854); Bonizo, ap. Oefel. 804.

^e According to Radulf the Bald, the proposal was that the patriarch should be styled *Universal* within his own sphere, and the pope throughout the whole church (iv. 1). But this writer's language appears to be tinged by his prejudices as a Latin; and such a

proposal would have been inconsistent with the pretensions of the Greeks of that age, who had come to think that the primacy of the church was transferred to Constantinople, together with the seat of empire, and that this arrangement was confirmed by the council of Chalcedon (Anna Comnena, i. 13; Nilus Doxopatrius, ap. Le Moine, *Varia Sacra*, i. 243). I have, therefore, preferred the representation given by Hugh of Flavigny, "ut sua ecclesia, sicut et Romana, universalis diceretur." Pertz, viii. 392.

yielding.^f But the rumour of the affair produced a great excitement in Italy and France. William, abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, an influential ecclesiastic of Italian birth,^g addressed a very strong remonstrance to the pope. Although, he said, the ancient temporal monarchy of Rome is now broken up into many governments, the spiritual privilege conferred on St. Peter is inalienable; and, after some severe language, he ends by exhorting John to be more careful of his own duties in the government and discipline of the church. The pope yielded to the general feeling, and the negotiation came to nothing.^h

In 1053, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo, archbishop of Achrida and metropolitan of Bulgaria—alarmed perhaps at the progress of the Norman arms, which seemed likely to transfer southern Italy from the Greek to the Latin churchⁱ—addressed a letter to the bishop of Trani in Apulia, warning him against the errors of the Latins.^k The point of difference on which they most insisted was the nature of the eucharistic bread. It would appear that although our Lord, at the institution of the sacrament, used unleavened bread, as being the only kind which the Mosaic law allowed at the paschal season, the apostles and the early church made use of common bread. Such had continued to be the custom of the Greek church, nor had any difference in this respect been mentioned among the mutual accusations of Photius and his western opponents. But, whether before or after the days of Photius, the use of unleavened bread had become established in the west,^m and Michael inveighed against it, as figurative of Judaism and unfit to represent the Saviour's death. The Greek word by which bread is spoken of in the Gospels (*ἄζυρος*) signifies, he said, something *raised*; it ought to have salt, for it is written, "Ye are the salt of the earth;" it ought to have leaven, for the kingdom of heaven is in the parable likened to leaven, which a woman—the church—hid in three measures of meal, a symbol of the Divine Trinity! The other charges advanced against the western church were the practice of fasting on the Saturdays of Lent, the eating of things strangled

^f Baronius remarks that, as he had bought the pontificate, so he was ready to sell himself (1024. 4).

^g See Radulph. Glab. iii. 5; a Life of William by him in Mabillon, viii.; and Hist. Litt. vii. 318, 392.

^h Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Hugo Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 392.

ⁱ Gibbon, vi. 5.

^k It exists only in the Latin translation. Baron. 1053. 23-31; or Patrol. cxliii. 793.

^m See p. 227; Mabillon de Azymo, &c., in Patrol. cxliii.; Schröckh, xxiv. 234; Giesel. II. i. 384.

and of blood, and the singing of the great Hallelujah at Easter only. The patriarch and his associate concluded by requesting that the bishop of Trani would circulate the letter among the western bishops and clergy.

Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Sylva Candida, one of the most zealous among the Roman clergy, who happened to be at Trani when this letter arrived, translated it, and communicated it to Leo;ⁿ who was also soon after informed that Cerularius had closed the Latin churches and had seized on the Latin monasteries at Constantinople. On this the pope addressed from Benevento a letter of remonstrance to the patriarch.^o He enlarges on the prerogatives conveyed by St. Peter to the Roman see;^p he cites the donation of Constantine, almost in its entire length.^q St. Paul, he says, had cast no imputation on the faith of the Romans, whereas in his epistles to Greeks he had blamed them for errors in faith as well as in practice. It was from the Greeks that heresies had arisen; some of the patriarch's own predecessors had been not only patrons of heresy but heresiarchs; but by virtue of the Saviour's own promise the faith of St. Peter cannot fail.^r He blames Michael for having shut up the Latin churches of his city, whereas at Rome the Greeks were allowed the free exercise of their national rites.^s

After some further communications, Leo in January 1054 despatched three legates to Constantinople—Humbert, Frederick of Lorraine, chancellor of the Roman church, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, with a letter entreating the emperor Constantine Monomachus to join in an alliance against the Normans,^t and one to Cerularius, in reply to a letter which the patriarch had addressed to Leo. The tone of this answer is moderate, but the pope defends the Latin usages which had been attacked; he adverts to a report that the patriarch had been irregularly raised to his dignity; he censures him for attempting to subjugate the ancient thrones of Alexandria and Antioch; and he expresses disapprobation of the title "Universal."^u It had, he said, been decreed to the bishops of Rome by the council of Chalcedon; but as St. Peter did not bear it, so his successors, to whom, if to any man, it would have been suitable, had never assumed it.^v

On arriving at Constantinople, the legates were received with

ⁿ Wibert, ii. 9.

^o Ep. 1, Hard. vi. 927-948.

^p C. 4.

^q Cc. 13, 14.

^r Cc. 8-10, 21, 31-32.

^s C. 29.

^t Ep. vii.

^u Ep. vii.

interest, and had been annoyed at the indiscretion of his patriarch. Humbert put forth a dialogue between a champion of the Byzantine and one of the Roman church, in which the Greek retails the topics of the letter to the bishop of Trani, while the Latin refutes him point by point, and retorts by some charges against the Greeks.* To this a Studite monk, Nicetas Pectoratus, replied by a temperately written tract, which, in addition to points already raised, discussed the enforced celibacy of the western clergy.⁷ Humbert rejoined in a style of violent and insolent abuse,⁸ and ended by anathematising Nicetas with all his partisans. But he did not leave the victory to be decided by the pen; the emperor, in company with him and the other envoys, went to the monastery of Studium, where Nicetas was compelled to anathematise his own book, together with all who should deny the prerogatives or impugn the faith of Rome. At the request of the legates, Constantine ordered the book to be burnt; and next day the unfortunate author, of his own accord (as we are asked to believe), waited on the legates, retracted his errors, and repeated his anathema against all that had been said, done, or attempted against the Roman church. Humbert's answers to the patriarch and to Nicetas were translated into Greek by the emperor's order.⁹

Michael, however, continued to keep aloof from the Roman envoys, declaring that he could not settle such questions without the other patriarchs. The legates, at length, finding that they could make no impression on him, entered the church of St. Sophia, and laid on the altar, which had been prepared for the celebration of the eucharist, a document in which, after acknowledging the orthodoxy of the people of Constantinople in general, they charge the patriarch and his party with likeness to the most infamous heresies, and solemnly anathematise them with all heretics, "yea, with the devil and his angels, unless they repent."^b Having left the church, they shook off the dust from their feet, exclaiming "Let God see and judge;" and, after charging the Latins of Constantinople to avoid the communion of such as should "deny the Latin sacrifice," they set out on their return, with rich presents from the emperor.^c

* 'Adversus Græcorum Calumnias.'
Bibl. Patr. xviii. 391.

⁷ 'De Azymo, de Sabbato, et de
Nuptiis Sacerdotum.' Ib. 405-9.

⁸ Ib. 409-415.

⁹ 'Commemoratio Brevis.' Hard. vi.
967-8.

^b Ib. 969.

^c Ib. 968.

professed a wish to confer with them. But it is said that the patriarch intended to excite the multitude against them, and probably to bring about some fatal result, by reading in the cathedral a falsified version of the excommunication.^d Of this the legates were warned by the emperor, who refused to allow any conference except in his own presence; and, as Michael would not assent, they again departed homewards. The further proceedings between the emperor and the patriarch are variously related by the Greeks and by the Latins. The points of controversy were discussed for some time between Michael, Dominic patriarch of Grado, on the Latin side, and Peter patriarch of Antioch, who attempted to act as a mediator.^e A.D. 1057 A legation was also sent to Constantinople
-1058. by Stephen IX. (who had been one of Leo's legates); but it returned on hearing of his death, and the breach between the churches has never been healed.^f Cerularius himself was deposed by the emperor Isaac Comnenus, in 1059, and ended his days in exile.^g

On the death of Leo, which took place soon after the departure of his legates for the east, the clergy and people of Rome were desirous to bestow the see on Hildebrand, to whose care the dying pope had solemnly committed his church.^h But Hildebrand was not yet ready to undertake the administration in his own name, and was unwilling to forego the advantage of the emperor's support. He therefore persuaded the Romans to entrust him with a mission for the purpose of requesting that, as no one among themselves was worthy, Henry would appoint a pope acceptable to them; and he suggested Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt, the same Nov. 1054. by whom the emperor had been induced to withdraw his troops from Leo's expedition against the Normans. The policy of this choice would seem to have been profound; for,

^d This is Humbert's statement, Hard. vi. 968. See Schröckh, xxiv. 225.

^e These letters may be found in vol. ii. of Cotelierius, 'Monumenta Eccl. Græcæ,' pp. 108, seqq. See too Leo to Peter of Antioch, in Hard. vi. 952. Among other things, Peter discusses the title of patriarch, which he is willing to allow, in some sense, to the bishop of Grado. But, he says, as there are five senses, so there are properly but five patriarchs, and among these the title of patriarch is especially given to the bishop of Antioch alone—those

of Rome and Alexandria being styled pope; those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, *archbishop* (pp. 113-6). In defending the Latins against the charge of eating unclean things, the venerable man gives an interesting hint as to his own tastes—*οἶον δὲ ὕψον ἡδὺ, τιμωτάτε δέσποτα, βύγχος χοίρειον καὶ ἄτα καὶ ἄκρα ποδῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φακῇ καὶ κύαμος ἐν στέατι χοίρειον ἐψόμενα, κ. τ. λ.* p. 152.

^f Schröckh, xxiv. 231-4.

^g Pagi, xvii. 145.

^h Bonizo, 804.

whereas Gebhard, as an imperial counsellor, was likely to use his powerful influence against the papacy, he could hardly fail, as pope, to be guided by the interests of his see. Henry, unwilling to lose him, suggested other names; but Hildebrand persisted, and the emperor felt himself unable to oppose the choice of a prelate who had long held the highest place in his own esteem. Gebhard himself made earnest attempts to escape the dignity which was thrust upon him, and is said to have shown his resentment of Hildebrand's share in his promotion by a general dislike of monks during the remainder of his life.¹ But he justified the expectation that his policy would change with his position. As a condition of accepting the papacy, he required of the emperor a promise to restore all the rights of St. Peter; and we are told that, whenever he found himself crossed in any of his undertakings, he regarded it as a just punishment for his undutiful opposition to Leo.²

In April 1055 the new pope arrived at Rome, where Hildebrand took care that, like his predecessor, he should be formally elected by the clergy and people; and he assumed the name of Victor II.³ In principle his papacy was a continuation of the last. The system of reforming synods was kept up, but, instead of being conducted by the pope in person, they were left to his legates. At one of these synods, which was held in Gaul by Hildebrand, a remarkable incident is said to have taken place. An archbishop who was charged with simony had bribed the witnesses to silence, and boldly demanded "Where are my accusers?" The legate asked him whether he believed the Holy Ghost to be of the same substance with the Father and the Son, and, on his answering that he believed so, desired him to say the doxology. On coming to the name of that Divine Person in whose gifts he had trafficked, the archbishop was unable to proceed. After repeated attempts, he fell down before Hildebrand, acknowledging his guilt, and forthwith he recovered the power of pronouncing the whole form. Such a scene would perhaps be now explained by the ascendancy of a powerful will, combined with the assumption of a prophetic manner, over a weaker mind disturbed by the consciousness of guilt. But it was then held to be a miracle, and the terror of it led many other bishops and abbots to confess their simony and to resign their dignities.⁴

¹ Chron. Casin. ii. 86.

³ Bonizo, 804.

² Ib.; Bonizo, 804; Anon. Haserens. 34 (Pertz, vii.).

⁴ There is much variation in the accounts as to the place, the person of the

In 1056, Victor was invited by the emperor to Germany,^o where he was received with great honour. But soon after his arrival, an illness from which Henry had been suffering became more serious; and on the 5th of October the emperor died in his fortieth year, at the hunting-seat of Bothfeld in the Harz.^p To the pope, from whom he received the last consolations of religion, he bequeathed the care of his only son, Henry, a child under six years of age;^q and, although the young prince had already been crowned as his father's colleague and successor in the German kingdom,^r the good offices of Victor were serviceable in procuring a peaceful recognition of his rights from the princes, prelates, and nobles who had been gathered around the emperor's death-bed.^s The virtual government of the empire seemed to be now vested in the same hands with the papacy. But the union was soon dissolved by the death of Victor, who, after having returned to Italy and presided over a council at Florence, expired at Acerra on the 28th of July, 1057.^t

The Romans had felt themselves delivered from restraint by the death of Henry, and now proceeded to show their feeling by not only choosing a pope for themselves, but fixing on a person who was likely to be obnoxious to the German court—Frederick, the brother of duke Godfrey of Lorraine. Godfrey, after his submission to Henry III., had gone into Italy, and had obtained the hand of the emperor's cousin Beatrice, widow of Boniface marquis of Tuscany, and mother of the Countess Matilda, who, by the death of her young brother soon after the marriage, became the greatest heiress of the age. The connexion appeared so alarming to Henry, whose rights as suzerain were involved in the disposal of Tuscany, that it led him to cross the Alps in 1055. Beatrice waited on him in order to assure him that her husband had no other wish than to live peaceably on the territory which he had acquired by marriage; but the emperor distrusted his old antagonist, and carried off both Beatrice and her daughter as hostages to Germany, where they were detained until

delinquent, and other circumstances. See Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 856); P. Damiani, Opusc. xix. c. 4; Bonizo, 806; Paul. Bernr. Vit. Greg. VII. c. 17; W. Malmesb. ii. 444; Card. Aragon. ap. Muratori, iii. 300; Hard. vi. 1040.

^o In the *Annales Romani* (Pertz, v. 470) it is said that he went to ask for aid against the "Agarenes" (Saracens).

^p Lambert, Ann. 1056. "In jecore cervi mortem comedit," Dodechin, Ann. 1156.

^q He was born March 11, 1050. Stenzel, i. 153.

^r Herin. Contr. Ann. 1053, p. 133.

^s Lambert, Ann. 1056; Schmidt, ii. 264.

^t Jaffé.

Godfrey succeeded in appeasing him by swearing on him in Francia, and solemnly promising fidelity.^a

While Godfrey thus raised himself by marriage from the condition of a discredited adventurer to a position of great power, wealth, and influence, his brother was ascending the steps of ecclesiastical promotion. Frederick, a canon of Liège, had accompanied Leo IX. to Rome, after the reconciliation of Godfrey with Henry in 1049, and had been appointed chancellor of the holy see. He was a leader in the expedition against the Normans, and was one of the legates who excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople. The rumour of the wealth which he had brought back from his eastern mission excited the suspicions of Henry; and Frederick, apprehending danger from the emperor, became a monk at Monte Cassino.^x About two years after his admission into the monastery, a vacancy occurred in the headship; when the monks, who claimed the right of electing their superior, and presenting him for the papal benediction,^y made choice of one Peter as abbot. Pope Victor, however, was inclined to question their privileges, and sent Cardinal Humbert to inquire on the spot whether any defect could be found in the election. Four monks, supposing that the cardinal came to depose their abbot, raised the neighbouring peasantry to arms; and Peter felt that their unwise zeal had fatally injured his cause. He told them that it was they who had deposed him from a dignity of which he could not otherwise have been deprived; he resigned the abbacy, and the monks, under Humbert's presidency, elected Frederick in his room.^z At the A.D. 1057. council of Florence, Frederick was confirmed in his abbacy by the pope, who also created him cardinal of St. Chrysogonus; and he was at Rome, engaged in taking possession of the cure annexed to that title, when he was informed of Victor's death.^a The Romans, dreading the interference of the neighbouring nobles, took on themselves the choice of a pope, and, in answer to their request that he would name some suitable candidates, Frederick proposed Humbert of Sylva Candida, with three other bishops, and the subdeacon Hildebrand; but the Romans insisted that he should himself be pope, and on August 2, 1057, he was hailed as Stephen IX., taking his name from the saint to whom the day was dedicated, Stephen the antagonist of St. Cyprian.^b

^a Lambert, Ann. 1053, 1055; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 220-4; Floto, i. 181.

^x Chron. Casin. ii. 86; Lambert, Ann. 1054.

^y See Bened. IX. Ep. 4 (Patrol. cxli.).

^z Chron. Casin. ii. 91-2.

^a Ib. 93-4.

^b Ib. 94; Höfer, ii. 270.

school. His behaviour at Constantinople is significant of his character, and the acts of his short pontificate were consistent with it. Synods were held which passed fresh canons against the marriage of the clergy. Hildebrand's influence continued unabated ; it was probably by Stephen that he was ordained deacon, and was appointed archdeacon of Rome.^c And by Hildebrand's recommendation^d Peter Damiani was raised to the bishoprick of Ostia, the second dignity in the Roman church—his distaste for such preferment having been overpowered by a threat of excommunication in case of his refusal.^e

In addition to the interests of his see, it is supposed that Stephen was intent on advancing those of his own family—that he meditated the expulsion of the Normans from Italy, and the elevation of Godfrey to the imperial dignity. He had retained the abbacy of Monte Cassino, and, with a view to the prosecution of his designs, he ordered that all the treasures of the monastery should be sent to Rome. But when they were displayed before him, and he saw the grief of the provost and other monks who had executed his order, a feeling of compunction seized him ; and the provost, observing his emotion, told him that a novice, who knew nothing of the intended transfer, had seen a vision of St. Scholastica weeping over the loss of the precious spoil, while her brother St. Benedict endeavoured to comfort her. The pope burst into tears, and ordered that the treasures should be restored.^f

Within a few months after his election, Stephen felt that his health was failing, and resolved to provide for the future disposal of his offices. At Monte Cassino, where he spent the Christmas season, he procured the election of Desiderius as his successor in the abbacy ;^g and on his return to Rome he exacted an oath that no pope should be chosen without the advice of Hildebrand, who was then engaged in a mission to Germany, probably with a view of conciliating the empress-mother, to whom Stephen must have felt that neither he himself nor the manner of his election could be acceptable.^h From Rome the pope proceeded to Florence, the capital of his brother's dominions ; and there he died in the arms of Gualbert of Vallombrosa, on the 29th of March, 1058.ⁱ

^c So Bonizo says (804); Paul of Bernried refers the preferment to Leo IX. (15); others, to Nicolas II. See Bowden, i. 188.

^d P. Dam. Ep. ii. 8.

^e Vita P. Dam. 14.

^f Chron. Casin. ii. 97.

^g Ib. 94-6.

^h Ib. 98 ; P. Dam. Ep. iii. 4 ; Voigt, 39.

ⁱ Höfler, ii. 285. The Annales Ro-

Immediately on receiving the tidings of Stephen's death, the nobles of the Campagna, headed by Count Gregory of Tusculum, rushed into Rome, seized on St. Peter's by April 5, 1058. night, plundered the church, and set up as pope John bishop of Velletri, a member of the Crescentian family, under the name of Benedict X.^k That John's part in this affair was forced on him, appears even from a letter of Peter Damiani, who speaks of him as so stupid, ignorant, and slothful, that he could not be supposed to have planned his own elevation.^m But his reluctance may be more creditably explained. His moral character is unassailed; he was one of the five ecclesiastics whom Stephen IX., before his own promotion, had named to the Romans, as worthy of the papacy;ⁿ and the charges of ignorance and dullness which are brought against him by the almost blind enmity of Damiani may be the less regarded, since the pope of Peter's own party is described by Berengar of Tours as grossly illiterate.^o

The chiefs of the Roman clergy refused to share in the election of Benedict. Damiani would not perform the ceremonies of installation, which belonged to his office as bishop of Ostia; and the pope was installed by a priest of that diocese, who was compelled by force to officiate, and whom Peter describes as so ignorant that he could hardly read.^p The cardinals withdrew from the city, threatening to anathematise the intruder, and envoys were sent by a party at Rome to the empress-mother Agnes, with a request that she would nominate a pope.^q Hildebrand, in returning from Germany, met these envoys, and suggested to them the name of Gerard, bishop of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, who at their desire was nominated by the empress, while Hildebrand, in order that this nomination might not interfere with the claims which were now advanced in behalf of the Roman church, contrived that he should almost at the same time be elected by the cardinals at Sienna.^r The pope, who took the name of Nicolas II., advanced towards Rome under the escort of Godfrey of Tuscany, whose interest had doubtless been consulted in choosing the bishop of his capital as the successor of his brother in the papacy. At Sutri

mani (Pertz, v. 470) improbably state that he went to Florence in order to complain to Godfrey against the Romans, who had seized his Byzantine treasures.

^k Chron. Casin. ii. 99.

^m Ep. iii. 4 (which Cajetan wrongly refers to the next antipope, Cadalous).

Comp. Chron. Casin. ii. 99; Annal. Rom. 470.

ⁿ Annal. Rom. 470.

^o See below, Ch. III.

^p Ep. iii. 4.

^q Lambert, Ann. 1059.

^r Paul. Bernried. Vita Gregor. 21; Höfler, i. 292.

Nicolas held a council, which condemned and excommunicated Benedict as an intruder. The antipope fled from Rome, Jan. 1059.

but, after the arrival of Nicolas in the city, he returned, and submitted to him, saying that he had acted under compulsion; whereupon he was readmitted to communion, although degraded from the episcopate and the priesthood.*

Immediately on gaining possession of the papacy, Nicolas found his attention drawn to the affairs of Milan. The Milanese church had long held a very lofty position, and it had gained in reputation by the contrast which it presented to the degraded state of the papacy. The archbishop was a great secular prince, and in the absence of the emperor was the most important person in northern Italy. Heribert had long ruled the church with great vigour; he had maintained his title to the archbishoprick in defiance of Conrad II. and Benedict IX., and had held it in peace after the accession of Henry III., until 1045, when he died, leaving among his flock the reputation of a saint.¹ The clergy of Milan bore a high character in all that related to the administration of their office; there was a proverb—"Milan for clerks, Pavia for pleasures, Rome for buildings, Ravenna for churches."² Their learning was beyond the average of the time; their discipline was strict, their demeanour regular, their services were performed with exemplary decency; they were sedulous in their labours for the education of the young, and in the general discharge of their pastoral duties.³ The Milanese church differed from the Roman in allowing the marriage of the clergy under certain conditions. St. Ambrose, the great glory of Milan, and the author of its peculiar liturgy, was believed to have sanctioned the single marriage of a priest with a virgin bride;⁴ and this had become so much the rule that an unmarried clergyman was even regarded with suspicion.⁵ The same practice was generally observed throughout Lombardy, and the effect of the liberty thus allowed was seen in the superior

* Bonizo, p. 806; Chron. Casin. iii. 12; Voigt, 42.

¹ Landulf. senior, Hist. Mediol. ii. 32-3 (Pertz, viii.); Milman, ii. 480-6; Luden, viii. 330.

² Landulf, iii. 1.

³ Landulf, ii. 35-6.

⁴ See the speech of a deacon Ambrose (styled Biffus or Biffarius, because he was master of Greek as well as Latin),

⁵ Landulf, iii. 24. The passages cited

from St. Ambrose in proof of this were unquestioned at the time; but the text is now different (e. g. 'De Officiis Ministrorum,' i. 247). Puricelli, in a dissertation on the subject (ap. Muratori, iv. 121, seqq.), defends the present reading; Dean Milman prefers the older (ii. 486). Theiner (i. 145; ii. 120) is against the idea of St. Ambrose's having sanctioned marriage.

⁶ Landulf, ii. 35.

character of the clergy, which struck even those witnesses who were least able or least willing to connect the effect with its cause. Thus Peter Damiani acknowledged that he had never seen a box of clergy equal to the Milanese,^b and he also bestows a very high commendation on those of Turin, where marriage was sanctioned by the bishop, Cunibert.^c

On the death of Heribert, who had himself been married, the see of Milan was bestowed by Henry III. on Guy of Velate, clerk of humble birth, to the exclusion of four eminent ecclesiastics whom the Milanese had sent to him for his choice.^d The new archbishop appears to have been a man of mean and feeble character; he is described as deficient in learning,^e and he was charged with the practice of habitual simony—a charge which probably meant nothing worse than the exaction of fees from the clergy.^f

The first movement against the marriage of the Milanese clergy was made by Anselm of Baggio, a priest who had been proposed as successor to Heribert in the archbishopric.^g On Guy's application to Henry III., Anselm was removed from the scene by promotion to the see of Lucca; but the work which he had begun was soon taken up by others. One of these, Arialdo was a deacon, who is said to have been convicted of some gross offence before the archbishop.^h He held a cure in his native village, near Como, where he began to denounce the iniquities of clerical marriage, but met with little encouragement from his parishioners, who told him that it was not for ignorant people like themselves to refute him; that he would do better to transfer his preaching to Milan, where he might meet with persons capable of arguing with him.ⁱ Arialdo went accordingly to the city, where his admonitions were unheeded by the clergy, to whom he first addressed himself, but he gained an important ally in Landulf, a man of noble family, and of a great talent^{A.D. 1056.} for popular oratory,^k who appears to have been in one of the

^a Giesel. II. i. 323-4.

^b Arnulf. Hist. Mediol. iii. 14 (Pertz, viii.).

^c Opusc. xviii. 'Contra Clericos intemperantes.'

^d Murat. Ann. VI. i. 179.

^e Landulf, iii. 2; Arnulf, iii. 3.

^f Theiner, ii. 55. Bonizo says that Guy was "illiteratus et concubinator et absque ulla verecundia simoniacus" (805). Peter Damiani, in the account

of his legation to Milan, speaks of it as a settled custom of the church there that every person ordained to any ministry, from the archbishop downwards "præfixum prius absque ulla controversia canonem daret." C. 33.

^g Höfler, ii. 277.

^h "De quodam scelere nefandissimo." Landulf, iii. 5.

ⁱ Syrus, ap. Pertz, viii. 78.

^k Land. iii. 10.

archbishoprick.^m Anselm, on revisiting Milan, was provoked by the admiration which the clergy of his train expressed for the eloquence of the Milanese; he saw in Ariald and Landulf fit instruments for carrying on the movement which he could himself no longer direct; and he bound them by oath to wage an implacable warfare against the marriage of the clergy.^o

The two began publicly to inveigh with great bitterness against the clergy, and their exaggerated representations were received with the greedy credulity which usually waits on the denunciation of abuses. The populace, invited by means of tickets or handbills which were distributed, of little bells which were rung about the streets, and of active female tongues, flocked to the places where the oratory of Landulf and his companion was to be heard; and the reformers continually grew bolder and more unmeasured in their language. They told the people that their pastors were Simoniacs and Nicolaitans,^q blind leaders of the blind; their sacrifices were dog's dung; their churches, stalls for cattle; their ministry ought to be rejected, their property might be seized and plundered.^r Such teaching was not without its effect; the mob attacked the clergy in the streets, loaded them with abuse, beat them, drove them from their altars, exacted from them a written promise to forsake their wives, and pillaged their houses. The clergy were supported by the nobles, and Milan was held in constant disquiet by its hostile factions, while the emissaries of Ariald communicated the excitement to the surrounding country.^s The followers of Ariald and Landulf were known by the name of *Patarines*—a word of disputed etymology and meaning,^t which

^m Land. iii. 5. Bonizo (805) styles him a deacon; others suppose him a layman. See Pertz, viii. 19; Höfler, ii. 276; Patrol. cxliii. 1443. Landulf and his brothers are said to have been the offspring of an unlawful marriage. Land. iii. 14.

ⁿ "Certe," he answered, "nisi feminas haberent omnes hujus urbis sacerdotes et levites, in prædicatione et in aliis bonis operibus satis congrue valerent."

^o Land. iii. 5.

^p Ib. 9.

^q Humbert is the first who uses this term for the married clergy (Cont. Nicetani, c. 25; Giesel. II. i. 328). The "Nicolaitan heresy" was held to consist in justifying clerical marriage. "Vitium quippe in hæresin vertitur,"

says Damiani, "cum perversi dogmatis assertionem firmatur" (iii. 32). Sismondi, overlooking the Scriptural allusion (Revel. ii. 15), supposes the term to have been derived from the name of Nicolas II., "peut-être par antiphrase!" iv. 307.

^r Arnulf, iii. 11.

^s Arnulf, iii. 12; Andreas, Vita S. Arialdi, 28 (Patrol. cxliii.); Land. iii. 10-11; Voigt, 51-2.

^t The disputes appear to have arisen from a passage of Arnulf (iv. 11)—"Unde Patarinum processit primo vocabulum, non quidem industria sed casu prolatum. Cujus idioma nominis, dum in quodam etymologio nuper plura revolverem, ita scriptum reperio—*Pathus* Græce, Latine dicitur *perturbatio*."

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them. Loud cries were uttered against an aggression; the Roman pontiff, it was said, had no right to force his laws or his jurisdiction on the church of St. Ambrose. Bells pealed from every tower, handbells were rung about the streets, and the clangour of a huge brazen trumpet summoned the people to stand up for their threatened privileges. The legates found themselves besieged in the archbishop's palace by angry crowds; they were told that their lives were in jeopardy; and the popular feeling was excited to frenzy when, on the opening of the synod, Peter Damiani was seen as president, with his brother legate on his right hand, while the successor of St. Ambrose was on the left.^a Guy—whether out of real humility, or with the design of inflaming yet further the indignation of his flock^a—professed himself willing to sit on a stool at the feet of the legates, if required. A terrible uproar ensued, but Peter's courage and eloquence turned the day. Rushing into the pulpit, he addressed the raging multitude, and was able to obtain a hearing. It was not, he said, for the honour of Rome, but for their own good, that he had come among them. He dwelt on the superiority of the Roman church. It was founded by God, whereas all other churches were of human foundation; the church of Milan was a daughter of the Roman, founded by disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Ambrose himself had acknowledged the church of Rome as his mother, had professed to follow it in all things, and had called in pope Siricius to aid him in ejecting that very heresy of the Nicolaitans which was now again rampant. "Search your writings," exclaimed the cardinal, "and, if you cannot there find what we say, tax us with falsehood."^b Since Damiani himself reports his speech, it is to be supposed that he believed these bold assertions; at all events, the confidence and the fluency with which he uttered them, the authority of his position, and his high personal reputation, prevailed with the Milanese. The archbishop and a great body of the clergy forswore simony, bound themselves by oath to labour for the extirpation of it, and on their knees received the sentence of penance for their past offences.^c The result of the legation was not only the condemnation of the practices which had been complained of, but the subjection of the Milanese church to that of Rome.^d

^a P. Dam. *Actus Mediolanenses*, cc. 31-2 (t. iii.); Vita, 16.

bishop.

^b Ib. 32.

^c Ib. 33-5.

^a "Dicant id non simplici factam intentione qui volunt," &c. P. Dam. 32; but he himself acquits the arch-

^d Arnulf hereupon breaks out—"O insensati Mediolanenses, quis vos fasciavit?" iii. 15.

In April 1059 Nicolas held a council in Rome, which was attended by a hundred and thirteen prelates,* among whom was Guy of Milan. The archbishop was treated with studious respect; he was seated at the pope's right hand, and, on his promising obedience to the apostolic see, Nicolas bestowed on him the ring, which the archbishops of Milan had usually received from the kings of Italy. Ariald stood up to accuse him, but was reduced to silence by Cunibert of Turin, and other Lombard bishops.^f It was enacted that no married or concubinary priest should celebrate mass, and that the laity should not attend the mass of such a priest;^g that the clergy should embrace the canonical life;^h that no clerk should take preferment from a layman, whether for money or gratuitously;ⁱ that no layman should judge a clerk, of whatever order.^k The council also discussed the case of Berengar, a French ecclesiastic, who was accused of heresy as to the doctrine of the eucharist.^m But its most important work was the establishment of a new procedure for the election of a pope.

The ancient manner of appointing bishops, by the choice of the clergy and people, had been retained at Rome, subject to the imperial control; but the result had not been satisfactory. The nobles and the people were able to overpower the voice of the clergy; to them were to be traced the ignominies and the distractions which had so long prevailed in the Roman church—the disputed elections, the schisms between rival popes, the promotion of scandalously unfit men to the highest office in the hierarchy. It was therefore an object of the reforming party to destroy the aristocratic and popular influence which had produced such evils. Independence of the imperial control, which had of late become an absolute power of nomination, was also desired; but the imperial interest was ably represented in the council by Guibert, the chancellor of Italy, and the Hildebrandine party were for the present obliged to be content with a compromise.ⁿ It was enacted that the cardinal bishops should first treat of the election; that they should then call in the cardinals of inferior rank, and that afterwards the rest of the clergy and the people should give their assent to the choice. The election was to be made “saving the due honour and reverence of our beloved son Henry, who at present is accounted king, and

* Hard. vi. 1061, seqq.

^f Arnulf, iii. 15.

^g Can. 3.

^h C. 4.

^k C. 10.

^m See below, Ch. III.

ⁿ Planck, iv. 72-5; Giescl. II. i. 238;

Stenzel, i. 200; Bowden, i. 199.

ⁱ C. 6.

already granted to him; and of his successors who shall personally have obtained this privilege from the apostolic see.^o

By this enactment the choice of pope was substantially vested in the cardinals. The term *cardinal* had for many ages been used in the Western Church to signify one who had full and permanent possession of a benefice, as distinguished from deputies, assistants, temporary holders, or persons limited in the exercise of any rights belonging to the incumbency.^p But at Rome it had latterly come to bear a new meaning. The cardinal bishops were the seven bishops of the pope's immediate province, who assisted him in his public functions—the bishop of Ostia being the chief among them;^q the cardinal priests were the incumbents of the twenty-eight “cardinal titles” or chief parish churches in the city.^r By the constitution of Nicolas, the initiative in the election was given to the cardinal bishops. The other cardinals, however, were to be afterwards consulted, and a degree of influence was allowed to them; while the part of the remaining clergy and of the laity was reduced to a mere acceptance of the person whom the cardinals should nominate.^s The imperial prerogative is spoken of in words of intentional vagueness, which, without openly contesting it, reserve

^o Hard. vi. 1065-6; Pertz, *Leges*, ii. App. 176. On the variation of copies, see Schmidt, ii. 470; Schröckh, xxi. 364-6; Giesel. II. i. 236-8; Luden, viii. 264; Hefele, iv. 757.

^p The Donatist Petilian, at the conference of Carthage in 411 (see vol. i. p. 405), by way of contrast with the catholic bishops, whom he styles “imagines,” describes a bishop of his own sect as “*cardinalis atque authenticus*” (*Collat. Carthag.* 165, *Patrol.* xi.). Gelasius I. (A.D. 492-6) uses “*cardinalis pontifex*” in the sense of an *ordinary* bishop, as distinguished from a *visitor* (ap. Gratian. *Decr.* I. xxiv. 3, ib. clxxxviii.). See, on the use of the term, Ducange, s. v. *Cardinalis*; *Patrol.* cxix. 729; Thomassin, I. ii. 115. 1; Schröckh, xxi. 366-7; Augusti, xi. 152-6; Giesel. II. i. 235.

^q In the tenth century they had been styled *Roman* bishops (Thomass. I. ii. 116. 6). For the history of the Cardinalate, see Ciacon. i. 113-120; Onuphr. Panvinius (the biographer of the popes) in *Spicileg. Roman.* ix. 469, seqq. (Rom. 1843); Planck, IV. i. 76.

^r Ducange, s. v. *Cardinalis*, p. 175;

Schröckh, xxi. 367-9. Anacletus I. is represented in the False Decretals as saying that the Roman see is “*cardo et caput*” (*Patrol.* cxxx. 78); and Leo IX. says that the cardinals were so styled because “*cardini illi, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adhaerentes*” (Ep. i. ad Mich. Cerular. c. 32; Hard. vi. 914). The title, however, was not confined to the clergy at Rome. Thus, there were cardinals at Cologne. *Patrol.* cxliii. 697.

^s Although the term *cardinal* was applied to Roman deacons (Ansegis. *Capitul.* i. 133, *Patrol.* xvii.; Ducange, s. voc., p. 175), there were as yet no members of the electoral college below the order of priest; but afterwards, on the complaint of the deacons and lower clergy, that they were excluded, some deacons were added to the body. The steps are uncertain; but it is supposed that the college of cardinals was thus arranged by Alexander III. (See Mosheim, ii. 331-4.) The whole number was fifty-three, until Sixtus V., in 1586, fixed it at seventy. (Walter, 290-1.) See lists of the churches from which the cardinals took their *titles* at various times, in Ciacon. i. 117-120.

to the pope the power of limiting or practically a circumstances might allow; and, whatever might is represented not as inherent in the office of ex grant from the pope, bestowed on Henry out of sp to be personally sought by his successors.¹ The tin on this important innovation was well chosen; f emperor, and the prince for whom the empire was child under female guardianship, the sovereign o distracted kingdom.²

In the same year Nicolas proceeded into Sou held a council at Melfi, with a view to extirpatin Greek usages and habits which prevailed amon clergy of that region—especially the liberty of m more important object of his expedition was the s relations with the Normans, whose most consider now Robert, styled Guiscard—*the Wise*, or rather one of the twelve sons of Tancred, a banneret Hauteville in Normandy. Three of Tancred's s marriage had in 1035 joined their countrymen in been gradually followed by seven half-brothers, their father's second marriage, of whom Robert These adventurers rose to command among the south, and formed the design of expelling the G remaining territories in Italy.* The eldest and the died without issue; on the death of the third, Hun Robert set aside the rights of his nephews, the deceased, was raised aloft on a buckler, and was a Humphrey's successor. Under this chief, who w for his lofty stature, his strength and prowess, h rapacity, his profound and unscrupulous cunning carried on a course of incessant and successful aggr side. Their numbers were swelled by large bands f while the more spirited among the natives of Apul assumed their name and habits and were enrolled i

¹ Murat. Ann. VI. i. 243. Luden (viii. 666-670) tries to show that the decree as it stands would have made no change; and therefore that, as a change was made, the present form is interpolated.

² Planck, iv. 79.

³ Guil. Appul. ii. 390; Giannone, ii. 222; Theiner, ii. 51.

⁴ Gibbon, v. 336.

⁵ "Quia ci Non tantæ Cicero fult, a

⁶ Gaufrid. Malater Muratori, v.; Giannone Gibbon, v. 335.

⁷ Anna Comnena, i.

⁸ Gibbon, v. 336-7.

had been excommunicated by Nicolas for refusing to give up the city of Troia, which he had taken from the Greeks, and to which the Roman church laid claim;^c but mutual convenience now brought the warrior and the pontiff together. Instead of the schemes which his predecessors had formed for driving the Normans out of Italy, Nicolas conceived the idea of securing them to his alliance. On receiving an application from Guiscard for the withdrawal of his excommunication, he proposed that

July 1059.

a conference should take place at the intended synod of Melfi; and the conference led to the conclusion of a treaty. By this the pope bestowed on Guiscard the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and such territories in Italy or Sicily as he might in future wrest from the Greeks or the Saracens; and he conferred on him or confirmed to him the title of duke.^d At the same time Richard of Aversa, the representative of the earlier Norman immigration, received the title of Prince of Capua, a city which he had lately taken from the Lombards.^e On the other side, "Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, with the help of both, hereafter to be of Sicily," swore to hold his territories as a fief of the Roman see, and to pay an annual quit-rent. He was never to give them up to any of the ultramontanes. He was to be faithful to the holy Roman church and to his lord the pope; he was to defend him in all things, and to aid him against all men towards establishing the rights of his see. He was to maintain the pope's territories, to subject all the churches within his own dominions to Rome, and, in case of his surviving Nicolas, he was to see that the successor to the papacy should be legitimately chosen.^f For both parties this treaty was an important gain. The Normans acquired, far more than by the earlier treaty with Leo IX., an appearance of legitimacy—a religious sanction for their past and their future conquests. The pope converted them from dangerous neighbours into powerful allies, obtained from them an acknowledgment of his suzerainty,^g and especially bound them to maintain his late ordinance as to the election of future popes. In fulfilment of their new engagements, the Normans advanced towards Rome, reduced the castles of the nobility of the

^c Giannone, ii. 217-220.

^d As to the grant or assumption of this title, see Chron. Casin. iii. 15-6; Guil. Appul. ii. 401; Giannone, ii. 212, 223-7; Gibbon, v. 337; Schröckh, xxi.

373; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 181.

^e Chron. Casin. iii. 15.

^f The oaths are given by Baron. 1059. 70-1, and by Gieseler, II. i. 239.

^g See Planck, IV. i. 66-7.

Campegna, and, having thus established the pope in security, they resumed the career of conquest which had been authorised by his sanction. The acquisition of Sicily, however, which Guiscard had claimed by anticipation, was reserved for another member of his family. While the elder sons of Tancred of Hauteville were pursuing their fortunes in Italy, Roger, the youngest, had remained to watch over his father's decline, until he was released from this duty by the old man's death. He then followed his brethren to the south,¹ where he soon gave proofs of his valour and daring; but he was unkindly treated by Guiscard, and, being left to his own resources, was reduced for a time to find a subsistence by robbing travellers and stealing horses—a fact which was afterwards preserved by the historian of his exploits, at Roger's own desire.² The brave and adventurous youth gathered by degrees a band of followers, which became so strong as even to be formidable to Guiscard. The brothers were reconciled in 1060, and combined for the siege of Reggio.³ After the taking of that city Roger carried his arms into Sicily under a banner blessed by Alexander II.⁴ His force at first consisted of only sixty soldiers; its usual number was from 150 to 300 horsemen, who joined or left him at their pleasure. Roger was often reduced to great distress, as an instance of which we are told that, when shut up in the city of Traina, he and his countess had but one cloak between them, in which they appeared in public by turns.⁵ But his indomitable courage and perseverance triumphed over all difficulties. The Saracens, effeminated by their long enjoyment of Sicily, and weakened by the division of their power, were unable to withstand him, even although aided by their brethren from Africa; and after thirty years of war, Roger was master of the island. He assumed the title of Great Count, and his family became connected by marriage with the royal houses of Germany, France, and Hungary.⁶

Nicolas, like Leo IX., had offended his own countrymen by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the Italian interest. An opposition to him was formed in Germany, headed by Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, who, in conjunction with other prelates, drew up an act of excommunication and deposition against the

¹ Bonizo, 806. In the *Annales Romani* (471) is a remarkable story as to the treatment of the antipope Benedict or John of Velletri, who had sought a refuge in the castle of Galeria. See Milman, ii. 473-4. Jaffé, although doubtfully, places the siege of Galeria in

March—before the Roman council.

² Malaterra, i. 19.

³ Ib. 25.

⁴ Ib. 29.

⁵ Ib. ii. 1.

⁶ Ib. 29.

⁷ Ib. ii.; iii. 20, 23, 28; Gibbon, v. 341; Sismondi, i. 182-4.

pope. Nicolas was already ill when this document reached him; he is said to have read it with a great appearance of grief, and his death followed almost immediately, on the 27th of July, 1061.^a

Each of the Roman parties now took measures for securing the succession to the papacy. The nobles and imperialists, under the guidance of Cardinal Hugh the White, who had lately deserted the high ecclesiastical party in disgust at the superior influence of Hildebrand,^b despatched an embassy to the German court, under Gerard, count of Galeria, who had repeatedly been excommunicated by popes, and had lately incurred a renewal of the sentence for plundering the archbishop of York, with other English prelates and nobles, on their return from a visit to Rome.^c The ambassadors, who were instructed to offer the patriciate and the empire to the young king, were favourably received; while the envoys of Hildebrand and his friends waited five days without obtaining an audience of Henry or of his mother.^d Hildebrand, on learning this result, resolved to proceed to an election. By the promise of a large sum, he induced Richard prince of Capua to repair to Rome; the cardinals, under the protection of the Norman troops, chose Anselm of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II.; and,

after a bloody conflict between the imperialists and the
Oct. 1. Normans, the pope was enthroned by night in St. Peter's.^e

In this election even the vague privilege which had been reserved by Nicolas to the emperor was set aside, in reliance on the weakness of Henry's minority and on the newly-acquired support of the Normans.^f

The report of these proceedings reached Agnes at Basel, where a diet of princes and prelates was assembled, and among them some representatives of the Lombard bishops, who, under the direction of the chancellor Guibert, had resolved to accept no pope but one from "the paradise of Italy."^g The tidings of Alexander's election naturally raised great indignation. Henry was acknowledged as patrician of Rome; the late pope's decree as to the manner of papal elections was declared to be null;^h and,

^a Benzo, vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672. See Floto, i. 241; Hefele, iv. 780. Anselm the younger of Lucca says that the Germans were provoked by the pope's having reproved Hanno for his "excesses." Adv. Guibert. antipap. ii. (Patrol. cxlix. 463).

^b Stenzel, i. 204.

^c P. Dam. Discept. Synodalis, t. iii. 28; Berthold. A.D. 1061; Collier, i. 527;

Murat. VI. i. 253-4.

^d P. Dam. l. c. 27.

^e Benzo, vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi.; Stenzel, i. 205.

^f Planck, IV. i. 83; Stenzel, i. 205.

^g P. Dam. ap. Hard. vi. 1117; Bonizo, 807.

^h Thus, says Damiani, they annulled the privilege which the decree bestowed on Henry. Disc. Synod. t. iii. 27.

with the concurrence of the Roman envoys, Cadalous, or Cadolus, bishop of Parma, was elected as the successor of Nicolas.^a Oct. 28.
The imperialist pope, who took the name of Honorius

II., was, no doubt, favourable to those views on the subject of clerical marriage which distinguished the Lombard from the Hildebrandine party; but little regard is to be paid to the assertions of his violent opponents, who represent him as a man notoriously and scandalously vicious.^b

Honorius advanced towards Rome, where Benzo, bishop of Alba,^c a bold, crafty, and unscrupulous man, was employed to prepare the minds of the people for his reception. The talents of Benzo as a popular orator, his coarse and exuberant buffoonery, and the money which he was able to dispense, were not without effect on the Romans. On one occasion he had a public encounter with Alexander, whom (as he boasts) he compelled to retire amid the scoffs and curses of the mob.^d Honorius was received with honour in many cities. At Tusculum, where he established his camp, he was joined by the count of the place, and received envoys from the patriarch of Constantinople; and his troops were successful in an encounter with the small force which was all that April, 1062.
the Normans could then spare for the assistance of

Alexander.^e But the appearance of Godfrey of Tuscany, with a formidable army, induced both parties to an accommodation. Cadalous was to retire to Parma, Anselm to Lucca, and the question between them was to be decided by the imperial court, to which Godfrey, who affected the character of a mediator, undertook to represent their claims.^f Honorius relied on the favour which he already enjoyed; Alexander, on the interest of Godfrey.^g But at this very time a revolution was effected which gave a new turn to affairs.

The upright and firm administration of the empress-mother was offensive to many powerful persons, who felt it as interfering with

^a Chron. Casin. iii. 19; Berthold, A.D. 1061; Hard. vi. 1177-8.

^b Benzo (vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672) has equally gross stories against Alexander, who is cried up by the Hildebrandists.

^c Benzo had been expelled from his see of Alba, on the Tanaro, near Asti (Pertz, xi. 591). His book, 'Ad Henricum IV. Imperatorem,' is a strange medley of Rabelaisian prose and Mapeisian verse, animated by bitter religious

hatred. He makes as free with sentences of judgment as the zealot of the opposite party, Bonizo. Thus, he says of Godfrey of Tuscany—"Descendens in infernum, dominum suum Plutonem salutavit, qui eum secus Judam protinus locavit." iii. 10.

^d Benzo, i. 28; ii. 1-6.

^e Benzo, ii. 9; Bowden, i. 222.

^f Benzo, ii. 13-4.

^g Voigt, 59.

their interests; and the princes of Germany, who had been galled by the control of Henry III., especially during the last years of his reign, had conceived hopes of establishing their independence during the nonage of his son.^b Slanders were spread as to the intimacy of Agnes with Henry, bishop of Augsburg, on whom she chiefly relied for counsel, and a plot was laid to remove the young king, who was now in his twelfth year, from her guardianship. Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, a severe, proud, and ambitious prelate, undertook the execution of the scheme.^c He caused a vessel to be prepared with extraordinary richness of ornament,

and, while at table with Henry on an island of the Rhine, near the present site of Kaiserswerth,^d he described this vessel in such terms as excited in the boy a wish to see it. No sooner was Henry on board than the rowers struck up the river. The king, suspecting treachery, threw himself overboard, but was rescued from the water; his alarm was soothed, and he was landed at Cologne. The people of that city rose in great excitement, but were pacified by Hanno's assurances that he had not acted from any private motives, but for the good of the state; and, by way of proving his sincerity, the archbishop published a decree that the administration of government and justice should be vested in the archbishop of that province in which the king should for the time be resident.^e

Hanno had thus far supported the Lombard pope, but he now found it expedient to make common cause with the Hildebrandine party; indeed it is probable that his late enterprise had been known beforehand to Godfrey of Tuscany, if not to Hildebrand and the other ecclesiastical leaders.^f Peter Damiani, who had already, by letters written with his usual vehemence, urged Henry to put down the antipope,^g and Cadalous himself to retire from

^b Schmidt, ii. 205; Stenzel, i. 187.

^c Stenzel, i. 193, 214. Hanno, notwithstanding his palpable defects of character, was held in very high esteem by his contemporaries, and was afterwards canonised. See Lambert, Ann. 1075, p. 237; Godefr. S. Pantal. Colon. A.D. 1183 (in Freher, i.); and a Life in Pertz, xi. Cæsarius of Heisterbach styles him "flos et nova lux totius Germaniæ." Catal. Archiepp. Colon. in Böhmer, Fontes, ii. 274.

^d See Floto, i. 201. The island had its name from St. Suidbert (see above, p. 103), who founded a monastery on it. Beda, v. 11; Rettberg, ii. 423.

^e Lambert, Ann. 1062; Voigt, 63-4.

^f Benzo, ii. 15; Planck, IV. i. 90-1; Milman, ii. 496.

^g Ep. iii. 3. As a specimen of Peter's style, the description of Cadalous may be quoted—"Veterrimus ille draco, perturbator ecclesiæ, eversor apostolicæ disciplinæ, inimicus salutis humanæ, radix peccati, præco diaboli, apostolus antichristi, et—quid plura dicam?"—[a very natural question, which, however, the cardinal abundantly answers] "sagitta producta de pharetra Satana, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod

the contest,^p now addressed Hanno in a strain of warm congratulation—comparing the abduction of Henry to the good priest Jehoiada's act in rescuing the young Joash from Athaliah, and exhorting the archbishop to take measures for obtaining a synodical declaration against Cadalous.^q Guibert, the chief supporter of the imperial interest in Italy, was deprived of his chancellorship;^r and in October 1062, a synod was held at Osbor,^s where Peter appeared, and presented an argument for Alexander in the form of a dialogue between an "Advocate of the Royal Power" and a "Defender of the Roman Church."^t The Roman champion, as might be expected, is fortunate in his opponent. The Advocate of royalty, ill acquainted with the grounds of his cause, and wonderfully open to conviction, is driven from one position after another. His assertion that popes had always been chosen by princes is confuted by an overwhelming array of instances to the contrary.^u The donation of Constantine is triumphantly cited.^x The royalist then takes refuge in the reservation which the late pope's decree had made of the imperial prerogative; but he is told that, as the Almighty sometimes leaves His promises unfulfilled because men fail in the performance of their part, so the grant made by Nicolas to Henry need not be always observed; that the privileges allowed to the king are not invaded, if, during his childhood, the Roman church—his better and spiritual mother—exercise a guardian care like that which his natural mother exerts in the political administration of his kingdom.^y

The pamphlet was read before the synod, which acknowledged Alexander as pope, and excommunicated his rival. It was the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the anniversary of the antipope's elec-

colitur, vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, Christianitatis opprobrium, ignominia sacerdotum, genimen viparum, fœtor orbis, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis, serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, projectio paradisi, pabulum tartari, stipula ignis æterni, qui audacter provocat in bella Cœlestem, et dicit insipiens in corde suo 'Non est Deus'' (p. 111). The vagueness of all this abuse is remarkable.

^p Ep. i. 20.

^q Ib. 6.

^r Bonizo, pp. 806, 808.

^s This name is generally supposed to be an Italian corruption of *Augsburg*

(Schröckh, xxi. 538; Stenzel, i. 220; Wattenbach, n. on Chron. Casin. iii. 19, ap. Pertz, vii.; Hefele, iv. 790). Luden denies the reality of the synod (viii. 684-7). Against him, see Voigt, 76. Comp. Mansi, n. in Nat. Alex. xiii. 494.

^t Opusc. iv. t. iii. 21, seqq., or Hard. vi. 119, seqq. See Hefele, iv. 790.

^u P. 22.

^x P. 23.

^y Pp. 23-4. Hefele (iv. 787-8) shows, from this dialogue, that Nicolas did not, as some have supposed, recall the privilege allowed to the German sovereign by his decree of 1059 as to the choice of popes.

tion; and a prediction which Damiani had confidently uttered, that, if he should persist in his claims, he would die within the year,^a was proved to be ridiculously false. The prophet, however, was not a man to be readily abashed, and professed to see the fulfilment of his words in the excommunication — the spiritual death — of Cadalous.^a

Peter had by this time withdrawn from the eminent position to which Stephen IX. had promoted him. His reforming zeal had been painfully checked by the supineness of those with whom he was associated. His brother cardinals, to whom he addressed an admonitory treatise on their duties,^b continued to live as if it had never been written. His attempts to stimulate pope Nicolas to a thorough purification of the church were but imperfectly successful, although he cited Phineas as a model, and Eli as a warning.^c Moreover, in his simple monkish earnestness for a religious and moral reformation, he was unable to enter into Hildebrand's deeper and more politic schemes for the aggrandisement of the hierarchy; he felt that Hildebrand employed him as a tool, and he was dissatisfied with the part.^d He had therefore repeatedly entreated Nicolas to release him from his bishoprick, on the plea of age, and of inability to discharge his duties.^e The pope refused his consent, and Hildebrand, unwilling to lose the services of a man so useful to his party, told the cardinal that he was attempting under false pretences to escape from duty; but Peter persisted in his suit, and in the first year of Alexander's pontificate^f he was allowed to retire to his hermitage of Fonte Avellano. There he spent part of his time in simple manual works; among his verses are some which he sent to the pope with a gift of wooden spoons manufactured by himself.^g But he continued to exercise great influence by his writings; he was consulted by multitudes as an oracle;^h and from

^a "Non ego te fallo, cepto morieris in anno."
Ep. i. 20; ad Cadal.

^a P. Dam. Opusc. XVIII. ii. 8.

^b Ep. ii. 1.

^c Opusc. xvii. "De Cœlibatu Clericorum," t. iii. 165-7.

^d Stenzel, i. 280.

^e Opusc. xix. "De Abdicatione Episcopatus." ^f Pagi, xvii. 192.

^g Carm. 183-5, t. iv. p. 21.

^h See Ep. i. 15, p. 11, where he complains that, although no longer a bishop, he has still to bear the burden of the episcopal office. Among the questions proposed to him was one by Alexander — Why popes were short-lived, seldom

exceeding four or five years in the see? The answer was a tract, 'De Brevitate Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum' (Opusc. xxiii.), which was presented to Alexander as he returned from the council of Mantua. The reason is, according to Damiani, that, since the chief of men is thus short-lived, all men should be warned to prepare for death. That secular princes often live long, is because there are many of them, and the death of one is not felt beyond his own dominions. But the pope, being sole universal bishop of the church, is like the sun, whose eclipse overcasts all nations (c. 1).

time to time he left his wilderness, at the pope's ; take important legations. The empress-mother, death of bishop Henry of Augsburg, placed h direction of Damiani ; and, having been brought of her policy towards the church, she submitted t hands of Alexander, and became a nun in the E St. Petronilla.¹

Hanno and his associates had loudly censure manner in which she educated her son ; but when young king into their own hands, his education glected. No care was taken to instruct him in sovereign or of a Christian man. His talents, whic strong, and his amiable dispositions were uncult steadiness of character which was his chief defect no restraint was opposed to his will ; he was enco his time and his energies in trifling or degrading hunting, gaming, and premature indulgence of Hanno, finding that he himself was distasteful to account of the artifice by which he had obtained t king's person and because of his severe and impe called in the aid of Adalbert, bishop of Bremen. of this prelate has been very fully depicted by t northern Christianity, Adam, who, as a canon of ample opportunities of knowing him. Adalbert many splendid qualities. His person was eminently was distinguished for eloquence and for learning ; l rare exception to the character of the age, were un devotion was such that he wept at the celebration of sacrifice.ⁿ He had laboured with zeal and success ing of the Gospel among the northern nations—ext even to the Orkneys and to Iceland.^o He had cor

¹ Baron. 1062. 86, seqq. ; P. Dam. Epp. vii. 5-8 ; Opusc. lvi. ; Floto, i. 203.

^k Bruno de Bello Saxonico, ap. Pertz, v. 331-4 ; Schmidt, ii. 205, 273 ; Voigt, 65. "Infelicitur vixit," says the Saxon annalist, "quia sicut voluit vixit." Pertz, vi. 697.

^m Lambert, Ann. 1063, p. 166 ; Stenzel, i. 217.

ⁿ Adam. Brem. iii. 1 ; Lambert, Ann. 1072, p. 189.

^o See Adam, iii. 11, seqq., and the additions at the end of book iii. pp. 364-7.

His description of situated between N Ireland (Descr. Insu. clude the Hebrides. says, had been before lish and Scottish bi consecrated Turolf f of Blascona—a place do not pretend to i the Norwegian conne neys and Western 'Catalogue of Scotti pp. 130, 175 ; Grub,

desire to promote the interest of his see which first led him to frequent the imperial court. He acquired the confidence of Henry III., whom he attended into Italy in 1046; it is said that the emperor even wished to bestow the papacy on him, and that Suidger of Bamberg, who had been a deacon of the church of Hamburg,^a was preferred by Adalbert's own desire.^b The hope of erecting a northern patriarchate ended with the death of the archbishop's patrons, Henry and Leo IX., and from that time he devoted himself to political ambition.^c The faults of his character became more and more developed.^d His pride, vanity, ostentation, and prodigality were extravagantly displayed. His kindness and his anger were alike immoderate. The wealth which he had before spent on ecclesiastical buildings was now lavished on castles;^e he maintained a numerous and costly force of soldiers; and to meet the expenses of his secular grandeur he oppressed the tenants of his church and sold its precious ornaments.^f He entertained a host of parasites,—artists, players, quacksalvers, minstrels, and jugglers; one was a baptised Jew, who professed the science of alchemy; others flattered their patron with tales of visions and revelations, which promised him power, long life, and the exaltation of his church. While engaged in the society of these familiars, the archbishop would refuse an audience to persons who wished to see him on the gravest matters of business; sometimes he spent the night in playing at dice, and slept throughout the day.^g His eagerness to extend the possessions of his see, and to render it independent of lay control, involved him in many quarrels with neighbouring nobles;^h and his favourite table-talk consisted of sarcasms on these powerful enemies—the stupidity of one, the greed of another, the boorishness of a third.ⁱ At the same time he was proud of his own descent from the counts palatine of Saxony; he spoke with contempt of his predecessors in the archbishoprick as a lowborn set of men,^b and even claimed kindred, through the family of the Othos, with the emperors of the east.^c To the poor, his behaviour

^a Ad. Brem. iii. 2. He obtained privileges for his see from Clement II. (Ep. 4), Leo IX. (Ep. 77), and Victor II. (Ep. 5). Patrol. cxlii.-iii.

^d Münter, ii. 82.

^e Ad. Brem. iii. 7, 30.

^f Ib. 33.

^g Ib. 35, 39.

^h Ib. 9, 10, 36.

ⁱ Ib. 45.

^j Ib. 35-38; Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 330-1; Stenzel, i. 234.

^k Ad. Brem. iii. 5.

^l Ib. 39.

^m Ib. 68.

ⁿ Ib. 31.

was gentle and condescending; he would often wash thirty beggars; but to his equals he was haughty and

The young king was won by the fascination of Adalbert and after a time Hanno found it expedient to admit archbishop to a share in the administration.^a The misg of these prelates was scandalous. Intent exclusively on interest and on that of their partisans, they appropriated away estates belonging to the crown, while they used name to sanction their plunder of other property. The monasteries, in particular, was pillaged without mercy. his rapacity appeared to be justified by the application of to religious uses; Adalbert was rapacious in order to means of maintaining his splendour. Hanno, a man birth,^c practised the most shameless nepotism in the ecclesiastical dignities, while Adalbert disdained such for enriching his kindred.^d The sale of ecclesiastical was openly carried on; a historian of the time tells us it was the only way to promotion.^e The feuds and insub of the nobles became more uncontrollable; nor were slow to imitate their example. Thus, in consequence of as to precedence between the bishop of Hildesheim and of Fulda, a violent affray took place between their retain church of Goslar, at Christmas 1062, and the quarrel with still greater fury at the following Whitsuntide, king's presence was no more regarded than the holin place. Henry was even in personal danger, and many on both sides. The great monastery of St. Boniface disturbed by the consequences of these scenes, and was imp by the penalties imposed on it for the share which its m taken in them.^f

Adalbert gradually supplanted Hanno. At Easter carried Henry to Worms, where the young king, then age was girt with the sword and declared to be of age to can government for himself. Thus the regency of Hanno while Adalbert, as the minister of Henry, for a time en divided power.^g Under his administration the state c became continually worse. Simony was more shameless

^a Ad. Brem. iii. 2.

Stenzel, i. 222, 233.

^c Ib. 33; Lambert, Ann. 1063, p. 162.

^d Lambert, p. 166.

^e Ib. pp. 164-5; Voigt, 65-7

^f Lambert, Ann. 1065, p. 1

^g Floto, i. 196, 285.

^h Adam, iii. 34; Lambert, p. 167; zel, i. 236-7.

used than ever; the privilege of monasteries was carried on without measure; for the archbishop taught the young king to regard monks as merely his stewards and bailiffs.^m Adalbert's private quarrels were turned into affairs of state, and he took advantage of his position to inspire Henry with a dislike of the Saxons and others who had offended him. The discontent of his enemies and of those who suffered from his misgovernment at length rose to a height, and at a diet which was held at Tribur, in January 1066, Henry was peremptorily desired by a powerful party of princes and prelates to choose between the resignation of his crown and the dismissal of the archbishop of Bremen. Adalbert was compelled to make a hasty flight; he was required to give up almost the whole-revenue of his see to his enemies; and his lands were plundered, so that he was reduced to support himself by appropriating religious and charitable endowments, and by oppressive exactions which are said to have driven some to madness and many to beggary.ⁿ Hanno resumed the government. His rapacity and nepotism were unabated, but sometimes met with successful resistance. A nephew named Conrad, whom he had nominated to the archbishoprick of Treves, was seized by the people, who were indignant at the denial of their elective rights; the unfortunate man was thrice thrown from a rock, and, as he still lived, was despatched with a sword.^o And an aggression on the property of the monks of Malmedy was defeated by the miraculous power of their patron St. Remaculus.^p

The antipope Honorius had made a fresh attempt on Rome in 1063, when he gained possession of the Leonine city, and was enthroned in St. Peter's; but the Romans rose against him, and, after much fighting with a Norman force which Hildebrand had called in to oppose him, he was compelled to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, under the protection of Cencius, a disorderly noble who had made himself master of the place. For two years he held out in the fortress; but his condition became more and more hopeless. It was in vain that he implored the assistance of Henry and of Adalbert; and at length he felt himself obliged to withdraw, paying three hundred pounds of silver for the consent of Cencius to his departure.^q Hanno, after the recovery of his power,

^m Lambert, p. 167.

ⁿ Adam. Brem. iii. 48, 57; Stenzel, i.

241.

^o Berthold. Ann. 1066 (Pertz, v.); Vita Conradi, in Append. to Gesta Trev.

(ib. viii.), where the writer argues that Conrad was "a Deo electus," because

"a sancto viro Annone divinitus inspirato promotus." c. 3.

^p Triumphus S. Remaculi de Malmundariensi Cœnobio, ap. Pertz, xi. 438, seqq.; Lambert, Ann. 1071, p. 183.

^q Benzo, ii. 16; Bonizo, p. 807; Voigt, 92-6; Bowden, i. 214.

At Rome he held a synod, where Alexander appeared. The archbishop asked him how he had ventured to occupy the apostolical chair without the sovereign's permission; whereupon Hildebrand stood forward as the champion of his party, and maintained that the election of the pope had been regularly conducted—that no layman had any right to control the disposal of the holy see.⁵ Hanno was disposed to be easily satisfied, and adjourned the consideration of the case to a synod which was to be held at Mantua. At this synod Alexander presided, and defended all his acts. Honorius, who had retired to his bishoprick of Parma, refused to attend, unless he might be allowed to sit as president, and attempted, at the head of an armed force, to disturb the sessions of the council. But the attempt was put down by Godfrey of Tuscany, Alexander was formally acknowledged as pope, and in that character he was escorted by Godfrey to Rome.⁶ The antipope held possession of Parma until his death, but, although he continued to maintain his pretensions to the papacy, he made no further active attempt to enforce them.⁷

April.

The pacification effected by Peter Damiani at Milan had too much the nature of a surprise to be lasting. The promulgation of the decrees against the marriage of the clergy which were enacted by the Roman synod of 1059⁸ became the signal for great commotions in northern Italy. Many bishops refused to publish them; the bishop of Brescia, on attempting to do so, was almost torn to pieces by his clergy.⁹ And in Milan itself disorders soon broke out again.

Landulf died,¹⁰ but his place as an agitator was taken by his

⁵ The date of this expedition is placed by some in 1064; by Jaffé, although doubtfully, as early as 1063; and by Mansi as late as 1071 or the following year (n. in Natal. Alexand. xiii. 496). I had followed Pagi (xvii. 256), Stenzel (Beilage viii.), Voigt (97), and Bowden (i. 254), before the publication of Hefele's fourth volume, in which there is a strong argument for 1064 (793-7). Hanno appears to have been in Italy both in that year and in 1067. As to the later expedition, see Hefele, 810, for an account of an important letter discovered by Floss.

⁶ Lambert, Ann. 1064; Bonizo, p. 808.

⁷ Bonizo, p. 808; Benzo, iii. 27-9.

⁸ Lamb. Ann. 1064; Schröckh, xxii. 386-8.

⁹ See p. 583.

¹⁰ Bonizo, p. 807.

¹¹ Arnulf, iii. 16, who says that he had lost his voice two years before his death, "ut in quo multos affecerat, in eo quoque deficeret." Comp. Andreas, 35 (Patrol. cxliiii.). Landulf, however, represents his namesake as having continued to act with Ariald and Herlembald, and as having died when they set up Atto as archbishop in preference to himself. iii. 29.

soldier; his views as to the marriage of the clergy had been bitterly influenced by finding that his affianced bride had been guilty of levity with a clerk.^a On this discovery he broke off the match, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and at his return would have become a monk, but that Ariald persuaded him to continue in secular life, and to serve the church by defending it. The character of Herlembald was bold, violent, and resolute; he was possessed of a fiery eloquence, and was devoted to his cause with the narrow, reckless, and intolerant zeal which not uncommonly marks the religious partisanship of men trained to martial professions. He now accompanied Ariald to Rome, where Alexander received them as old friends, and bestowed on Herlembald a consecrated banner, charging him to unfurl it against heresy.^b On returning to Milan, the two began a fresh course of aggression against the married and concubinary clergy. They excited the multitude by their addresses; they won the poor by large distributions of money, and the young by the skilful use of flattery. A company of youths was formed, sworn to extirpate concubinage among the clergy, and with it was joined a rabble composed of low artisans and labourers, of men rendered desperate by want of employment, and of ruffians attracted by the hope of plunder.^c Some Manichæans, or adherents of the Monteforte heresy,^d are also mentioned as associates in the cause.^e For eighteen years Herlembald exercised a tyrannic power in Milan. Yet the populace was not entirely with him; for, while he and Ariald, in their enthusiasm for Roman usages, went so far as to disparage the Milanese ritual, they furnished their opponents with a powerful cry in behalf of the honour of St. Ambrose.^f The reformers were very unscrupulous as to the means of carrying out their plans; Herlembald, when in want of money, proclaimed that any priest who could not swear that he had strictly kept the vow of continence since his ordination should lose all his property; and on this his adherents conveyed female attire by stealth into the houses of some of the clergy, where the discovery of it exposed the victims of the trick to confiscation, plunder, and outrage.^g The streets of Milan were

^a "Cum clerico quodam jocasse." Landulf, iii. 14. Luden (ix. 34) and Floto (i. 273) understand this to mean that she was seduced. For the meanings of *jocare* see Ducange.

^b Arnulf, iii. 17; Landulf, iii. 15;

Andreas, ap. Pertz, vii. 21.

^c Landulf, iii. 15, 21; Theiner, ii. 117.

^d See p. 452.

^e Landulf, iii. 19.

^f Arn. iii. 17.

^g Land. iii. 21.

Damiani by his correspondence stimulated the reformers, and Gualbert of Vallombrosa sent some of his monks to aid them.^h The persecuted clergy, on the other hand, found allies in many Lombard bishops, who urged them to leave the city, and offered them hospitable entertainment.ⁱ It is said that even Ariald was at one time touched by remorse, and expressed penitence on seeing the misery, and the destitution of religious ordinances, which had arisen from his agitation.^k

A conference was held, at which a priest named Andrew especially distinguished himself by pleading for the marriage of the clergy. He rested the warrant for it on Scripture and on ancient usage, and spoke forcibly of the worse evils which had resulted from a denial of the liberty to marry.^m It was said that St. Ambrose had sanctioned the marriage of the clergy; that, by representing continency as a special gift of grace, he implied that it was something which ought not to be exacted of all. Ariald replied that marriage had been allowed in the times when babes required to be fed with milk, but that all things were now new. The conference was broken off by an attack of the mob on the clergy.ⁿ The discomfited party alleged that miracles were wrought among them in behalf of clerical marriage, but their stories produced no effect.^o

In 1066, Herlembald, leaving Ariald to keep up the excitement of the Milanese, went again to Rome, and before a synod accused archbishop Guy of simony.^p The pope was unwilling to proceed to extremities, but Hildebrand persuaded him to pronounce a sentence of excommunication, which was conveyed to Milan by Herlembald. On Whitsunday the archbishop ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, holding the document in his hand. He inveighed against Herlembald and Ariald as the authors of the troubles which had so long afflicted the city. He complained of their behaviour towards himself, and concluded his speech by desiring that all who loved St. Ambrose would leave the church. Out of a congregation of seven thousand, all withdrew except the two agitators and about twelve of their adherents. These were attacked

^h Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. ap. Mabill. ix. c. 58; Andreas, 109-110.

ⁱ Land. iii. 16.

^k Ib. 20.

^m Ib. 26. Among other things, he alleged a late discovery of children's bones in a cistern (p. 92). See above, p. 519.

ⁿ Land. iii. 22-7.

^o Ib. 28.

^p Arnulf, 19. Perhaps a fresh excommunication had been uttered against Ariald by Guy. Comp. Arnulf, iii. 13, with Landulf, iii. 16, and the notes in Pertz.

by the younger clergy, with some lay partisans of the archbishop. Ariald was nearly killed; Herlembald fought desperately, and cut his way out of the church. The Patarines, on hearing of this, rose in the belief that Ariald was dead, and their numbers were swollen by a multitude of peasants from the neighbourhood, who had repaired to Milan for the festival; they stormed the cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace, dragged the archbishop out, handled him roughly, and left him hardly alive. Next day, when the peasantry had left the city, the nobles and clergy resolved to take vengeance for these outrages. Ariald fled in disguise, pursued by two clerks with a party of soldiers, while the archbishop laid an interdict on the city until he should be found. The unfortunate man was betrayed by a companion into the hands of a niece of the archbishop named Oliva, who directed five of her servants to conduct him to an island in the Lago Maggiore. On arriving there, his guards asked him whether he acknowledged Guy as archbishop of Milan. "He is not," said Ariald, "nor ever was, for no archbishop-like work is or ever was in him." The servants then set on him, cut off his members one by one, with words of savage mockery, and at length put an end to his life, and threw his body into the lake. Some months after the murder, the corpse was found; Herlembald compelled the archbishop to give it up; it was carried in triumph to Milan, and miracles were reported to be performed by it. By these scenes, the exasperation of Herlembald and his party was rendered more intense than ever.¹

In the following spring, the pope visited Milan, on his way to the council of Mantua, when he made some regulations as to discipline and canonised Ariald as a martyr.² Two Roman cardinals were soon after sent as legates to Milan. They entered on their com-

Aug. 1, mission in a temperate and conciliatory spirit. It was
1067. decreed that the clergy should separate from their wives or concubines; that such of them as should persist in defying this order should be deprived of their office; but that no one should be deprived except on confession or conviction, and that the laity should not take the punishment of offending clergymen into their own hands.³ These orders, however, had little effect. Herlembald, dissatisfied with the moderation of the commissioners, again went to

¹ Bonizo, 808; Andreas, 58-79 (Patrol. cxliii.); Voigt, 101; Theiner, ii. 122-3; Milman, ii. 509. Landulf says that the body honoured as Ariald's was really that of a woman. iii. 30.

² Landulf junior, ap. Mabillon, Analecta, 487 (Paris, 1723); cf. Alex. Epp. 93.4 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

³ Hard. vi. 1081-6.

charges. Two pieces of wood were erected, ten feet in length, and
 A.D. 1068.^b with a narrow passage between them. The monk cele-
 brated the eucharist, and proceeded to the place of
 trial, clothed in the sacerdotal vestments. After praying that,
 if his charge against the bishop of Florence were just, he might
 escape unhurt, he entered between the burning piles, barefooted,
 and carrying the cross in his hands. For a time he was hidden
 by flames and smoke; but he reappeared uninjured, and was hailed
 by the spectators with admiration and triumph.^c The bishop, a
 man of mild character, yielded to the popular clamour by with-
 drawing from Florence; but he retained his office until his death,
 and the diocese was administered in his name by a deputy.^d The
 zeal of the monk Peter, who acquired the name of "the Fiery,"^e
 was rewarded by promotion to high dignity in the church. In the
 pontificate of Gregory VII. he became cardinal-bishop of Albano,
 and was employed as legate in Germany.^f

Henry III. had chosen as a wife for his son, Bertha, daughter
 of the marquis of Susa, whose powerful interest in Italy he hoped
 to secure by the connexion.^g The princess was beautiful, and, as
 appeared in the varied trials of her life, her character was noble
 and affectionate; but the young king, from unwillingness to for-
 sake his irregularities, was reluctant to fulfil the engagement.
 After recovering from an illness which his physicians supposed to
 be desperate, he was persuaded by the entreaties of his nobles to
 marry Bertha in 1066; but three years later he formed a design
 of repudiating her.^h With a view to this, he endeavoured to
 secure the interest of Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, by a promise
 of aiding him in enforcing the payment of tithes from Thuringia
 to his see, and Siegfried willingly listened to the inducement.ⁱ He
 wrote to the pope in behalf of the divorce, although in a tone which
 showed that he was somewhat ashamed of his part; he had (he

^b Mansi in Baron. xvii. 238.

^c Atto, 64; Victor III. Dial. iii. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 855, where it is said that he dropped a handkerchief in his passage, and went back to recover it.

^d See Theiner, ii. 109. Some monastic historians represent the matter differently.

^e "Petrus Igneus." See Ciacon. i. 863-6.

^f Bernold. ap. Pertz, v. 436.

^g Luden, viii. 290.

^h Voigt, 111-2. Bruno (De Bello Saxonico, 7, ap. Pertz, v.) says that he endeavoured to entrap her into adultery with one of his courtiers. That the story is incredible, see Stenzel, ii. 62-3.

ⁱ Lambert, Ann. 1069, p. 174. The part of Thuringia which was immediately subject to Mentz had been exempt ever since the conversion of the people, while another part paid tithes to the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld. Siegfried claimed all. Luden, viii. 412.

and) snatched the king with communication unless some definite reason were given for his desire of a separation.^k Peter Damiani was once more sent into Germany, and assembled a synod at Mentz, from which city, at Henry's summons, it was transferred to Frankfort. After a discussion of the matter, the legate earnestly entreated Henry to desist from his purpose, for the sake of his own reputation, if he were indifferent to the laws of God and man. He told him that it was an accursed project, unworthy alike of a Christian and of a king; that it was monstrous for one whose duty bound him to punish misdeeds, to give so flagrant an example; that the pope would never consent to the divorce, nor ever crown him as emperor if he persisted in urging it. The king submitted, although unwillingly, and soon resumed his licentious habits.^m But the character of Bertha gradually won his affection, and, so long as she lived, her fidelity supported him in his troubles.ⁿ

About this time Adalbert, after a banishment of three years from the court, recovered his position, and for a time conducted the government with absolute power.^o He resumed his ambitious project of erecting his see into a patriarchate.^p The evils of his former administration were renewed, and even exceeded. Ecclesiastical preferments were put up to open sale in the court; and it is said that a general disgust was excited by the sight of the shameless traffic in which monks engaged, and of the hoarded wealth which they produced, to be expended in simoniacal purchases.^q Feuds, intrigues, discontent, abounded. The writer to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of Adalbert's career describes his last years with a mixture of sorrow and awe—dwelling fondly on his noble gifts, relating his errors with honest candour, and lamenting his melancholy perversion and decline. It seemed as if the archbishop's mind were disordered by the vicissitudes through which he had passed. His days were spent in sleep, his nights in waking. His irritability became intolerable; to those who provoked him he spoke with an indecent violence of language; or he struck them, and sometimes so as even to draw blood. He showed no mercy to the poor; he plundered religious and charitable foundations, while he was lavish in his

^k Hard. vi. 1164.

^m Lambert, Ann. 1069, pp. 175-6.

ⁿ Stenzel, i. 258.

^o Adam. Brem. iii. 58; Lambert,

Ann. 1072.

^p Adam, iii. 58.

^q Lamb. Ann. 1071, p. 189.

gifts to the rich, and to the parasites whose flatteries and prophecies obtained an ever-increasing mastery over him. Yet his eloquence was still unabated, and gave plausibility to his wildest extravagances and to his most unwarrantable acts.* His nearest relations believed him to be under the influence of magic, while he was himself suspected by the vulgar of unhallowed arts—a charge for the falsehood of which the historian solemnly appeals to the Saviour, and to all the saints." His health began to fail; a woman, who professed to be inspired, foretold that he would die within two years unless he amended his life; but he was buoyed up by the assurances of other prophets, that he would live to put all his enemies under his feet, and almost to the last he relied on these assurances in opposition to the warnings of his physicians.[†] Omens of evil were observed at Bremen; crucifixes wept, swine and dogs boldly profaned the churches, wolves mingled their dismal howlings with the hooting of owls around the city, while the pagans of the neighbourhood burnt and laid waste Hamburg, and overran Nordalbingia. The archbishop gradually sank. It was in vain that the highest dignitaries of the church sought admittance to his chamber; he was ashamed to be seen in his decay. The king alone was allowed to enter; and to him Adalbert, after reminding him of his long service, committed the protection of the church of Bremen. On the 16th of March, 1072, the archbishop expired at Goslar—unlike Wolsey, with whom he has been compared,[‡] in the recovery of his power, and in the retention of it to the last; but, like Wolsey, lamenting the waste of his life on objects of which he had too late learnt to understand the vanity. His treasury, into which, by rightful and by wrongful means, such vast wealth had been gathered, was found to be entirely empty; his books and some relics of saints were all that he left behind him.*

On the death of Adalbert, Henry, in deference to the solicitations of his nobles and to the cries of his people, requested Hanno to resume the government. The archbishop reluctantly consented, and, although his rapacity and sternness excited complaints, the

* Adam, 61.

† Ib. 62. Such charges were common in those times. Benno says that Hildebrand practised magic, having derived his art from Gerbert, through Benedict IX. (ap. Goldast. *Apol. pro Henr. IV.* 11). And of Henry IV. we are told by the Saxon annalist and by the annalist of Pöfde—"Ferebatur imaginem quandam ad instar [mensuram, *Annal. Palat.*]

digiti, ex Ægypto adlatam, adorare; a qua quoties responsa [oracula, *A. P.*] quærebat, necesse erat homicidium [Christianum immolare, *A. P.*] aut in summo festo adulterium procurare." Pertz, vi. 697; xvi. 70.

‡ Adam, iii. 63-4.

§ By Sir James Stephen, in his *Essay on Hildebrand*.

* Adam, iii. 63-7.

benefits of his vigorous administration speedily ap-
 were compelled to raze their castles, which had been
 of tyranny and insubordination ; justice was done to
 persons ; it seemed, according to the best annalist
 for a time the minister had infused into the inde-
 the activity and the virtues of his father.^a But Henry
 of his position, and, under the pretext of age and in-
 it at the end of nine months ; when Henry, feelin-
 cording to Lambert's expression) as if he were del-
 from a severe schoolmaster, plunged into a re-
 dissipation and misgovernment.^b He neglected ;
 violences were committed against nobles, the prop-
 and monasteries was bestowed on worthless favouri-
 Saxony and Thuringia were crowned with fortres-
 coerce the inhabitants, and the garrisons indulged in
 their love of plunder and destruction, their insolence.
 In Thuringia, the prosecution of Siegfried's claim to
 as a pretext for the military occupation of the count-
 agreed that the king was to enforce the claim by
 dition of sharing in the spoil. Siegfried, by a letter
 plainly hinted a bribe, endeavoured to draw Hilde-
 interests.^b In March 1073 a synod met at Erfur-
 presence, for the consideration of the question ; wh-
 of Fulda and Hersfeld appeared in opposition to
 The Thuringians made an appeal to the pope, but
 ended ruin and death against any one who should
 prosecute it ; and when the synod agreed on
 unfavourable to the Thuringians, he charged the
 report the result to Rome.^c Henry had incurred
 detestation of his subjects, which was swollen by ex-
 fabulous tales of his misconduct ;^d the Saxons, the
 and the Swabians, exasperated by the wrongs which
 suffered, and by the dread of further evils, were ready
 into rebellion.^e

The cries of Germany at length reached Alexan-

^a Lambert, Ann. 1072, pp. 189-190.
 This writer, whose Annals end in 1077,
 did not give Henry credit for the quali-
 ties which he afterwards displayed.

^b Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 192 ; Voigt,
 138, 146.

^c Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 192 ; Voigt,

113-132 ; Stenzel, i. 2

^b Hard. vi. 1194.

^c Lamb. Ann. 1073
 1191.

^d See Floto, c. 58.

^e Voigt, 152-3.

Bamberg, to Rome, and reproved them for their slackness in discouraging simony. Hanno was gently treated, and was presented with some precious relics; Siegfried's offer of a resignation was declined; Otho of Bamberg confessed his guilt, but it is said that he appeased the papal anger by valuable gifts, and he received the honour of the pall.^f The greatest prelates of Germany were at the pope's feet; the two metropolitans of England had just been compelled to appear before him—Lanfranc of Canterbury, that he might personally receive the pall which he had in vain endeavoured to obtain without such appearance; and Thomas of York, that he might refer to the successor of St. Peter and of St. Gregory a question as to the English primacy.^g By these triumphs over national churches, Alexander was encouraged to enter on a contest with the chief representative of the secular power. In October 1072, he had held a conference at Lucca with Beatrice and her daughter Matilda on the means of reforming their royal kinsman; and, as it was agreed that gentle measures would be ineffectual, he proceeded, at a synod in the following Lent, to excommunicate five counsellors who were charged with exerting an evil influence over Henry, and summoned the king himself to make satisfaction to the church for simony and other offences. Hanno and the bishop of Bamberg, who were on the point of returning home, were charged with the delivery of the mandate; but on the 21st of April Alexander died, and it remained unanswered and unenforced.^h

Peter Damiani had died in the preceding year, on his return from a mission to Ravenna, where he had been employed in releasing his fellow-citizens from the excommunication brought on them by their late archbishop, as a partisan of the antipope Cadalous.ⁱ

^f Lamb. Ann. 1070 (which is too early a date); Voigt, 153. Otho was involved in serious troubles under Gregory VII., and was at last compelled to retire into a cloister. At an inquiry into his conduct, in the presence of the pope's legates, a young clerk insolently placed before him a short verse of a psalm. "If," he said, "you will explain this verse to me correctly, not according to its mystical or allegorical meaning, but in the literal sense of the words, I will allow that you are clear from all charges, and are worthy of your bishoprick."

Lamb. Ann. 1075, p. 221.

^g See below, Ch. V.

^h Ekkehard, A.D. 1073; Bonizo, l. vi. fin. It has been said (as by Voigt, 153-9; Bowden, i. 306-7) that Alexander went so far as to summon Henry to Rome, a step without example in earlier times. But the statement is said to rest only on a misconception of Ekkehard's words—"litteras Alexandri apostolici, regem vocantes ad satisfactionem." Floto, ii. 8.

ⁱ Vita, 21; Pagi, xvii. 344. Comp. Ep. i. 14.

CHAPTER II.

GREGORY VII.

A.D. 1073-1085.

HILDEBRAND was now to assume in his own person the majesty and the responsibility of the power which he had so long directed.^a

At the death of Alexander, Rome enjoyed a quiet from the rage of its factions unusual on such occasions.^b Hildebrand, as chancellor of the see, ordered a fast of three days, with a view to obtaining the Divine guidance in the choice of a pope. But next day, as the funeral rites of Alexander were in progress, a loud outcry arose from the clergy and the people, demanding Hildebrand as his successor. The chancellor ascended

April 22,
1073.

the pulpit, and attempted to allay the uproar by representing that the time for an election was not yet come;^c but the cries still continued. Hugh the White then stood forth as spokesman of the cardinals, and, after a warm panegyric on Hildebrand's services to the church, declared that on him the election would fall, if no worthier could be found. The cardinals retired for a short time, and, on their reappearance, presented Hildebrand to the people, by whom he was hailed with acclamations.^d

The name which the new pope assumed—Gregory the Seventh—naturally carried back men's thoughts to the last Gregory who had occupied St. Peter's chair.^e By choosing this name, Hildebrand did not merely testify his personal attachment to the memory

^a His mastery over the late popes had been the subject of epigrams by Peter Damiani:—

"Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce—
Plus domino Papæ quam Domino pareo Papæ."
Carm. 149 (*Patrol.* cxlv.).

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit iste Deum."
Carm. 295 (*Ib.*).

Benzo repeatedly says that he fed Nicolas II. "velut asinum in stabulo" (iii. 10; v. 1; vii. 2). Arnulf of Milan intimates that the popes were afraid of him (iv. 2). Benno, with his usual outrageousness, says that he beat Alexan-

der, and kept him on an allowance of five *solidi* a day, while he himself grew immensely rich on the spoils of the papacy. Ap. Browne, *Fascic. Rer. Exp.* i. 85.

^b Greg. Epp. i. 1-4.

^c Boniface III. had decreed, in 607, that nothing should be done for the election of a pope or of a bishop until after the see had been three days vacant. Anast. ap. Murat. iii. 135.

^d Bonizo, 811; Hard. vi. 1195. The scene seems to have taken place in the Lateran. Bowden, i. 314.

^e Baron. 1073. 25.

him as a legitimate pope, and was resolved to vindicate the principles of which Gregory VI. had been the representative and the confessor against the imperial power by which he had been deposed.

At the outset, however, Hildebrand did not wish prematurely to provoke that power. The proceedings which Alexander had commenced against Henry were allowed to drop; and, although the pope at once took on himself the full administration of his office,^f he sent notice of his election to the king, and waited for the royal confirmation of it. The German bishops, who knew that his influence had long governed the papacy, and dreaded his imperious character and his reforming tendencies, represented the dangers which might be expected from him; and, in consequence of their representations, two commissioners were despatched to Rome, with orders to compel Hildebrand to resign, if any irregularity could be found in his election. The pope received them with honour; he stated that the papacy had been forced on him by a tumult, against his own desire, and that he had deferred his consecration until the choice should be approved by the king and princes of Germany. The commissioners reported to Henry that no informality could be discovered, and on St. Peter's day, 1073, Hildebrand was consecrated as the successor of the apostle.^g It was the last time that the imperial confirmation was sought for an election to the papacy.

In the letters which he wrote on his elevation, Hildebrand expresses a strong reluctance to undertake the burden of the dignity which had been thrust on him;^h and his professions have been often regarded as insincere. But this seems to be an injustice. Passionately devoted as he was to the cause which he had espoused, he may yet have preferred that his exertions for it should be carried on under the names of other men; he had so long wielded in reality the power which was nominally exercised by Leo, Victor, Stephen, Nicolas, and Alexander, that he may have wished to keep up the same system to the end. If he had desired to be

^f Voigt, 184.

^g Lambert, p. 194 (who, however, wrongly puts the consecration on the Purification in the following year); Bonizo, 811; Planck, IV. i. 100-3, 113-5. A story told by Bonizo (811), and more distinctly by Cardinal Aragon, two centuries later (Muratori, iii. 304), that Hildebrand begged Henry not to confirm

his election, because, if pope, he must feel himself obliged to correct the king's vices, is generally rejected, as inconsistent with his letters of the time. (See Schröckh, xxv. 432; Voigt, 169; Luden, viii. 703; Bowden, i. 319; Mitman, ii. 515.) Floto throws doubts on the fact of the royal confirmation. ii. 6-8.

^h Epp. i. 1, seqq. 70.

pope, why did he not take means to secure his election on some earlier vacancy? Why should we suppose that his promotion as the successor of Alexander was contrived by himself, rather than that it was the natural effect of the impression which his character and his labours had produced on the minds of the Roman clergy and people? And even if he thought that matters had reached a condition in which no one but himself, acting with the title as well as with the power of pope, could fitly guide the policy of the church, why should we not believe that he felt a real unwillingness to undertake an office so onerous and so full of peril? His letters to princes and other great personages might indeed be suspected; but one which he addressed in January 1075 to his ancient friend and superior, Hugh of Cluny,¹ seems to breathe the unfeigned feeling of his heart. Like the first pope of his name, and in terms partly borrowed from him,² he laments the unhappy state of ecclesiastical affairs. The eastern church is failing from the faith, and is a prey to the Saracens. Westward, southward, northward, there is hardly a bishop to be seen, but such as have got their office by unlawful means, or are blamable in their lives, and devoted to worldly ambition; while among secular princes there is no one who prefers God's honour and righteousness to the advantages of this world. Those among whom he lives—Romans, Lombards, and Normans—are worse than Jews or pagans. He had often prayed God either to take him from the world or to make him the means of benefit to His church; the hope that he may be the instrument of gracious designs is all that keeps him at Rome or in life.

But, whatever his private feelings may have been, Hildebrand, when raised to the papacy, entered on the prosecution of his schemes with increased energy. The corruptions of the church, which he traced to its connexion with the state, had led him to desire its independence; and it now appeared that under the name of independence he understood sovereign domination. In the beginning of his pontificate, he spoke of the spiritual and the secular powers as being like the two eyes in the human body,³ and therefore apparently on an equality; but afterwards they are compared to the sun and the moon respectively⁴—a comparison more distinctly insisted on by Innocent III.,⁵ and which gives a great superiority

¹ Ep. ii. 49.

² See above, p. 3.

³ Ep. i. 19.

⁴ Ep. vii. 25.

⁵ Patrol. ccxv. 1184, 1186. See

Schmidt, iii. 308, and Gieseler, II. ii. 109, who quote a commentator as saying, "Papam esse millies septingenties quadragies quater imperatore et regibus sublimiorem."

statements as to the power of temporal sovereigns became of a far more depreciatory character. And, as he brought out with a new boldness the claims of the church against the state, it was equally his policy to assert a despotic power for the papacy against the rest of the church,¹ while all his aggressive acts or claims were grounded on pretexts of ancient and established right.² The principles of his system are embodied in a set of propositions known as his "Dictate,"³ which, although not drawn up by himself, contains nothing but what may be paralleled either from his writings or from his actions.⁴ These maxims are far in advance of the forged decretals. It is laid down that the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop; that his name is the only one of its kind in the world.⁵ To him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile bishops; and he may depose them in their absence, and without the concurrence of a synod.⁶ He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the church—to divide, unite, or translate bishopricks.⁷ He alone may use the ensigns of empire; all princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose emperors, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance.⁸ His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops.⁹ He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal.¹⁰ All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every church must be referred.¹¹ With his leave, inferiors may accuse their superiors.¹² No council may be styled general without his command.¹³ The Roman church never has erred, and, as Scripture testifies, never will err.¹⁴ The pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter is un-

¹ P. 627.

² Gieseler, II. i. 5.

³ Luden, viii. 541.

⁴ Hard. vi. 1304.

⁵ Baronius, who sees nothing wrong in them, considers them genuine, and refers them to the council of 1076, at which Henry IV. was excommunicated (1076. 31). Some Gallican writers (as Pagi, xvii. 454; Nat. Alex., xiii. Dissert. 3) have argued that they are not only spurious, but are an enemy's misrepresentation of Gregory; but this view (although Mr. Bowden inclines to it, ii. 51) is generally regarded as a device suggested by the position of those writers (See Mosheim, ii. 336; Schröckh, xxv. 520; Planck, IV. i. 165; Voigt, 388). Dupin contents himself with saying that, if not by an enemy, they

are the work of an "entêté" partisan (viii. 69). Gieseler observes as to their form that they look like the headings of a set of canons passed at some synod under Gregory (II. ii. 7, 8). See too Fleury, lxiii. 12.

⁶ Cc. 2, 11. See Giesel. II. ii. 8.

⁷ Cc. 3, 5.

⁸ 7, 13.

⁹ 8, 9, 12, 27.

¹⁰ 14, 15.

¹¹ 18.

¹² 20, 21.

¹³ 24. This infringement on the privileges secured to bishops by the forged decretals (see p. 287, and compare Peter Damiani, above, p. 556) was intended to bring bishops more under the control of the papacy. Schmidt, ii. 297, 298.

¹⁴ 16.

¹⁵ 22.

with the strong, while he bent all his force against the weak. He was careful to strike where his blows might be most effective.

Philip I. of France had succeeded his father at the age of seven, and, with a natural character far inferior to that of Oct. 1060.

Henry IV., had grown up in a like freedom from wholesome restraint, and in a like want of moral training.⁷ Gregory, soon after his election, addressed a letter to the king, censuring the disorders of his government;⁸ and Philip answered by promising amendment, but took little pains to fulfil his promise. On this the pope wrote to some French bishops and nobles, in terms of the severest denunciation against their sovereign. Philip, he said, was not a king but a tyrant—a greedy wolf, an enemy of God and man. By the persuasion of the devil he had reached the height of iniquity in the sale of ecclesiastical preferments; he paid no regard to either divine or human laws; a loose was given to perjury, adultery, sacrilege, and all manner of vices, and the king not only encouraged these but set the example of them. Nay, not content with this, he even robbed foreign merchants who visited his dominions—an outrage unheard of among the very pagans. The bishops were charged to remonstrate, and were assured that their obligations of fealty bound them not to overlook the sovereign's misdeeds, but to reprove them; the kingdom must not be ruined by "one most abandoned man."⁹ Gregory told Philip himself that France had sunk into degradation and contempt; he threatened to excommunicate and interdict him, to withdraw the obedience of his subjects, to leave nothing undone in order to wrest the kingdom from him, unless he repented.¹⁰

Yet all this led to no result. Philip was too indolent to enter into a direct conflict with the pope; he allowed the Roman legates to hold synods and to exercise discipline in his dominions; but he grudged the diminution of his revenues by their proceedings, and, when he found that they especially interfered with his patronage or profit in the appointment or deposition of bishops and abbots, he opposed them with a sullen and dogged resistance.¹¹ Gregory repeatedly wrote to him, admonished him, and expressed hopes of his amendment.¹² No amendment followed; but the pope was too deeply engaged in other business, and too much dreaded the spirit of the French nation—in which the nobles were gradually rallying

⁷ Sismondi, iv. 381.

⁸ Ep. i. 36.

⁹ Epp. i. 35; ii. 5.

¹⁰ Epp. i. 36, 56; ii. 16, 32.

¹¹ Sismondi, iv. 440, 442, 459.

¹² E. g. Ep. viii. 20.

round the throne, while the church was more united than that of Germany—to take any steps for the correction of the king.*

While Gregory spared Philip, and while (as we shall see hereafter)† he dreaded William of England and Normandy, his most vigorous efforts were employed against the king of Germany, the heir of the imperial dignity. If he could humble the highest and proudest of crowns, the victory would tell on all other sovereigns; and the papacy, in such strength as it had never before possessed, was measured against the empire in its weakness.

Germany was now in a miserable state of distraction. The young king had given much just cause of discontent, while his subjects were not disposed to limit their demands within the bounds of reason. The garrisons of the Saxon and Thuringian fortresses excited by their outrages the violent indignation of the people, and the complaints which were addressed to Henry against them were received with scorn and mockery.‡ Sometimes he refused to see the deputies who were sent to him;§ it is said that on one occasion, when some envoys waited on him at Goslar by his own appointment, they were detained in his antechamber all day, while he amused himself by playing at dice, and at length were told that he had retired by another way.¶ It was believed that the king intended to reduce the Saxons to slavery, and to seize on their country for his own domain. The whole population rose in frenzy; a confederacy was formed which included the primate Siegfried, with the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld; and a leader was found in Otho of Nordheim. Both among princes and among prelates many were ready to disguise their selfish ambition under the cloak of patriotism and religion; and loud cries were raised for a new king.‡ The exasperation of the Saxons was yet further increased when Henry endeavoured to engage the barbarians of the north—Poles, Luticians, and Danes—to take up arms against them.

Gregory in the beginning of his pontificate wrote to Godfrey of Tuscany^m and to other relations of Henry, entreating them to use their influence for the king's amendment. Henry, feeling the

* Sismondi, iv. 474; Voigt, 162, 291-3.

† Ch. V.

‡ Lambert, pp. 194, 196, 231-4.

§ Ib. 224.

¶ Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 336. This is placed on St. Peter's Day

1073, the day of Gregory's consecration. But the bitterness of Bruno's enmity against Henry renders the story very questionable. See Luden, viii. 707; Floto, i. 363.

‡ Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 204.

^m Ep. i. 9.

difficulties of his position, and not suspecting the extent of the great scheme for the exaltation of the papacy at the cost of the empire, addressed him in a tone of deference; he regretted his past misconduct—his encouragement of simony, his negligence in punishing offenders; he owned himself unworthy to be called the son of the church, and requested Gregory to aid him in appeasing the distractions of Milan, where a new claimant, Tedald, nominated by the king at the request of the citizens, who disowned both Godfrey and Atto,^a was now engaged in a contest for the archbishoprick with Atto and the faction of Herlembald.^o

The troubles of Germany increased. In March 1074 an agreement was extorted from Henry that the hated fortresses should be destroyed. The great castle of Harzburg was at once that in which the king took an especial pride, and which was most obnoxious to his people. It included a church, which, although built of wood, was splendidly adorned; a college of monks was attached to the church, and in its vaults reposed the bodies of the king's brother and infant son. Henry dismantled the fortifications, in the hope of saving the rest; but the infuriated peasantry destroyed the church, scattered the royal bones and the sacred relics, carried off the costly vessels, and proceeded to demolish other fortresses in the same riotous manner.^p The Saxon princes endeavoured to appease the king's indignation by representing to him that these outrages were committed without their sanction, and by promising to punish the ringleaders; but he refused to listen to their apologies, inveighed against the Saxons as traitors whom no treaties could bind, and complained to the pope of the sacrileges which had been committed at the Harzburg.^q About the same time the tumultuary spirit of the Germans showed itself in outbreaks in various quarters. The citizens of Cologne expelled their archbishop, Hanno, but he soon reduced them to submission, and punished them with characteristic severity.^r

In April 1074 Gregory sent the empress-mother Agnes, with four bishops, on an embassy into Germany. They were received at Nuremberg by Henry, but refused to hold any communication

^a Luden, ix. 36. Atto went to Rome, where he quarrelled with Gregory and died excommunicate. Floto, ii. 139.

^o The letter (Hard. vi. 1220) has been questioned; but see Voigt, 190. For the Milanese troubles, Landulf sen. iii. 32; Pagi, xvii. 418. Herlembald

was killed in a street affray, April 1075 (Arnulf, iv. 10), and was canonised by Urban II. Pagi, xviii. 42.

^p Lambert, pp. 210, 211; Bruno, 334, 340; Voigt, 258, 262.

^q Lambert, p. 211.

^r *Ib.* p. 212-5; Voigt, 266-275.

the church. Out of deference to his mother, the king submitted to this condition ; in the rough garb of a penitent, and with his feet bare, he sued for and received absolution ; and his excommunicated courtiers were also absolved, on swearing that they would restore the church property which they had taken.^a Henry was disposed to accede to the pope's intended measures against simoniacs, as he hoped by such means to get rid of some bishops who had opposed him in the Saxon troubles.^b It was proposed that a council should be held in Germany, under a legate, with a view to investigating the cases of bishops suspected of having obtained their promotion by unlawful means. The primate Siegfried—a mean, selfish, and pusillanimous prelate—made no objection to the proposal. But Liemar, archbishop of Bremen, a man of very high character for piety, learning, and integrity,^c declared that it was an infringement on the rights of the national church ; that, in the absence of the pope, the archbishop of Mentz alone was entitled to preside over German councils, as perpetual legate of the holy see. In consequence of his opposition, Liemar was suspended by the envoys, was cited to Rome, and, as he did not appear, was excommunicated by Gregory, who wrote to him a letter of severe rebuke ; and other prelates who took part with him were suspended until they should clear themselves before the pope.^d Agnes and her companions were dismissed by the king with gifts, and were assured that he would aid the pope in his endeavours to suppress simony.^e

Gregory still had hopes of using Henry as an ally. In December 1074 he addressed to him two letters—the one, thanking him for his promise of co-operation ;^f the other, remarkable as announcing the project of a crusade. The pope states that fifty thousand men, from both sides of the Alps, were ready to march against the infidels of the east, if he would be their leader ; that he earnestly wishes to undertake the expedition, more especially as it holds out a hope of reconciliation with the Greek church ; and that, if he should go, Henry must in his absence guard the church as a mother, and defend her honour.^g Even so late as July 1075, he

^a Lambert, p. 215 ; Bernold, A.D. 1074 ; Floto, ii. 14. The authority for Henry's penitential dress is an unprinted work of Manegold (for whom see below, p. 669), quoted by Floto.

^b Lambert, pp. 215, 216 ; Voigt, 276 ; Luden, viii. 552-7.

^c Even the violent Bonizo styles him

"virum eloquentissimum et liberalibus studiis adprime eruditum," l. vii. (Patrol. cl. 837).

^d Lambert, 216 ; Bonizo, 811 ; Greg. Ep. ii. 28.

^e Bonizo, 811 ; Berthold, A.D. 1074 (Pertz, v.). ^f ii. 30.

^g Ep. ii. 31. Ep. ii. 37 is an invita-

commended the king for his co-operation in discouraging simony, and for his desire to enforce chastity on the clergy, while he expressed a hope that this might be regarded as a pledge for yet more excellent things.^b

In the mean time the pope's measures of reform were producing a violent commotion. Gregory was resolved to proceed with vigour in the suppression of simony and of marriage among the clergy. Like Peter Damiani, he included under the name of simony all lay patronage of benefices; that which is given to God (it was said) is given for ever, so that the donor can thenceforth have no further share in the disposal of it.^c In enforcing celibacy on the clergy, he was probably influenced in part by his strict monastic ideas, and in part by considerations of policy. By binding the clergy to single life, he might hope to detach them from their kindred and from society, to destroy in them the feeling of nationality, to consolidate them into a body devoted to the papacy, and owning allegiance to it rather than to the temporal sovereigns under whom they enjoyed the benefits of law and government, to preserve in the hierarchy wealth which might have readily escaped from its hands by the channels of family and social connexions.

At his first synod, in Lent 1074, canons were passed against simony and clerical marriage. The clergy who were guilty of such practices were to be debarred from all functions in the church; the laity were charged to refuse their ministrations; it was declared that their blessing was turned into a curse, and their prayer into sin—that disobedience to this mandate was idolatry and paganism.^d Even if such enactments did not directly contradict the long recognised principle of the church, that the validity of sacraments does not depend on the character of the minister, their effect was practically the same; for it mattered not whether the sacraments were annulled, or whether the laity were told that attendance on them was sinful.^e The charge to the laity had, indeed, already

tion to all Christians to join the crusade. In another quarter we find Gregory corresponding with a Mahometan king, Anzir of Mauritania, in terms which recall to mind the opinion of the latitudinarian party among the Spaniards as to the agreement of the two religions (see p. 381). Ep. iii. 21.

^b Ep. iii. 3.

^c Placidus Nonantul. (one of Hildebrand's party, about A.D. 1100), de

Honore Ecclesie, 7 (Patrol. clxiii.).

^d The acts of the council are lost, but its decrees are partially known from a defence of it by Bernold of Constance (Hard. vi. 1523, seqq.). That against marriage is preserved by Gratian (Decret. I. lxxx. 15, Patrol. clxxxvii.), and by Gerhoh (In Psalm. x., ib. exciii. 794).

^e Sigeib. Gembl. Ann. 1074 (Periz. vi.); Schröckh, xxv. 443; Bowden, ii.

been given by Nicolas and by Alexander; but the decrees of those popes appear to have been little known or enforced beyond the bounds of Italy,⁸ and to the north of the Alps the canon against the marriage of the clergy was received as something wholly new. In Germany it aroused a general feeling of indignation among the clergy.⁹ They declared that it was unwarranted by Scripture or by the ancient church; that the pope was heretical and insane for issuing such an order, in contradiction to the Saviour and to St. Paul;¹ that he required the clergy to live like angels rather than men, while at the same time he opened the door to all impurity; that they would rather renounce their priesthood than their wives.² Some bishops openly defied the pope—not from any personal interest, but because they felt for the misery which his measures would inflict on the clergy, their wives, and their families. Otho, of Constance, one of Henry's excommunicated counsellors, who had before tolerated the marriage of his clergy, now put forth a formal sanction of it.³ Altmann, of Passau, in publishing the decree, was nearly killed.⁴ The primate, Siegfried, on being required to promulgate it, desired his clergy to put away their wives within six months. As the order was ineffectual, he held a synod at Erfurt, in October 1074, where he required them to renounce either their wives or their ministry, and at the same time he revived his ancient claim to tithes, which the Thuringians supposed to have been relinquished. A band of armed Thuringians broke in, and the council was dissolved in confusion.⁵ Siegfried requested that the pope would modify his orders, but received in answer a rebuke for his want of courage, and a command to enforce them all.⁶ A second council was held at Mentz, in October 1075; but, notwithstanding the presence of a Roman legate, the

25. It is not easy to see how the words as to the change of blessing into a curse can be regarded as meaning less than that the sacraments are invalid, and the decree seems clearly to contradict the council of Gangra (see vol. i. p. 311). The apologist attempts to defend it by citing prohibitions against communicating with heretical teachers (Hard. vi. 1541). See the devices of Urban II. and Gratian in Grat. Decr. I. Dist. xxxii. c. 6 (Patrol. clxxxviii.).

¹ Gratian, l. cit., cc. 5, 6.

² Bernold, Ann. 1073 (Pertz, v.), says that Gregory forbade throughout the Catholic church what his predecessors

had forbidden in Italy.

³ See a letter in Martene, Thes. i. 230-241, which has been ascribed to Sigebert of Gemblours. See Giesel. II. ii. 16.

⁴ St. Matth. xix. 11; 1 Cor. vii. 9.

⁵ Lambert, 218. That by *Gallia* Lambert means Germany, is clear from pp. 238, 255.

⁶ Greg. Extrav. 12-3 (Patrol. cxlviii.); Paul. Bernried. Vita Gregorii, 37, 41; Theiner, ii. 183; Luden, viii. 563.

⁷ Vita Altm. c. 11 (Pertz, xii. 232).

⁸ Lambert, 218-9.

⁹ Ep. iii. 4. Sept. 3, 1075.

clergy were so furious in their language, their looks, and their gestures, that Siegfried was glad to escape alive. Having no inclination to sacrifice himself for another man's views, he declared that the pope must carry out his schemes for himself, and was content with ordering that in future no married man should be promoted to ecclesiastical office, and with exacting a promise of celibacy from those whom he ordained.^q In France, the excitement was no less than in Germany. A council at Paris, in 1074, cried out that the new decrees were intolerable and irrational; Walter, abbot of Pontoise, who attempted to defend them, was beaten, spit on, and imprisoned; ^r and John, archbishop of Rouen, while endeavouring to enforce them at a provincial synod, was attacked with stones and driven to flight.^s Gregory in one of his letters mentions a report (for which, however, there is no other authority) that a monk had even been burnt at Cambray for publishing the prohibition of marriage.^t

Gregory was undaunted by the agitation which had arisen. Finding that little assistance could be expected from synods, he sent legates into all quarters with orders to enforce the decrees. To these legates he applied the text—"He that heareth you, heareth me;" ^u wherever they appeared, they were for the time the highest ecclesiastical authorities; and bishops trembled before the deacons and subdeacons, who were invested with the pope's commission to overrule, to judge, and to depose them.^x The monks, his sure allies in such a cause, were active in spreading the knowledge of the decrees among the people, and in stirring them up by their invectives against the clergy.^y If bishops opposed his measures, he absolved their flocks from the obligation of obedience; ^z he avowed the intention of bringing public opinion to bear on such clergymen as should be impenetrable to his views of their duty to God and to religion; ^a he charged his lay supporters to

^q Lambert, 230; Schröckh, xxv. 446; Voigt, 283.

^r Vita S. Galterii, c. 10, ap. Mabillon, ix.

^s Order. Vital. iv. 2.

^t Ep. iv. 20. It was probably about this time that the letter in the name of Ulric (see p. 519) appeared, and it evidently made a great sensation. Floto, ii. 41.

^u E. g. Epp. Extrav. 8, 34 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

^x De Marca, VI. xxx. 3-10; Schmidt, ii. 516; Voigt, 227, 230; Giesel. II.

ii. 243. The legates were to be maintained at the expense of the countries to which they were sent, and their rapacity soon became a subject of frequent complaints. See De Marca, l. c., and hereafter, Ch. XIII. sect. i. 1.

^y Neand. vii. 133-4.

^z Ep. ad Teutonas, ap. Paul Bernr. c. 41; ad Constantienses, ib. c. 38. Otho of Constance was expelled from his see. Pagi, xvii. 401.

^a Ep. iv. 20; Ep. Extrav. 4; P. Bernr. c. 36.

effects of thus setting the people against their pastors were fearful. In some cases the laity took part with the denounced clergy;^c but more commonly they rose against them, and with violence and insult drove them, with their wives and children, from their homes.^d A general confusion followed; the ordinances of religion were deserted, or were profaned and invaded by laymen;^e and the contempt of the clergy thus generated contributed greatly to the increase of anti-hierarchical and heretical sects.^f

The pope could the better afford to be calm, because the troubles excited by his decree as to celibacy distracted the general attention from a yet more important part of his designs, and weakened the influence of a large party among the clergy whose opposition he had reason to expect.^g At the outset of his pontificate he had not attacked the practice of investiture. When Anselm, the favourite chaplain and adviser of the countess Matilda, on being nominated to the see of Lucca, consulted him on the subject, Gregory advised him not to take investiture from Henry until the king should have dismissed his excommunicated counsellors and should have been reconciled to the Roman church;^h he did not, however, object to the ceremony of investiture in itself, and, at Henry's request, he deferred the consecration of Anselm and that of Hugh, who had been elected to the bishoprick of Die, in Burgundy, until they should have been invested by the king.ⁱ But at the Lent synod of 1075 (where the censures of the church were pronounced against many

^b Ad Rudolf. Snev. et Berth. Carent. Ep. ii. 45.

^c Theiner, ii. 209.

^d Guibert of Nogent mentions a very licentious lay kinsman of his own, who was furious against the married clergy. *De Vita sua*, i. 7.

^e "Infantes baptizant, sordido humore aurium pro sacro oleo et chrismate utentes." The people trod under foot the Lord's body, and spilt the eucharistic wine consecrated by married priests. (Siegb. Gembl. Ann. 1074, ap. Pertz, vi.) Professor Leo cites these profanities as if, instead of being the acts of people excited by Gregory's influence, they were part of that previous corrupt state of the church which Gregory undertook to reform! *Gesch. v. Italien*, i. 459.

^f Siegb. i. c.; Schmidt, ii. 485. One evidence of this is that the name of Patarines, originally applied to a papal party, came to denote sectaries. Neand.

vii. 136-7. See Mosh. ii. 344; Giesel. II. ii. 17; Theiner, ii. 252.

^g Planck, IV. i. 145-9, 155; Voigt, 290.

^h Ep. i. 21 (Sept. i. 1073). Anselm (the second of the name who in that age held the see of Lucca), after having been invested by Henry, was led, by intercourse with Gregory (who had before thought indifferently of him, Ep. i. 11) and by reading the canons, to condemn his past life, and to enter a monastery as a penitent. Gregory recalled him, gave him papal investiture, and afterwards found him one of his most zealous and most useful adherents. (*Vita Anselmi Lucens.* 3, 4, ap. Pertz, xii. with the preface by Wilmans, p. 1.) His treatise in behalf of Gregory against the antipope is in *Patrol.* cxlviii.

ⁱ Hugo Floriac. ap. Pertz, viii. 411, quoted in note on *Vit. Anselm.* Comp. Ep. iv. 22, as to a bishop of Cambray.

ditions on which they had obtained absolution at Nuremberg),^k Gregory issued a decree that no ecclesiastic should take investiture from lay hands, and that no lay potentate should confer investiture.^m Investiture, as we have seen, although it originated before the feudal system,ⁿ had long been interpreted according to the principles of feudalism.^o By its defenders it was maintained on the ground that it related to the temporalities only; that, if bishops and abbots were to enjoy these, they ought, like other holders of property, to acknowledge the superiority of the liege-lord, and to be subject to the usual feudal obligations. The opposite party replied that the temporalities were annexed to the spiritual office, as the body to the soul; that, if laymen could not confer the spiritualities, they ought not to meddle with the disposal of their appendages, but that these also should be conferred by the pope or the metropolitan, as an assurance to the receivers that their temporalities were given by God.^p The abolition of investiture was a means effectually to prevent the sale of preferments by princes;^q but this was not all. On investiture depended the power of sovereigns over prelates, and the right to expect feudal service from them; if there were no fealty, there could be no treason. The patronage which was taken from sovereigns would pass into other hands; the prelates would transfer their allegiance from the crown to the pope;^r and if Gregory was sincere when, in September 1077, he told the people of Aquileia that he had no wish to interfere with the duty of bishops towards sovereigns,^s he had at least discovered the real bearing of his pretensions when, in February 1079, he exacted from the new patriarch of Aquileia an oath of absolute fealty to himself, including the obligation of military service.^t

Gregory knew that his decree was sure to be opposed by all

^k Hard. vi. 1551; Berthold, A.D. 1075.

^m Greg. ap. Gratian. Decr. II. xvi. 7, cc. 12, 13. By some the decree has been placed in 1074, and it has been thought that Gregory delayed the publication of it until he was encouraged by the course of the Saxon war (Schröckh, xxv. 455; Schmidt, ii. 306). I have followed Pagi, xvii. 409; Voigt, 306; Stenzel, i. 462; Giesel. II. ii. 19; and Jaffé. That Mosheim (ii. 438) is mistaken in supposing the prohibition to relate to the use of the ring and the staff only—not to investiture in itself—see

Schröckh, xxv. 456; Schmidt, ii. 290; Planck, IV. i. 131-2; Voigt, 308.

ⁿ See p. 504.

^o Planck, IV. i. 128.

^p Placid. Nonantul. De Honore Ecclesie, 41, 55 (Patrol. cxliii.); Honorius Augustodun. De Apostolico et Augusto, 4 (ib. clxxii.).

^q Voigt, 178.

^r Onuphr. Panv. Vita Greg. (Patrol. cxlviii. 172-3); Milman, iii. 3; Floto, ii. 59.

^s Ep. v. 5.

^t Conc. Rom. vi. (Patrol. cxlviii. 813.

the clergy who depended on the patronage of laymen—from the prelates of the imperial court to the chaplain of the most considerable noble—and that, in addition to these, there were many who would oppose him, not from any selfish motive, but from the belief that the measure was an invasion of the lawful rights of princes.⁶ For a time he hardly mentioned the new canon in his letters; the publication of it was chiefly left to his legates;⁷ and sovereigns, as if in a contemptuous affectation of ignorance as to the new pretensions of Rome, continued to invest bishops and abbots as before.⁸

At Christmas 1075, an extraordinary outrage was perpetrated by Cencius, who has been already mentioned. This man, after having been anathematised by Alexander II., on account of his connexion with Cadalous, effected a reconciliation with Alexander, and continued to reside at Rome. The city was scandalised and disquieted by his irregularities, which had often brought him into collision with the government; he had even been condemned to death, and had been pardoned only through the intercession of the countess Matilda; but he possessed great wealth and influence, and was master of several fortified houses, which were garrisoned by a force of desperate ruffians.⁹ On Christmas eve, Gregory proceeded to the church of St. Mary Major, for the midnight mass which ushers in the celebration of the Saviour's birth. In consequence of tempestuous weather, the congregation was small. The pope was in the act of administering the holy elements when the church was suddenly invaded by Cencius with a party of his retainers. The worshippers were borne down; some of them were stabbed with daggers. The pope was rudely seized, was dragged by the hair, and beaten; a sword, aimed at him with the intention of despatching him, wounded him in the forehead; he was stripped of a part of his robes, and carried off on the back of one of the villains to a tower belonging to Cencius. All this he bore with perfect composure, neither struggling to escape, nor asking for mercy. During the night he was exposed to the insults of the gang into whose hands he had fallen; but he found sympathy from a man who endeavoured to protect him with furs against the piercing cold, and from a woman who bathed his wound. It was

⁶ Planck, IV. i. 144.

⁷ Luden, viii. 573; Voigt, 312. It was not promulgated as a general law until the synod of autumn 1078. Floto,

ii. 57.

⁸ Planck, IV. i. 141-2; Voigt, 318.

⁹ Paul Bernr. 45-6; Bonizo, 811-3; Lambert, 242.

intended to send him privately out of the city; but in the course of the night, the clergy, who had been with him at the time of the assault, spread the news of his captivity. The people of Rome were roused by the sound of bells and trumpets, the gates were watched so that no one could go out, and a vast multitude gathered around the tower of Cencius, demanding the release of their pastor. A breach was made in the wall, and the besiegers were preparing to set the place on fire, when Cencius, in abject terror, threw himself at the feet of his prisoner, and entreated forgiveness. "I pardon what thou hast done against myself," Gregory calmly replied; "as for thy offences against God, His Mother, and the church, I enjoin on thee a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that, if thou return alive, thou be guided in future by my counsels." The pope, covered with blood, was received with exultation by the crowd, and was carried back to the church, to resume the interrupted rites, and to pour forth a thanksgiving for his deliverance.^a Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, formerly chancellor of Italy, and still Henry's ablest and most active partisan in that country, was suspected of having instigated the attempt of Cencius, and was ordered to leave Rome.^b Cencius, forgetting his promises of amendment, soon incurred a fresh excommunication, and fled to Henry, who was then in Italy. The king refused to admit him to his presence openly, as being excommunicate, although it is asserted by the opposite party that he held secret conferences with him by night; and Cencius died at Pavia, where he was buried by Guibert with a pomp which gave countenance to the suspicions against the archbishop.^c

The divisions of Germany had become more desperate. The king and the Saxons had each invoked the pope. Henry demanded the deposition of the prelates who had opposed him; the Saxons declared that such a king was unworthy to reign, and entreated Gregory to sanction the election of another in his room.^d Henry had been greatly strengthened and elated by a victory over the Saxons at Hohenberg, on the Unstrut, in June 1075. The pope, on that occasion, wrote to him, "As to the pride of the Saxons, who wrongfully opposed you, which, by God's judgment, has been crushed before your face, we must both rejoice for the peace of the church, and grieve because much Christian blood has been spilt."^e

^a Paul Bernr. 49-56; Lambert, p. 242.

^b Bonizo, 812; P. Bernr. 48, 57; Voigt, 360-1.

^c Bonizo, 816; Floto, ii. 139.

^d Otbert, 3 (Pertz, xii.); Voigt, 368.

^e Ep. iii. 7.

He expressed a willingness to receive him as his son, and exhorted him to employ his success to God's honour than to his own; but the king, regarded, and the king, by the abuse of his triumph the miseries and grievances of the conquered people.

A short time before the outrage of Cencius, as Henry arrived at Rome; and on their return accompanied by envoys charged with a letter from Gregory. The address was conditional: "Health and apostolic obedience—if, however, he obey the apostolic see as a Christian." The letter explained that Henry's conduct had given doubtful form; he was censured for intercourse with persons, for nominating and investing bishops to among them Tedald to Milan. But as to investiture offers to meet the king's wishes if any tolerable modification can be pointed out. The bearers of the letter to proceed according as it should be received; contumacious, they were to cite him, under pain of excommunication, to answer for his misdeeds at a synod to be held at Rome in the following Lent.^b He had already by a private mission that, unless he should reform, he was excommunicated.ⁱ

The reception of the pope's letter was such that the bishops themselves bound to deliver the citation. The king's indignation; he sent them away with contempt, and the bishops and abbots of Germany to a council at Worms. All but a few Saxon bishops attended, and the feeling of the assembly was highly excited. One course only was open to Henry, unless he were disposed to absolute obedience to the pope had from the days of Boniface. In German Christianity, the only means of setting aside Gregory's claim was by repudiating his claim to the papacy, as was found in Cardinal Hugh the White—who had taken so conspicuous a part in the elevation of Henry's pontificate. Hugh, a man of great ability and skill, but versatile and utterly unprincipled, had lately been

^f Bernold, Ann. 1075; Lambert, p. 227. Jan. 1, and refer it to December.

^g Ep. iii. 10. The date, Jan. 8, 1076, is inconsistent with the course of events. Luden (ix. 566), Voigt (369), and Floto (ii. 71) show that it reached Henry on

^h Lambert, p. 241.

ⁱ Berthold, p. 21. Extr. 26 (Patrol. c.)

^k Milman, iii. 52.

anathema.^m He now produced letters which are said to have been forged in the name of the Roman cardinals, charging the pope with a multitude of offences, and demanding his deposition; and to these Hugh added a virulent invective of his own. Gregory was reproached with the lowness of his birth; he was accused of having obtained the papacy by bribery and violence—of simony, magic, praying to the devil.ⁿ Although the charges were for the most part so monstrous as to be utterly incredible, the German prelates were in no mood to criticise them, and, headed by Siegfried, pronounced the deposition of Hildebrand. Two bishops only, Adalbero of Würzburg and Hermann of Metz, objected that, as no bishop could be condemned without a regular trial, much less could a pope, against whom not even a bishop or an archbishop could be admitted as accuser. But William of Utrecht, one of the ablest and boldest of Henry's party, told them that they must either subscribe the condemnation of Gregory or renounce their allegiance to the king, and they submitted.^o

On the breaking up of the council, Henry wrote to the Romans a letter in which was embodied the substance of one addressed to Gregory. He begs them to reckon his enemies as their own enemies, "and especially the monk Hildebrand," whom he charges with attempting to rob him of his Italian kingdom, and of his hereditary rights in the appointment to the papacy—with having declared himself resolved either to die or to deprive him both of his crown and of his life. The Romans are desired not to kill Hildebrand, since life, after degradation, would be the severest punishment for him; but if he should make any resistance to the decree of deposition, they are to thrust him out by force, and are to receive from the king a new pope, able and willing to heal the wounds which Hildebrand had caused. His letter to the pope was addressed, "To Hildebrand, now not apostolic pontiff, but a false monk." It taxed him in violent terms with an accumulation of offences and enormities. "We bore with these things," said the king, "out of respect for the apostolic see. But you mistook our humility for fear, and rose against the royal power itself

^m Donizo, *Vita Mathild.* i. 1280, ap. Pertz, xii.; Bonizo, 807-810. Prof. Floto, without giving any grounds, denies that he was excommunicated before 1078. Lambert says, "quem ante paucos dies propter ineptiam ejus

et mores inconditos papa de statione sua amoverat."

ⁿ P. Bernr. 67; Lambert, p. 242; Voigt, 376.

^o Lambert, p. 242.

which God had granted to us—as if we had received from you, and as if it were in your hand, not in God's. I peremptorily charged Hildebrand to descend from which he was unworthy.^p The bishops also wrote "brother Hildebrand," in which they charged him with bringing the church into confusion. His beginning had been progress worse; he had been guilty of cruelty and attempted to deprive bishops of the power committed to them by God, and had given up everything to the fury of the emperor. He had obtained the papacy by the breach of an oath to the emperor; his intimacy with the countess Matilda was improper; and the bishops conclude by solemnly reprimanding him. The prelates of Lombardy, in a council at Piacenza, concluded the proceedings of their brethren at Worms, and acknowledged Hildebrand as pope.^r

In February, the customary Lenten synod met at Rome. It was said that the members were pondering on the appearance of an extraordinary egg which had lately been produced in the city—displaying the figures of a serpent and a shield^s—a canon of Parma,^t who had been despatched from Piacenza, entered the assembly, and delivered the address to Gregory. "My lord the king," he said, "and thou, who art both beyond the mountains and in Italy, charge thee to quit St. Peter's seat which thou hast invaded; for in no way can any one should ascend to such an honour unless by the favour of God and by the imperial gift." Then, turning to the assembly, he summoned them to appear before the king at Worms, where they might receive from his hands a new pope, a ravening wolf who had usurped the apostolic chair, and thrown into confusion. "Seize him!" cried the bishops, and Roland might have paid for his audacity with his life, but the pope warded off the swords of his soldiery by his own body. Gregory stilled the tempest, and calmly ordered the king's letter should be read.^u The bishops entreat

^p The letters are in Bruno de Bello Saxon. (Pertz, v. 352); also in the *Leges*, ii. 46-7. That actually sent to the pope differs somewhat from the copy inserted in the letter to the Romans.

^q Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 44-8.

^r See Stenzel, i. 382.

^s P. Bernr. c. 38; Donizo, l. i. c. 19.

^t Berthold, p. 262. "Ex officina

iniquitatis, scilicet P. says Bonizo (814), of the church to which Cadogan had belonged. Roland made bishop of Treves was placed under persecution by Gregory in 1078. V.

^u On the discrepancy of proceedings, see

ing day the excommunication was uttered. The pope ordered that the canons against despisers of the apostolic see should be recited; he alluded to the portentous egg, of which the late scene now suggested an explanation; he recounted Henry's misdeeds, and the failure of all attempts to reclaim him. Now that the king had attacked the foundations of the church, it was time to draw forth the sword of vengeance, and to strike down the enemy of God and of His church; and, in accordance with the desire of the assembled fathers, he pronounced sentence on Henry in the form of an address to St. Peter. The pope called the apostle to witness that he had not sought the papacy, or obtained it by any unlawful means; and, by the power of binding and loosing committed to him, he declared Henry to be deprived of the government of Germany and Italy, released all Christians from their oaths of fealty to him, and denounced him with the curse of the church. The rebellious bishops of Lombardy were suspended and excommunicated; those who had taken part in the proceedings at Worms were placed under a like sentence, unless within a certain time they should prove that their concurrence had been unwilling.^x The empress Agnes was present, and heard the condemnation of her son.^y

Gregory announced the excommunication and deposition of Henry in letters to the people of Germany and to all Christians.^z The report of the sentence reached the king at Utrecht, where he was keeping the season of Easter. At first he was greatly agitated, but the bishop, William, succeeded in persuading him to put on an appearance of indifference, and he resolved to meet his condemnation by a counter-anathema on the pope. Two bishops, Pibo of Toul and Dietrich of Verdun, although strong partisans of the king, were afraid to share in such a step, and left Utrecht by night. But on Easter-day, at high mass, William ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, and, after a fiery invective, pronounced a ban against Hildebrand.^a The Lombard bishops, on being informed of Gregory's sentence against them, held another synod, under

Luden, ix. 66. Anna Comnena says that Gregory on this occasion treated the king's ambassadors with indignity such that her feelings as a woman and a princess forbid her to describe it (i. 13). I am not aware that the Latin writers throw any light on this.

^a P. Bernr. 69-76; Hard. vi. 1566.

See Luden, ix. 66.

^y Berthold, 263; Letter of Agnes to Altmann of Passau, ap. Hug. Flav. (Pertz, viii. 435).

^z Epp. iii. 6; iv. 1; Bruno, 354-6; P. Bernr. 77-8.

^a Hugo Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 438.

the presidency of Gilbert, and renewed their condemnation of the pope.^b

The unexampled measure^c on which Gregory had ventured rent all Germany into two hostile parties. No medium was possible between holding with the pope against the king and holding with the king against the pope.^d Hermann of Metz ventured to report to Gregory that his right to excommunicate a king was questioned; to which he replied^e that the charge given by our Lord to St. Peter—"Feed my sheep"—made no distinction between kings and other men. He cited examples from history—the behaviour of St. Ambrose to Theodosius, and the pretended deposition of Childeric by Zacharias;^f in answer to the opinion that the royal power was superior to the episcopal, he alleged, as if from Ambrose, a saying that the difference between lead and shining gold is nothing in comparison of that between secular and episcopal dignity;^g and he declared that royalty was invented by human pride, whereas priesthood was instituted by the Divine mercy.

Henry soon felt that his power was ebbing from him. Destitute as Gregory was of any material force, he had left his decree to find for itself the means of its execution; yet in this he did not rely wholly on the belief of his spiritual power. The sentence of deposition against Henry was addressed to subjects among whom a disaffected and rebellious spirit had long prevailed. The pope was sure to find an ally in every one who had been offended by the king himself, by his guardians, or by his father; all were glad to welcome the religious sanction which was thus given to their patriotism, their vindictiveness, or their ambition.^h The wrath of heaven was believed to have been visibly declared against Henry's cause. Godfrey "the Hunchbacked," duke of Lorraine, who had undertaken to seat an imperialist antipope in St. Peter's chair,ⁱ had been assassinated at Antwerp in the beginning of the year.^k

^b Stenzel, i. 387; Voigt, 395.

^c "Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nunquam invenio quemquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum vel regno privatum." Otto Frising. vi. 35, ap. Urstis. i.; Nat. Alex. xiii. Dissert. 9.

^d Voigt, 393.

^e Ep. iv. 2.

^f That this was a misrepresentation of the case, see p. 124. It is exposed by Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, in his answer to Gregory, 'De Unitate Ecclesiastica,' ap. Freher, i. 156-8, 175.

^g The work which he quotes—'Pastorale,' or 'De Dignitate Sacerdotali'—(c. 2, Patrol. xvii.), is undoubtedly spurious.

^h Hallam, M. A., i. 432; Voigt, 423; Milman, iii. 59.

ⁱ Berthold, p. 284.

^k This Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, succeeded his father in 1069 (Bernold, A.D. 1069), and was murdered by the contrivance of Count Robert of Flanders, Feb. 26, 1076 (Lambert, p. 243). Stenzel gives him a high character. i. 334.

Gregory on Easter-day, fell sick ; it was rumoured that he saw devils in his frenzy — that he died unhouselled, and in raving despair.^m Others of the king's partisans were also carried off about the same time, and their deaths were interpreted as judgments.ⁿ A spirit of disaffection became general. Henry summoned diets, but few appeared at them ; some of the princes, whose policy had hitherto been doubtful, now openly declared themselves against him,^o and bishops in alarm retracted their adhesion to the measures which had been taken at Worms.^p Among these prelates was Udo, archbishop of Treves, who went to Italy, made his peace with the pope, and on his return avoided all intercourse with the excommunicated bishops and counsellors ; nor, although specially permitted by Gregory to confer with the king, in the hope of bringing him to submission, could he be persuaded to eat or to pray with him. The example was contagious ; Henry found himself deserted and shunned, and his attempts to conciliate his opponents by lenient measures were ineffectual.^q The pope, in answer to a letter from the Saxons, told them that, if the king should refuse to amend, they ought to choose a successor, who should be confirmed in the kingdom by the apostolic authority.^r

In October a great assembly of German dignitaries met at Tribur. The leaders of the princes and nobles were Oct. 16. Rudolf of Swabia, Welf of Bavaria, Berthold of Zähringen, and Otho of Nordheim ; at the head of the prelates was the primate Siegfried. The patriarch of Aquileia and bishop Altmann of Passau appeared as legates from the pope, and made a strong impression by declaring that they must avoid all intercourse with such bishops as had not obtained formal absolution for their concurrence in the acts of the council of Worms.^s The sessions lasted seven days. All the errors, the misdeeds, the calamities of Henry's life were ript up and dwelt on ; a determination to depose him was loudly avowed. The king, who was at Oppenheim, on the opposite side of the Rhine, sent messages to the assembly day after day. His tone became even abject ; he entreated the members

^m The story is given, with some variety of details, by Hug. Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 458 ; P. Bernr. c. 80 ; Lambert, p. 244 ; Bruno, p. 361 ; Bernold, Ann. 1076, &c.

ⁿ Bruno, 361-2. On the other hand, it was said that when Gregory pronounced his sentence, the chair on which

he had been sitting cracked, although new and strongly made. Benno, ap. Goldast. Apolog. pro Henr. p. 3.

^o Stenzel, i. 391 ; Luden, ix. 78.

^p Floto, ii. 94.

^q Lambert, 246-7 ; Voigt, 409.

^r Fp. iv. 3. Sept. 3, 1076.

^s Lambert, 252.

to spare him ; he promised amendment ; he offered to bind himself by the most solemn pledges, and to resign into their hands all the powers of government, if they would but suffer him to enjoy the name and the ensigns of royalty, which, as they had been conferred by all, could not (he said) be resigned without discredit to all. His promises were rejected with contemptuous references to his former breaches of faith, and the confederates declared an intention of immediately choosing another king. Each party entertained projects of crossing the river and attacking the other by force ; but at length it was proposed that the matters in dispute should be referred to the pope, who was to be invited to attend a diet at Augsburg at the feast of Candlemas ensuing. If Henry could obtain absolution within a year from the time of his excommunication, he was to be acknowledged as king ; the princes would accompany him to Italy, where he should be crowned as emperor, and would aid him in driving out the Normans ; but if unabsolved, he was to forfeit his kingdom for ever. In the mean time he was to forego the symbols and the pomp of royalty, to refrain from entering a church until he should be absolved, to dismiss his excommunicated advisers, and to live as a private man at Spire, restricting himself to the company of Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, and a few other persons. If he should fail in the performance of any condition, the princes were to be free from their engagements to him. Hard as these terms were, Henry saw no alternative but the acceptance of them ; he disbanded his troops, dismissed his counsellors, and, with his queen and her infant child Conrad, withdrew to the city which had been assigned for his residence.[†]

The prospect of meeting the pope in Germany—of appearing before him as a deposed king, in the presence of the exasperated and triumphant princes—was alarming, and Henry, by an embassy to Rome, requested that he might be allowed to make his submission in Italy. But Gregory refused the request, and announced to the Germans his compliance with the invitation to Augsburg.[‡] The year within which it was necessary for the king to obtain absolution was already drawing towards an end, and in desperation he resolved to cross the Alps and to present himself before the pope. With much difficulty he raised the funds necessary for the journey ; for those who had fed on him in his prosperity were now deaf to his applications.[§] He left Spire with Bertha and her child ; among their train was only one man of free birth, and he

[†] Lambert, 253-4 ; Bonizo, 816.

[‡] Berthold, p. 287.

[§] Lambert, 255.

a person of humble station. As the passes of the Alps were in the hands of the opposite party, the king, instead of proceeding by the nearest road, took his way through Burgundy, where he spent Christmas at Besançon with his maternal great-uncle count William.⁷ At the foot of Mont Cenis, he was honourably received by his mother-in-law Adelaide, and her son Amadeus, marquis of Susa: but, says Lambert of Hersfeld "the anger of the Lord had turned from him not only those who were bound by fealty and gratitude, but even his friends and nearest kindred;"^a and Adelaide refused him a passage, except on condition of his giving up to her five adjoining Italian bishopricks. With such a proposal, which seemed as if intended to embroil him further with the pope, it was impossible to comply, but Henry was fain to purchase the passage by ceding to her a valuable territory in Burgundy.^a

The winter was of extraordinary severity. The Rhine and the Po were thickly frozen over from Martinmas until the end of March; in many places the vines were killed by the frost; the snow which covered the Alps was as hard and as slippery as ice.^b By the help of guides, the royal party with difficulty reached the summit of the pass; but the descent was yet more hazardous. The men crept on their hands and knees, often slipping and rolling down the glassy declivities. The queen, her child, and her female attendants, were wrapped in cow-hides, and in this kind of sledge were dragged down by the guides. The horses were led, with their feet tied together; many dropped dead from exhaustion, some fell from precipices and perished, and almost all the rest were rendered unserviceable.^c

Having achieved this perilous passage, the king arrived at Turin, where he met with a reception which contrasted strongly with the behaviour of his northern subjects. The Italians remembered the effects produced by former visits of German emperors; they looked to Henry for a redress of their grievances, for a pacification of their discords; the Lombards were roused to enthusiasm by a belief that he was come to depose the detested Gregory. Bishops, nobles, and a host of inferior partisans flocked around him, and, as he moved onwards, the number of his followers continually increased.^d

⁷ Lambert, 255.

^a *Ib.* 256.

^b *Ib.* This is questioned by J. von Müller and by Luden (ix. 111), as also by Floto (who, however, supposes that Henry gave the marchioness rich pre-

sents, and that she, in return, provided everything requisite for the passage of the Alps). ii. 123.

^c Lambert, 256; Berthold, 287.

^d Lambert, 256.

^e *Ib.*; Voigt, 430.

The proceedings at Tribur had opened a magnificent prospect to Gregory; he might hope to extinguish the imperial power, and to create it anew in accordance with his own principles.* Contrary to the advice and entreaties of his Roman counsellors,[†] he set out for Germany under the guidance of the countess (or marchioness) Matilda, who, by the murder of her husband, the younger Godfrey of Lorraine, and by the death of her mother, had lately become sole mistress of her rich inheritance.[‡] The "Great Countess" was not more remarkable for power and influence than for character. Her talents and accomplishments were extraordinary; no sovereign of the age was more skilful in the art of government; and with a masculine resolution and energy she united the warmth of a woman's enthusiastic devotion.[§] Her marriage with the imperialist Godfrey, the son of her stepfather, had been disturbed by differences of feeling and opinion, and, after a short union, the pair had lived apart, in their respective hereditary dominions.[¶] The attachment with which she devoted herself to the pope was a mark for the slander of Gregory's enemies, but needs no other explanation than that acquaintance with her from her early years which had given him an opportunity of imbuing her mind with his lofty ecclesiastical principles, and of gaining over her the influence of a spiritual father.^{||} In company with Matilda the pope was advancing northwards, when, on hearing that Henry had reached Vercelli, and finding himself disappointed in his expectation of an escort from the princes of Germany, he was persuaded by her to withdraw to Canossa, a strong Apennine fortress belonging to the countess. There they were joined by the marchioness Adelaide of Susa and her son, who seem to have accompanied the king across the Alps,[Ⓜ] by Hugh abbot of Cluny, the godfather of Henry and the ancient superior of Gregory, and by other persons of eminent dignity.[Ⓝ]

* Voigt, 424.

† Ep. Extrav. 31.

‡ Beatrice died in April, 1076. Donizo, i. c. 20.

§ Luden, viii. 542; Stenzel, i. 351.

¶ Lambert, 257. That Baronius (1073. 22-5) is mistaken in supposing them divorced, is shown by Pagi, xviii. 381. Floto (ii. 20) thinks that Gregory's influence contributed to the separation, and cites Ep. i. 47, in which the pope, a few weeks after the marriage, exhorts Matilda to cultivate an ascetic sanctity. The elder Landulf groundlessly charges Matilda with instigating the assassina-

tion of Godfrey. iii. 31.

Ⓜ Planck, IV. i. 214; Stenzel, ii. 27; Stephen's Essays, ii. 46. The scandal was, as we have seen, alluded to in the letter of the bishops from Worms. Waltram mentions it, but does not seem to believe it, although he censures Matilda's masculine conduct as inconsistent with St. Paul's view of female duty (ap. Freher, i. 219). Lambert refutes the imputations. 257.

Ⓝ Floto, ii. 125-8.

Ⓝ Berthold, 288-9; Bonizo, l. viii.; Card. de Aragonia, ap. Murat. iii. 307. Luden, on mere conjecture, thinks that

ciliation with the pope appeared gradually at Canossa. Some of them had eluded the sentinels who guarded the Alpine passes; some had fallen into the hands of Henry's enemies, and had been obliged to pay heavily for leave to pursue their journey. On their arrival Gregory ordered them to be confined in solitary cells, with scanty fare; but after a few days he summoned them into his presence, and absolved them on condition that, until the king should be reconciled, they should hold no intercourse with him, except for the purpose of persuading him to submission.^o For Henry himself a severer treatment was reserved.

On arriving before Canossa, the king obtained an interview with Matilda, and prevailed on her, with Adelaide, Hugh of Cluny, and other influential persons, to entreat that the pope would not rashly believe the slanders of his enemies, and would grant him absolution. Gregory answered that, if the king believed himself innocent, he ought to wait for the council which had been appointed, and there to submit himself to the pope's impartial judgment. The mediators represented the urgency of the time—that the year of grace was nearly expired; that the hostile princes were eagerly waiting to catch at the expected forfeiture of the kingdom; that, if the king might for the present receive absolution, he was willing to consent to any terms or to any inquiry. At length the pope, as if relenting, proposed that Henry, in proof of his penitence, should surrender to him the ensigns of royalty, and should acknowledge that by his offences he had rendered himself unworthy of the kingdom. The envoys, shocked at the hardness of these conditions, entreated Gregory not to "break the bruised reed;" and in condescension to their importunities he promised to grant the king an interview.^p

But before this interview a deeper humiliation was to be endured. Henry was admitted, alone and unattended, within the second of the three walls which surrounded the castle. He was dressed in the coarse woollen garb of a penitent; his feet were bare; and in this state, without food, he remained from morning till evening, exposed to the piercing cold of that fearful winter. A

Gregory had no intention of going to Germany, but had agreed, at Matilda's request, to receive Henry at Canossa (ix. 106). Abbot Hugh had visited Henry at Spire, and, having then gone to Rome with a view of interceding for

him, had been put to penance for his intercourse with the king while excommunicate. Berthold, l. c.

^o Lambert, 257-8.

^p Ib. 258.

second and a third day were spent in the same manner ; Gregory himself tells us that all within the castle cried out against his harshness, as being not the severity of an apostle, but barbarous and tyrannical cruelty.¹ At last Henry, almost beside himself with the intensity of bodily and mental suffering, sought a meeting with Matilda and the abbot of Cluny in a chapel of the castle, and persuaded them to become sureties for him to the pope ;² and on the fourth day he was admitted to Gregory's presence. Numb with cold, bareheaded and barefooted, the king, a man of tall and remarkably noble person,³ prostrated himself with a profusion of tears, and then stood submissive before the pope, whose small and slight form was now withered with austerities and bent with age.⁴ Even Gregory's sternness was moved, and he too shed tears.⁵ After many words, the terms of absolution were stated. Henry was to appear before a diet of the German princes, at which the pope intended to preside. He was to submit to an investigation of his conduct, and, if found guilty by the laws of the church, was to forfeit his kingdom. In the mean time, he was to refrain from all use of the royal insignia, and from all exercise of the royal authority ; his subjects were to be free from their allegiance to him ; he was to hold no intercourse with his excommunicated counsellors ; he was to yield implicit obedience to the pope in future, and, if in any respect he should violate the prescribed conditions, he was to lose all further hope of grace.⁶ The king was brought so low that even these terms were thankfully accepted ; but Gregory would not trust him unless the abbot of Cluny, with other persons of high ecclesiastical and secular dignity, undertook to be sureties for his observance of them.⁷

The pope then proceeded to the celebration of mass, and, after the consecration, desired Henry to draw near. "I," he said, "have been charged by you and your adherents with simony in obtaining my office, and with offences which would render me unworthy of it. It would be easy to disprove these charges by the evidence of many who have known me throughout my life ; but I prefer to rely on the witness of God. Here is the Lord's body ; may this either clear me from all suspicion if I am innocent, or, if guilty, may God strike me with sudden death !" A thrill of anxiety

¹ Ep. iv. 12.² Donizo, ii. c. 1 (Pertz, xii. 381).³ Otbert, c. 1 (Pertz, xii. 271) ; Floto, ii. 148.⁴ Donizo, ii. c. 1 ; Milman, iii. 72.⁵ Berthold, A.D. 1077 ; Floto, ii.

132.

⁶ Lambert, 259 ; Juramentum Henrici, ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. 50. Waltram remarks on the insidious nature of the terms, p. 161.⁷ Lambert, 259.

ran throughout the spectators; the pope amidst their breathless silence underwent the awful ordeal, and they burst into loud applause. Then he again addressed the king—"Do, my son, as you have seen me do. The princes of Germany daily beset me with accusations against you, so many and so heinous that they would render you unfit not only for empire, but for the communion of the church, and even for the common intercourse of life; and for these they pray that you may be brought to trial. But human judgment is fallible, and falsehood and truth are often confounded. If, therefore, you know yourself to be guiltless, take this remaining portion of the Lord's body, that so God's judgment may approve your innocence."

The ordeal was unequal. The charges from which the pope had purged himself were distinct and palpable; those against the king were unnamed, infinite in variety, extending over his whole life, many of them such as he would have met, not with a denial but with explanation and apology. He shuddered at the sudden proposal, and, after a brief consultation with his friends, told the pope that such a trial, in the absence of his accusers, would not be convincing; he therefore prayed that the matter might be deferred until a diet should meet for the consideration of his case. Gregory assented, and, on leaving the chapel, invited the king to his table, where he conversed with him in a friendly tone, and gave him advice as to his future conduct.*

While the king remained in the castle, the bishop of Zeiz was sent out to absolve, in the pope's name, those who had held intercourse with Henry during his excommunication. His message was received with derision. The Italians cried out that they cared nothing for the excommunication of a man who had been justly excommunicated by all the bishops of Italy—a simoniac, a murderer, an adulterer. They charged Henry with having humbled them all by his abasement; he had thought only of himself, he had made peace with

* Lambert, 259-260. As to the administration of the eucharist, the ancient writers are not agreed. Bonizo (i. viii.), Donizo (ii. 144), and Waltram (161), say that the pope gave it to Henry; Berthold (290) that he offered it, and that Henry declined it as being unworthy. Gregory himself does not allude to it (Ep. iv. 12). Lambert's story is followed by Leo (i. 458), by Stenzel (i. 409-11), and by Dean Milman, who gives the scene very strikingly

(iii. 71-4); cf. Annal. Palith. ap. Pertz, xvi. 72. Luden (ix. 112-5, and notes) and Döllinger (ii. 131) deny the truth of it, apparently from a feeling that it is not creditable to their hero. On the wickedness involved in Gregory's alleged proposal, Steuzel and Dean Milman speak strongly. The protestant Leo's justification of Gregory (i. 459) is hardly to be paralleled by anything in Baronius.

the public enemy, and had deserted those who, for his sake, had exposed themselves to hostility and danger. They spoke of setting up his son, the young Conrad, as king—of carrying the prince to Rome for coronation, and choosing another pope.^a Henry, on joining his partisans, found that a change had come over their disposition towards him. The chiefs returned to their homes without asking his permission; and, as he marched along, the general dissatisfaction was apparent. No cheers or marks of honour greeted him; the provisions which were supplied to him were scanty and coarse; and at night he was obliged to lodge in the suburbs of towns, as the inhabitants would not admit him within their walls. The bishops, who were especially indignant, held a meeting at Reggio, and combined to excite their flocks against him.^b

It is said that when some Saxon envoys expressed their alarm in consequence of Henry's absolution, the pope endeavoured to reassure them in these words—"Be not uneasy, for I will send him back to you more culpable than ever." The story is generally discredited, on the ground that, even if Gregory had been capable of the profound wickedness which it implies, he would not have been so indiscreet as to avow his craft.^c Yet it is hardly conceivable that he should have expected the king to fulfil the engagements which had been so sternly exacted from him in his distress. While the abasement to which Henry had been forced to stoop greatly exceeded all that could have been anticipated, the grace which had been granted to him was far short of his expectations. He was still at the mercy of the offended princes of Germany; his royalty, instead of being restored, seemed to be placed hopelessly beyond his reach. And the temper of the Italians—the enthusiasm with which they had received him, their burning animosity against his great enemy—proved to him that his humiliation had been needless. Although for a time he behaved with an appearance of submission to the pope—partly out of deference to his mother, who visited him at Piacenza^d—he wished to find some pretext for breaking with Gregory, and assured the Italians that he had submitted to him only from reasons of temporary necessity, but that he was now resolved to take vengeance for the indignities to

^a Lambert, 260-1; Voigt, 442-3.

^b Lambert, 261.

^c Waltram (ap. Freher, i. 161) is the only authority for the story. See Schmidt, ii. 317; Schröckh, xxv. 493;

Planck, IV. i. 182-4; Stenzel, ii. 23; Milman, iii. 74.

^d Bonizo, l. viii.; Floto, ii. 139.

Agnes died Dec. 14, 1077. Berthold, 303.

he resumed the insignia of royalty; Liemar of Bremen, with his excommunicated advisers, again appeared at his side, and with them were many who had avoided him during his excommunication. Large contributions of money poured in from his adherents, and he again felt himself strong.^f He asked the pope to allow him to be crowned at Monza, as if his absolution had restored him to the kingdom of Italy; but the request was refused.^g He then invited Gregory to a conference at Mantua; but Matilda, acting either on information or on suspicion of some treacherous design, persuaded the pope not to expose himself.^h

Gregory remained at Canossa, or in its neighbourhood, until the month of August;ⁱ and during his residence there, the countess bequeathed her inheritance to the Roman see^k — a donation which was afterwards renewed, and which, although it never fully took effect, contributed much in the sequel to the temporal power of the popes.^m

The princes of Germany considered that Henry, by going into Italy, had broken the engagements which he had made with them at Tribur, and they resolved to proceed to further measures.ⁿ A diet was summoned to meet at Forchheim, in Franconia, in March 1077. The king excused himself from attending it, on the ground that, being on his first visit to Italy, he was occupied with the affairs of that country, and was unwilling to offend his Italian subjects by hastily leaving them.^o The pope declined the invitation, on the plea that Henry refused to grant him a safe-conduct; but he was represented at the meeting by legates. It was his wish to keep matters in suspense until the king, by some breach of the conditions on which he had been absolved, should give a clear pretext for deposing him, and the legates were instructed accordingly. They were to endeavour that, if the state of the country would permit, the election of a new king should be deferred until their master should himself go into Germany; but if the princes

^e Lambert, 261; Stenzel, ii. 416.

^f Lambert, 262; Schröckh, xxv. 497.

^g P. Bernr. 86; Voigt, 444.

^h Donizo (ii. 134-146) speaks as if it were certain that Henry meant to seize the pope; but it seems to be merely a suspicion. See Luden, ix. 125; Milman, iii. 77.

ⁱ Berthold, 291.

^k Donizo, ii. 173. See too Chron. Casin. iii. 49, and note in Pertz.

^m Mosh. ii. 340. See below, Ch. IV.

ⁿ P. Bernr. 88.

^o Lambert, 262. At this point Lambert's history ends. For his character, see Bowden, ii. 199. The chief object of Prof. Floto's 'Heinrich IV.,' in its earlier part, appears to be to disparage Lambert's authority; and he states that Prof. Ranke (in a work which I have not seen) takes a similar view (Bd. ii. Vorr. iii.).

were bent on carrying it through at once, they were not to oppose them. To the princes he wrote that they should carry on the government of the country, but should refrain from any more decided step until the case of Henry should be fully examined in his own presence.^p

But the Germans were furious against Henry, and would endure no delay. The legates, after expressing the pope's feeling, said that it was for the princes to decide what would be best for their country, and were silent; and Rudolf, duke of Swabia, formerly one of Henry's chief supporters, and connected both with him and with Bertha by having married a sister of each, was chosen as king.^q The first to vote for him was the primate Siegfried, whose eagerness to secure the tithes of Thuringia had contributed so largely to Henry's errors and unpopularity.^r The legates confirmed the choice, and proposed conditions for the new sovereign. He was to discourage simony, and to grant freedom of election to sees; and the kingdom was not to be hereditary, but elective—a provision intended to make its possessors feel the necessity of keeping well both with the pope and with the princes.^s Rudolf was crowned at Mentz, on the 26th of March, by Siegfried and the archbishop of Magdeburg. On the day of the coronation a bloody affray took place between the populace of Mentz and Rudolf's soldiers; and this inauguration of the new reign was too truly ominous of its sequel.^t Siegfried was driven from his city, never to return to it.^u

The setting up of a rival king reawakened the feeling of loyalty in many who had long been discontented with Henry's government, and, when he returned into Germany, his force grew as he went on. He enriched himself, and found means of rewarding his partisans, by confiscating the estates of his chief opponents.^v With Rudolf were the mass of the Swabians, Saxons, and Thuringians; with Henry were Franconia and Bavaria. Yet in countries where the majority favoured one of the rivals, the other also had partisans, so that the division penetrated even into the bosom of families.^w The bishops were for the most part on Henry's side; many abbeys sent their contingents to swell his army, and the populations of the

^p P. Bernr. 88; Voigt, 455, 459.

^q P. Bernr. 93-4; Berthold, 292.

^r Berthold, 292.

^s Bruno, c. 91; Voigt, 457.

^t P. Bernr. 96; Bernold, Ann. 1077; Ekkehard, p. 202; Bruno, c. 92; Ber-

thold, p. 292.

^u Ekkehard, 202; Sigebert, A. D. 1077. He died in 1084. Annal. Saxo, 721.

^v Berthold, 295-8.

^w Voigt, 465; Stenzel, i. 424.

towns were generally with him, out of gratitude for the privileges which they had received from him, and for the protection which he had afforded them against the tyranny of princes and nobles.^a For three years the contest was carried on; the land was desolated by the ravages of war, especially by the outrages of the barbarous and half-heathen Bohemians, whom Henry had called to his aid, and who revelled in acts of profanity and sacrilege, of lust and cruelty.^a Three great battles were fought: at Melrichstadt, in August 1078, and at Fladenheim (or Flarchheim) in January 1080, Rudolph was declared the victor; but so slight was his superiority, and so severe was his loss, that the victories were little more than nominal.^b In the mean time the anarchy of Germany was frightful. Neither Henry nor Rudolf dared to execute justice, from fear of alienating their followers. Violence met with no check, nobles and knights built castles and lived by robbery, and the wretched people were ground to the dust by oppression of every kind.^c The north of Italy too was in a state of continual agitation. Guibert of Ravenna and Tedald of Milan were indefatigable in their exertions against Gregory. Imperialist and papalist bishops fought for the possession of sees, and strove to outbid each other by grants of privileges to their people.^d

Gregory found that he had gone too far—that Henry possessed a strength which the pope had not suspected when at Canossa he subjected him to a humiliation which could never be forgiven; and he was displeased that the princes, by electing Rudolf, had taken into their own hands the determination which he had wished to reserve for himself. During the war, he refrained from showing any decided favour to either party. It was in vain that Rudolf entreated his recognition, and that Henry urged him to excommunicate the rebel leader, although Gregory said that he would do so unless Rudolf should be able to justify his conduct.^e He styled them both kings; he assured the envoys of each that he was anxious to do justice—that he would go into Germany and decide between them; and he asked both to grant him a safe-

^a Voigt, 462-5; see Floto, ii. c. 26.

^b Berthold, 295-313; Bernold, 434; Milman, iii. 83.

^c Bruno, cc. 96-102; Voigt, 491-4.

^d Stenzel, i. 194.

^e Voigt, 486.

^f Ep. ix. 133; Bonizo, 816-7; Voigt,

473. Luden thinks that Henry's request was made, not with any expectation of its being granted, but in order that Gregory might appear before the world as an abettor of the rebellion. ix. 123.

conduct. His legates went from Henry to Rudolf, and from Rudolf to Henry; they took money from each, and spoke to each in terms of encouragement,^f while they were instructed by their master, if either of the rivals should be contumacious, to anathematise him, and to adjudge the kingdom to his more submissive opponent.^g

The Saxons were indignant at this policy. In five letters,^h written in a plain and downright tone of remonstrance, and with a scanty observance of the usual forms, they represent to Gregory the sufferings which they had brought on themselves, by what they had supposed to be an obedience to his instructions. They tell him that they had relied on the firmness of Rome; that, after having urged them into danger, he had deserted them; that they are too simple to understand the subtle and equivocal policy by which he acknowledged two kings at once, and seemed to pay greater honour to him whom he had deposed than to the king whose election they had believed to be warranted by the papal sanction.ⁱ

Gregory, in reply, endeavoured to justify himself by dwelling on the exigencies of the time, and on his wish to do impartial justice. He denied that he had instigated the election of Rudolf; he disowned the acts of his legates who had confirmed that election, and had pronounced a fresh excommunication against Henry at Goslar in November 1077.^k But the Germans treated his excuses as subterfuges; they told him that he ought either to have refrained from proceeding against Henry or to follow up his acts by openly aiding them. They beseech him to have regard to his own reputation, and to the effusion of blood which must lie at his door if he should continue his course of indecision.^m

The tidings of the battle of Fladenheim (Jan. 27, 1080) at length roused the pope to a bolder proceeding. At the March 7, council which was held in the following Lent, and which 1080. was the most fully attended of all his councils, he refused to allow

^f Bruno, 116.

^g Ep. iv. 23-4; v. 15; vi. 1; Voigt, 471-2.

^h Bruno, 107-115.

ⁱ It is generally said that Gregory allowed the first two letters to remain unanswered; but Stenzel (Beilage x.) examines the order, and shows that his letter (Ep. vi. 1, July 1, 1078) is an answer to the first.

^k See Berthold, 302; Bernold, 435; Greg. Epp. vi. 1; vii. 32 ix. 28.

^m Noël Alexandre attempts to give a peculiar colour to Gregory's conduct, by arguing that he had not intended to depose Henry, but only to suspend him (t. xiii. Diss. ii. artt. 4-8). I cannot see ground for this view. Gregory went too far, and wished to recall what he had done. The legates at Forchheim did not exceed their commission, although the result was different from what he had expected or wished.

envoys had advanced; he repeated his threats against all who should give or should receive investiture; and he renewed the excommunication and deposition of the king in very remarkable terms. The sentence, as before, is addressed to St. Peter and St. Paul. He calls the apostles to witness as to the means by which he had attained his office, and as to his conduct in the administration of it. He recounts the course of his dealings with Henry—the king's offences, his excommunication, his absolution, his breach of the promises which he had made at Canossa; the election of Rudolf, which, the pope solemnly protests, was not undertaken by his advice; the calamities which had followed in Germany, and of which he charges the guilt on Henry. He then again declared the king to be deposed, forbade all Christians to obey him, and anathematised him with his abettors. He prayed that Henry might never prosper in war; in the name and with the blessing of the apostles, he bestowed the kingdom of Germany on Rudolf, and promised to all who should faithfully adhere to the new king absolution for all their sins; and he prayed them that, as they had power to bind and to loose in heaven—as they judged angels—so they would now show to kings, princes, and all the world, that the dignities of this life also were in their disposal. "Do you," the form concluded, "so exercise your judgment on the aforesaid Henry, as that all may know that he shall fall, not by chance, but by your power. May he be confounded unto repentance, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord!"^a The pope even ventured to assume the character of a prophet; he foretold (and he staked his credibility on the result) that within a year Henry would either be dead, or deposed and utterly powerless.^o And it is said that he sent into Germany a crown with an inscription signifying that it was the gift of the Saviour to St. Peter and of St. Peter to Rudolf.^p

^a Hard. vi. 1587-92.

^o Bonizo, 819 (who tries to explain this away); Benno, ed. Goldast. 4; Siebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wendover, ii. 21. See Baron. 1080. 50; Bayle, art. *Grégoire VII.*, note N.

^p "Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho."

Siebert (Ann. 1077) wrongly puts this immediately after Rudolf's election. See Voigt, 530; Neand. vii. 162; Giesel. II. ii. 28. It has been generally said that Gregory was induced to espouse

Rudolf's cause openly by a mistaken belief that the battle of Fladenheim was decisive against Henry (Voigt, 516-8). Stenzel, however, ascribes his proceedings to an opposite motive—to a knowledge that Rudolf's cause was nearly desperate, and could only be assisted by the most vigorous measures. i. 459. Comp. Bowden, ii. 265-8. Ladden says that he felt it necessary to act in order to redeem his reputation, which had suffered by his long indecision. ix. 170-4.

On hearing of the pope's proceedings, Henry resolved to meet them by a measure no less decided. At Whitsuntide he assembled a council of his bishops at Mentz, for the choice of a new pope. With a view of obtaining the concurrence of the Lombards, the election was adjourned to a council which was to be held at Brixen, and the German prelates engaged themselves to accept the decision of their brethren. At Brixen, Gregory was condemned as a disturber of the church and of the empire—as a patron of murder, perjury, and sacrilege, a Berengarian heretic, a necromancer, and a demoniac; and Guibert of Ravenna was elected pope, under the name of Clement III.^a

The armies of Henry and his rival met once more, on the bank of the Elster, in October 1080. The contest was long and obstinate; each side prevailed by turns; and, although at last the victory was with the Saxons, the death of their leader converted it into a virtual defeat. The fatal wound is said to have been given by Godfrey of Bouillon—afterwards the hero of the first crusade.^r A stroke from the sword of another cut off Rudolf's right hand, and it was reported that the dying man remorsefully acknowledged this as a just punishment, since with that hand he had sworn fealty to Henry.^s The pope's prediction of Henry's death was falsified; according to one version of the story, he had prophesied the death or ruin of the *pretended* king,^t and Heaven had now declared that the king of Gregory's own choice was the pretender.

Henry offered peace to the Saxons, but they answered that they could not act without the pope; and the king resolved to march on Rome.^u

The prospect which Gregory had before him might well have alarmed him. Henry was stronger than ever, and his alliance was sought by the emperor of the east, who wished to make common cause with him against the Normans. The pope could expect no aid from Philip of France. William of England and Normandy, although Gregory was assiduous in his civilities to him and to his queen, remained cool and uninterested. As he, alone among the sovereigns of his time, found Gregory tractable, he had no motive for

^a Ekkehard, Ann. 1080; Pertz, Leges, ii. 51; Voigt, 531-4. We may, in some measure, understand how some of the offences charged on Gregory were constructively brought home to him from Guy of Ferrara, ap. Pertz, xii. 172. Benno, bishop of Osnaburg, is said to have escaped the necessity of voting on

this occasion by hiding himself in the hollow of an altar. Vita, ib. 72.

^r Will. Tyr. ix. 8 (Patrol. cci.).

^s Ekkehard, p. 204; Voigt, 538-540.

^t Sigebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wenderham, ii. 21.

^u Voigt, 558.

taking part with the antipope ; but he was not disposed to embroil himself in Gregory's quarrels.^x The countess Matilda was the only ally who could be relied on. Her devotion to the papal cause was unbounded ; she placed her forces at Gregory's disposal, she sheltered his adherents in her Alpine fortresses, and by her heroic energy kept up the spirit of his party.^y By the sale, not only of her own precious ornaments, but of those which belonged to her churches, she repeatedly raised large sums, with which she enabled him to purchase for a time the support of the venal and fickle Romans.^z But her forces were altogether unequal to cope with those of Henry ; and the pope was urged by his friends to make peace with the king and to bestow on him the imperial crown.^a

Gregory was undaunted and immoveable in his resolution ; but a change had come over his object. It was no longer a question of things, but of persons. He had professed to break with Henry for the maintenance of certain abuses, and he was now willing to tolerate those very abuses, in order to humble the king. All means were to be taken that men should not be driven to Henry's side.^b The legates in Germany were instructed to permit the ministrations of concubinary priests, on account of the hardness of the times, and the fewness of clergy.^c If the bishop of Osnaburg should be disposed to abandon Henry, they were to deal easily with him in a suit as to tithes.^d The pope wrote to Robert, count of Flanders, in terms of great courtesy, professing, out of a wish to keep him in the unity of the church, to forgive the language which he had used against the apostolic see.^e The legate in France, Hugh, bishop of Die, was reproved for unseasonably enforcing the rigour of the canons. He was ordered to restore some Norman bishops whom he had deposed for refusing to attend a synod. He was to absolve certain knights who had impropriated tithes and had taken the part of simoniac and concubinary clergymen.^f The bishops of Paris and Chartres, against whom Hugh had proceeded in a summary manner, were treated by the pope with indulgence.^g Above all, the legate was to beware of irritating the king of England, whom Gregory, although he professed himself not blind to his faults, declared to be far more worthy of approbation than other

^x Voigt, 552, 559.

^y Donizo, ii. c. 2.

^z Ib. fin. See Muratori, v. 385.

^a Voigt, 554.

^b Giesel. II. i. 30-2.

^c Ep. ix. 3.

^d Ib. 10.

^e Ib. 33.

^f Ib. 5.

^g Ib. 15-6.

kings.^h To every one but Henry the pope breathed conciliation; and in this spirit he sought an alliance with the Normans of the south—selfish, faithless, profane, and sacrilegious robbers as he well knew them to be.

The power and the ambition of the Normans had been continually on the increase. Robert Guiscard had been suspected as an accomplice in the plot of Cencius;ⁱ he had for some years been under excommunication for his invasions of the patrimony of St. Peter;^k but Gregory, by the mediation of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, now eagerly patched up a treaty with him. Guiscard swore to defend the pope; he was released from his excommunication without any profession of penitence; and, instead of exacting restitution from him, Gregory added to a renewal of the grants of Nicolas and Alexander the following remarkable words:—"But as for the territory which you unjustly hold, we now patiently bear with you, trusting in Almighty God and in your goodness, that hereafter your behaviour with respect to it will be such, to the honour of God and of St. Peter, as it becomes both you to show and me to accept, without peril either to your soul or to mine."^m It is said that, in consideration of the expected aid, he even promised Guiscard the imperial crown.ⁿ

In Germany, the partisans of Rudolf set up Count Hermann, of Salm or Luxemburg, as his successor. Gregory instructed his legates to see that no one should be chosen who would not be obedient to the Roman see, and sent them a form of oath to be taken by the new king, which reduced the kingdom, and consequently the empire, to a fief of the church.^o But Hermann was unable to gain any considerable strength, and Henry was safe in disregarding him.

Henry's successes revived the disposition to ask whether the pope were justified in deposing sovereigns; and in answer to a renewed inquiry from Hermann, bishop of Metz, Gregory laid down more fully than before his views of the papal authority.^p He cites the same passages of Scripture on which he had relied in his former letter. He magnifies the sacerdotal power above that of temporal sovereigns. The instances of Theodosius

^h Ib. 5.

ⁱ P. Bernr. 48.

^k Hard. vi. 1578; Pertz, ix. 280; Ep. ii. 9.

^m Hard. vi. 1451.

ⁿ Guil. Appul. iv. 31. This seems very questionable.

^o Ep. ix. 3; Schmidt, ii. 296.

^p Ep. viii. 21.

and Chinderic are reinforced by a fabulous excommunication of Arcadius by pope Innocent,^a and by a forgery, apparently of recent date, in which Gregory the Great is represented as threatening to deprive of his dignity any king or other potentate who should invade the monastery of St. Medard at Autun.^b But the most remarkable words of the letter are those in which the pope contrasts the origin of secular with that of ecclesiastical power. "Shall not," he asks, "the dignity invented by men of this world, who even knew not God, be subject to that dignity which the providence of Almighty God hath invented to His own honour, and bath in compassion bestowed on the world? Who can be ignorant that kings and dukes took their beginning from those who, not knowing God, by their pride, their rapine, perfidy, murders, in short by almost every sort of wickedness, under the instigation of the prince of this world, the devil, have in blind ambition and intolerable presumption aimed at domination over other men, their equals?" The bold assertions of this letter called forth many replies from the controversialists of the opposite party, both before and after the death of Gregory.^c

In the spring of 1081 Henry descended on Italy. Gregory, in a letter to Desiderius, speaks of him as being at Ravenna with a small force, and expresses a confident belief that he will not obtain either supplies or recruits in his further advance. "If we would comply with his impiety," says the pope, "never has any one of our predecessors received such ample and devoted service as he is ready to pay us. But we will rather die than yield."^d The king's army, however, was far stronger than Gregory represented it to be. He ravaged Matilda's territories, and laid siege to her capital, Florence; but, finding that the capture was likely to detain him too long, he relinquished the attempt, and on Whitsun-eve appeared before the walls of Rome.^e As he had expected the

^a Hard. vi. 1471, e. See Waltram, ap. Freher, i. 164.

^b Hard. vi. 1470. The forgeries are in Greg. Ep. xlii. 8-9 (Patrol. lxxvii.); Append. ad Epp., ib. 1330. See Gieseler, II. ii. 8.

^c Hard. vi. 1471. "Are we reading a journalist of Paris in 1791?" asks Dean Milman (iii. 94). We have already had a less explicit passage of the same sort in the earlier letter (p. 627). Honorius of Autun cites Cain as a type of the secular authority, and Abel of the ecclesiastical ('De Apos-

tolico et Augusto,' c. 1, Patrol. clxxii.).

^d E. g. Dietrich of Verdun (Martens, Thesaur. i. 214, seqq.); Sigebert of Gemblours (see Pertz, vi. 272; Gieseler, II. ii. 16); Waltram of Naumburg (in Goldast, Apolog. pro Hen. IV., or in Freher, t. i.); Hugh of Fleury, 'De Regia Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate' (Patrol. clxxiii.; see especially 938-941). Comp. Nat. Alex. t. XIII. Diss. ii. 10.

^e Ep. ix. 11, April 28.

^f Benzo, l. v.; Voigt, 561.

city to open its gates, he was unprovoked with the means of assaulting it, and the siege lasted nearly three years—the king withdrawing during the unhealthy seasons, while such of his troops as remained on duty suffered severely from the climate.^y Gregory, although shut up in his city, and even there regarded with dislike by the mass of the inhabitants, who were influenced by Henry's largesses, abated nothing either of his pretensions or of his activity; he held his synods as usual, he renewed his canons and his anathemas against the imperialists and their practices, he continued, by his legates and correspondence, to superintend the affairs of the church in foreign and distant countries.^z When Henry, in the summer of 1083, had gained possession of the Leonine city, the pope resisted all the importunities of the Roman nobles, clergy, and people, who endeavoured to persuade him to a reconciliation; he would consent to no other terms than that the king should resign his dignity and should submit to penance.^a All attempts at negotiation were fruitless. The pope held a last council, at which he is described as having spoken with the voice not of a man but of an angel; and, without naming Henry, he anathematised him among those who had intercepted bishops on their way to the assembly.^b The Romans, it is said, swore to Henry that either Gregory or another pope should crown him by a certain day. Gregory, on hearing of this, was indignant, but discovered an evasion: if Henry would submit, he would crown him as emperor; if not, he would let down a crown to him from the tower of St. Angelo, accompanied by his curse.^c At length the Romans, weary of the siege, made terms with the king, and ten days before Easter, 1084, he March 21, became master of the greater part of the city. Guibert 1084. summoned Gregory to a council, but the invitation was disregarded.^d The antipope was formally enthroned on Palm Sunday, and on Easter-day performed the imperial coronation of Henry and Bertha.^e

Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and a few of his partisans, chiefly nobles, held out in their fortified houses. In

^y Voigt, 578.

^z Ib. 522-3.

^a Ib. 577.

^b Bernold, 438; Voigt, 580.

^c Bernold, 438 (Pertz, viii. 461). The story seems suspicious, not so much on account of the dishonesty which it imputes to Gregory, as of its childishness; but it is generally received, as by Voigt

(581), Stenzel (i. 485), and Floto, ii. 260.

^d Benzo, l. vii. Prol.

^e There is some confusion between an incomplete inauguration of Guibert at Whitsuntide, 1083, and the more formal ceremony in 1084. See Bernold, p. 438; Pagi, xvii. 544; Voigt, 587-8; Stenzel, i. 486; Jaffé, 444.

him distress the pope had cultivated the aid which Guiscard was bound by his feudal obligations to render; but the Norman was engaged in an expedition which his daring ambition had led him to undertake against the Greek empire,^f and during his absence, Henry, who had entered into an alliance with Alexius Comnenus, and had received a subsidy from him,^g exerted himself to create an interest in the south of Italy. Guiscard, on returning from the east, was occupied for a time in quelling the opposition which had been thus excited;^h but, in Gregory's extremity, the long-desired aid arrived. Guiscard had sent before him a large sum of money, which the pope had employed in purchasing the favour of the Romans;ⁱ and the Norman chief himself now appeared at the head of 6000 horse and 30,000 foot—a wild and motley host, in which were mingled adventurers of many nations, and even a large number of unbelieving Saracens.^k Henry, apprehending no danger, had sent away a great part of his troops, and, as the remainder were unequal to encounter these unexpected enemies, he retired at their approach, taking with him forty hostages, and assuring his Roman friends that he would soon return.^m The gates were closed against

the Normans, but some of them found an entrance by an old aqueduct, and admitted the rest into the city. For three days Rome was subjected to the horrors of a sack. Butchery, plunder, lust, were uncontrolled. The inhabitants, driven to despair by these outrages, rose on their assailants, and Guiscard, to quell their resistance, ordered the city to be set on fire. The conflagration which followed, raged far and wide, and has left its permanent effects in the desolation which reigns over a large portion of ancient Rome. The Romans were at length subdued; multitudes were carried off by the Normans as prisoners, and many thousands were sold for slaves.ⁿ

Gregory was again master of his capital. Guiscard, immediately after having effected an entrance, had carried him in triumph from the fortress of St. Angelo to the Lateran palace, and, falling at his feet, had begged his blessing. But the pope was sick of the Romans, of whose baseness and corruption

^f Anna Comnena, i. 15; iv.-v.; Malaterra, ii. 24, seqq.; Guil. Appul. iv. 181. See Gibbon, v. 351-2; Pagi, xvii. 553.

^g Anna Comn. iii. p. 93; v. 3.

^h Giannone, l. x. c. 5; Luden, ix. 194.

ⁱ Lupus Protospath. Ann. 1083 (Pert. v.).

^k Guil. Appul. iv. 565.

^m Malaterra, iii. 37; Voigt, 590.

ⁿ Bonizo, 818; Bernold, 441; Ludolf sen., iii. 33; Voigt, 591-2; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 128.

the ruins of his city, and dreaded to hear the reproaches which could not but be directed against him as the author of the late calamities. He therefore left Rome in company with his allies, and, after a visit to Monte Cassino, retired to Salerno. There, in the month of July, he held a synod, at which he renewed the anathemas against Henry and the antipope,^o and addressed a letter to all faithful Christians, setting forth his sufferings for the freedom of the church, complaining of their supineness in the cause, and urging them, as they would wish for forgiveness, grace, and blessing here and hereafter, to help and succour their spiritual father and mother—St. Peter and the Roman church.^p During the following winter, he fell sick, and as his illness increased, he became aware that his end was near. He entreated the friends who stood around his bed to tell him if they had observed in him anything which needed correction.^q He declared his faith as to the Eucharist—probably with a view of clearing himself from the suspicions of Berengarianism May 25, which his enemies had industriously cast on him. He 1085. forgave and absolved all whom he had anathematised, with exception of the emperor and the antipope; but with these he charged his adherents to make no peace unless on their entire submission.^r A fearful tempest was raging without as his friends hung over the dying pope.^s Gathering himself up for a final effort, he exclaimed, in words which have been interpreted as a reproach against Providence, but which may perhaps rather imply a claim to the beatitude of the persecuted—"I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."—"My Lord," a bishop is said to have replied, "in exile thou canst not die; for, as vicar of Christ and of His apostles, thou hast received from God the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession!"^t

^o Bernold, 441; Voigt, 605-6.

^p Ep. Extrav. 64 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

^q Hug. Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 466.

^r P. Bernr. 110; Urban. II. ap. Hug. Flavin. p. 466. The imperialists, on the contrary, state that he absolved all; that he acknowledged himself to have sinned greatly in his office, and sent his confessor to request Henry's forgiveness (Benno, p. 17; Sigeo. Gemblac. Ann. 1085—see Bethmann's note; MS. Brit. Mus. ap. Pertz, viii. 471). Gie-

seler is inclined to believe the story of the forgiveness, and to suppose that the rest was invented by the imperialist party (II. ii. 33). Stenzel takes the opposite side (i. 523). Comp. Pagi, xvii. 566.

^s Lupus Protosp. A.D. 1085 (Pertz, v.).

^t P. Bernr. 110. The reply is given less confidently than Gregory's speech (which is illustrated by the letter from Salerno above mentioned).

The strength and towering grandeur of Gregory's character, the loftiness of his claims, the intrepid firmness with which he asserted them through all changes of fortune, the large measure of success which crowned his efforts, in his own time and afterwards, have won for him enthusiastic admirers, not only among persons who are attached to the church of Rome by profession or by sympathy, but among those modern idolaters of energy whose reverence is ready to wait on any man of extraordinary abilities and of unrelenting determination.⁶ But we may hesitate to adopt an estimate which scorns to inquire into the righteousness either of his objects or of the means which he employed.

Gregory found the papacy in miserable degradation; he left it far advanced towards dominion over the kingdoms of the world. The progress which it had made under his administration is significantly shown by the fact that the decree of Nicolas II., as to the election of popes, which had at first been resented as an invasion of the imperial rights, was now the ground on which the imperialists were fain to take their stand,⁷ while the papalists had come to disavow it as unworthy of their pretensions.⁸ The relations of the papacy and of the empire were to be reversed; the emperor was no longer to confirm the election of popes, or to decide between rival claimants of the see, but the pope was to hold the empire at his disposal.⁹ The successor of St. Peter was to give laws to mankind.

We may reasonably believe that Gregory was sincere; we may believe that, in forming and in carrying out his great design, he was not actuated by selfish personal ambition; that he would have been content to go on to the end of his life directing the execution of his policy under the names of other men—anxious only that the policy should succeed, not that the author of it should be conspicuous, and willing that its triumph should be

⁶ See, e. g., Professor Voigt's Preface to the 2nd edition of his *Life of Hildebrand*.

⁷ Bonizo, 818.

⁸ Thus, when in 1084, Otho, bishop of Ostia (afterwards Urban II.), referred to the necessity of the emperor's consent to the election of a pope, Desiderius (afterwards Victor III.) replied that neither pope nor any other man could rightly make such a rule. "Quod si hoc a Nicolao Papa factum est, injuste procul dubio et stultissime factum est, nec pro humana stultitia potest aut

debet amittere suam dignitatem ecclesia," &c. (Chron. Casin. iii. 50). Anselm of Lucca says that the Germans, by their act of deposition against Nicolas (see p. 587), had forfeited the benefit of his decree; that a single patriarch, with his council, was incompetent to abrogate the laws of the whole church; and, moreover, that the decree had been tampered with by the antipope's party. Adv. Guib. Antip. ii. (Patrol. cxlix. 364). Comp. p. 588, note *.

⁹ See Honorius of Autun, 'De Apostolico et Augusto,' 4 (Patrol. clxxii.).

deferred until after he should himself have passed away from earth. But is this enough to entitle him to our approval? Are we to admire a wisdom so blind as that which would remedy the evils of secular misrule by setting up a universal spiritual despotism, and thus, by a certain consequence, plunging the spiritual deeply into secularity? Or shall we sanction the idea of a conscientiousness so imperfect that, in pursuit of one engrossing purpose, it disregards all the ordinary claims of equity, truth, and mercy?

We read of Gregory with awe, mixed, perhaps, with admiration, perhaps with aversion; but in no human bosom can his character awaken a feeling of love. The ruthless sternness of his nature may be illustrated by an incident which occurred before his elevation to the papacy. Thrasimund, a monk of Monte Cassino, had been appointed by the abbot, Desiderius, A.D. 1065. to the abbacy of the dependent monastery of Tremiti. A rebellion broke out among his monks, and he suppressed it with great rigour, blinding three of them, and cutting out the tongue of a fourth. Desiderius, on hearing of this, was overwhelmed with grief; he displaced the abbot, and put him to penance for his cruelty. But Hildebrand justified the severity which had been used, and contrived that Thrasimund should be promoted to a higher dignity.*

The exaltation of the papacy was Gregory's single object. For this he sacrificed Berengar;^b he acted doubly with the Germans; he excited the multitude against the clergy and the empire; he occasioned an endless amount of confusion, bloodshed, and misery. He took advantage of Henry's youth, of the weakness of his position, of the defects of his character; he used his triumph over him inhumanly, and when Henry had again become strong, Gregory, for the sake of gaining allies against this one enemy, was willing to connive at all which he had before denounced as abominable. Other popes had used the censures of the church as means of influencing princes through the discontent of their people; but Gregory was the first who assumed the power of releasing subjects from their obedience. He argued that Scripture made no difference between princes and other men as to the exercise of those powers of binding and loosing which the Saviour committed to His church. But it was forgotten that Scripture allows a discre-

* Chron. Casin. iii. 95. Benno tells pp. 4-5.
outrageous stories of Gregory's cruelty, ^b See the next chapter.

of the western Fathers had strongly insisted on the inexpediency of rigidly enforcing discipline in cases where it would lead to a dangerous disturbance in the church; nor does Scripture give any countenance to the idea that the censures of the church deprive a sovereign of his right to civil obedience.^d

Gregory was not without enthusiasm. He instituted a new office in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and relied much on her aid, and on that of St. Peter; he expected to obtain revelations from heaven by means of visions; he even fancied himself an oracle of the Divine will, and dealt in predictions of temporal weal or woe, which, as we have seen, were, in some cases, signally unfortunate. Yet in many respects he rose above the superstitions and the narrow opinions of his age. He remonstrated humanely and wisely with the king of Denmark against the cruelties which in that country were practised on women accused of witchcraft.^e In the eucharistic controversy raised by Berengar, while he appears himself to have held the opposite doctrine, he allowed that of Berengar to be sufficient for communion with the church.^f In the controversy with the Greek church, he showed himself superior to the zealots of either side by regarding the use of leavened or of unleavened bread as indifferent.^g And, deeply monastic as was his own character, he was free from the indiscriminate rage for compelling all men to enter the cloister. He censures his old superior, Hugh, for having admitted a duke into the society of Cluny—thereby releasing him from the duties of his office, and leaving a hundred thousand Christians without a keeper. Such a man, he says, ought to have retained his place in the world, where, although piety is not uncommon among priests, and monks, and the poor, the instances of it among princes are rare and precious.^h

^d Augustin. adv. Parmen. III. ii. 13. This passage was afterwards quoted by Ivo of Chartres and by Godfrey of Vendome. See below, c. vi.

^e See Fleury, Disc. at end of B. lix. § 18; Nat. Alex. xiii. 551, seqq.

^f Neand. vi. 117.

^g See below, p. 663.

^h Ep. vii. 21.

ⁱ There is in the Lambeth library a commentary on St. Matthew, by a writer named Hildebrand, whom some have identified with Gregory. In a passage of this, published by Allix, and reprinted in the 'Patrologia' (cxlviii. 823), after an examination of the dif-

ferent views as to the eucharist, it is concluded that the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but that we should not inquire how the conversion takes place. Gregory would, indeed, have been satisfied with such a view, but he was ready, on occasion, to go further; and Wharton has pointed out that, in addition to differing in various respects from Gregory, the writer is proved to be of later date (probably about 1150) by quoting St. Bernard (Patrol. 825).

^j Ep. viii. 1; Hard. vi. 1451.

^k Ep. iii. 17. Pagi shows that Hugh duke of Burgundy is meant. xvii. 488.

available in a modified degree for his defence, since it appears that in many things he was more enlightened than his contemporaries. And in admitting this plea for him, or for any other man to whom Holy Scripture was open, we must be careful never to let it cover the violation of duties which Scripture unequivocally enjoins—of justice and mercy, of charity and simplicity; while, on the other hand, we must deny him the credit of any good which it may have pleased Divine Providence to bring out of his acts, if such good were beyond Gregory's own wish and intention.

No doubt that elevation of the papacy in which he was the most effective agent was in the middle ages a great and inestimable bulwark against secular tyranny. But why should one usurpation be necessary as a safeguard against another? Why, if the investiture of bishops by princes was worse in its practical consequences than in its theory, should we be required to sympathise with one who opposed it by a system of which the very theory is intolerable? Spiritual tyranny is worse than secular tyranny, because it comes to us with higher pretensions. Against the oppressions of worldly force, religion may lift up her protest; to those who suffer from them, she may administer her consolations; but when tyranny takes the guise of religion, there is no remedy on earth, except in that which is represented as rebellion against God's own authority. The power of the hierarchy, as established mainly through the labours of Gregory, served as a protection against the rude violence of princes and of nobles; but it claimed for itself a dominion over the minds of men, and it did not hesitate to enforce this by the most inhuman and atrocious measures. And how much of what was worst in the secular power may have arisen out of a reaction against the extravagant claims of the papacy!

While we freely and thankfully acknowledge the good which resulted from Gregory's exertions, we may yet ask—and we may refuse to accept a theoretical assertion as an answer to the question—whether it would not have been infinitely better for mankind, and even for the hierarchy itself, that the power of the Gospel should have been enforced on the world by milder and truer means?^m

^m After the celebration of Gregory as a saint had been granted by earlier popes to certain places, and for certain monastic orders, Benedict XIII., in 1729, put forth an office in his honour for general use. But as it was said in the Legend for the day that Gregory "Henricum, in profundum malorum

prolapsum, fidelium communione regnoque privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei data liberavit," many prelates of France refused to use the office, and it was forbidden in that country, in the imperial dominions, and by the protestant government of Holland. See Schröckh, xxv. 528-9; Guéranger, ii. c. 21.

CHAPTER III.

BERENGAR.

A.D. 1045-1088.

IN the middle of the eleventh century a controversy arose as to the manner of the Saviour's presence in the eucharist. On this question the church had not as yet pronounced any formal decision, nor proposed any test of orthodoxy.^a A real presence of Christ was generally held; but the meaning of this reality was very variously conceived.^b Thus, in England, Aelfric, who is supposed to have written at the beginning of the century, and whose homilies were read as authoritative in the Anglo-Saxon churches, had laid down in these homilies the very doctrine of Ratramn—that the presence of Christ is not material but spiritual.^c But in

^a See Schröckh, xxiii. 490; Gieseler, II. i. 275.

^b Milman, ii. 447.

^c E. g. "Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is, by the power of the Divine word, truly Christ's body and blood: not, however, bodily, but spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered, and the body which is hallowed for housel. . . . In His ghostly body, which we call housel, there is nothing to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. It is, as we before said, Christ's body and His blood, not bodily, but spiritually. Ye are not to inquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is so done." (Homily ii. "Of the Sacrifice on Easter-day," Aelfric, ii. 271-3, ed. Thorpe. See other passages in Routh, *Scriptorum Eccl. Opuscula*, ii. 168, seqq.) There has been much controversy as to who this writer was. He styles himself "monk and priest." It seems probable that he was not Aelfric archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 996-1005), although this view has lately been revived by Dean Hook (i. 435), nor Aelfric archbishop of York (A.D. 1023-1051), although Wharton (*Ang. Sac.* i. 124-135) and Mr. Soames (227-9) think that he

was, and Mr. Thorpe inclines to the same opinion (Pref. to Aelfric). But that his homilies were used by authority in the Anglo-Saxon church is certain (see Thorpe's Preface; Johnson's *Canons*, i. 387; and Lingard, *A. S. C.* i. 319). Dr. Lingard attempts to get over the difficulty of the case by arguing that the homilist was not either of the archbishops; that perhaps other Anglo-Saxon writers, if they could be found, might prove to have taught differently from him; that his doctrine was not native to England, but derived from "Bertram, a foreign writer" (p. 311); that his homilies, compiled, according to the author's own statement, from fathers and later writers, are not faultless, but exhibit such defects as might be expected from the age; that he has been misunderstood, and, after all, did not teach what Dr. Lingard is pleased to describe as "protestant" doctrine, but that with the "figure" Aelfric held the reality also (ii. 314-9, 457, seqq.; see Routh, ii. 185). Dr. Roek also attempts to make out that, on the whole, Aelfric agrees with the Roman doctrine (*Ch. of our Fathers*, i. 22-4). Hardouin took a bolder way to get rid of this inconvenient witness—by finding a Hebrew etymology for his name, and thence arguing that he never really existed! (Soames, 226.) It is, however, a mis-

countries nearer to the centre of the papal influence the opinions of Paschasius had by degrees won general acceptance, and any deviation from them was now regarded as an innovation on the faith.

In the beginning of the century, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, who had been a pupil of Gerbert, excited attention by substituting for the usual form of address to communicants the words—"If thou art worthy, receive." The scanty notices of Leutheric leave it doubtful whether his offence consisted in holding that none but the worthy could really be partakers, or in giving the eucharist the character of an ordeal;^d but, whatever it may have been, he was silenced by king Robert I., and quietly submitted to the sentence.^e Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, a friend of Leutheric, and one of the most eminent teachers of his age, while he maintained that the eucharist was a *pledge*, would not, with Paschasius, affirm its identity with the body in which the Saviour was born, and was crucified; and he speaks strongly against gross and material misconceptions on the subject. It is, however, doubtful in how far Fulbert would have agreed with the doctrines which were afterwards propounded by his pupil Berengar.^f

Berengar was born at Tours about the year 1000, and was educated under Fulbert, in the cathedral school of Chartres.^g His opponents afterwards described him as having in his early days exhibited a passion for novelty, as having despised books and criticised his teacher.^h William of Malmesbury adds that, as Fulbert was on his deathbed, he singled out Berengar from the crowd which filled the chamber, and, declaring that he saw a devil beside him, enticing people to follow him, desired that he might be thrust out.ⁱ But even the less improbable of these stories appears to be refuted by the tone in which an old fellow-pupil of Berengar reminded him of the days when they had studied together under

take to infer from Aelfric's language that the Anglo-Saxon church was formally and consciously opposed to Rome on the doctrine of the eucharistic presence. The real explanation is, that England was somewhat behind countries nearer to Rome in following the progress of Roman opinion; and this will account for the fact, which Dr. Lingard endeavours to turn to account (H. E. i. 334), that there were English bishops in the Roman council, under Leo IX., which condemned Berengar.

^d Schröckh, xxiii. 503; Giesel. II. i.

276.

^e Helgald. Vita Roberti, c. 4, ap. Bouquet, x. 100; Hugo Flavini. ib. 220; Baron. 1004. 5.

^f See Fulb. Ep. i. ad Adeodatum. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 5); Schröckh, xxiii. 503-6; Gieseler. II. i. 276. Bishop Cosin (Hist. Transubstantiationis Papalis, in Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. iv. 114) supposes that Berengar took his doctrine from Fulbert.

^g Nat Alex. viii. 497.

^h Guitmund. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441.

ⁱ W. Malmesb. 465.

his native city, where he became schoolmaster and treasurer of the cathedral. The reputation of the school was greatly raised by him, and his authority as a theologian stood high.^m Eusebius Bruno,ⁿ bishop of Angers, out of respect for his character and learning, bestowed on him the archdeaconry of that city, which Berengar held without relinquishing his preferments at Tours.^o

It appears to have been in 1045 or soon after that Berengar began to draw attention by advocating a doctrine which he professed to have derived from Scotus Erigena, under whose name Ratramn's treatise appears to have been really intended.^p The earliest notices of the novelties imputed to Berengar are contained in letters of expostulation addressed to him by two other old pupils of Fulbert—Hugh, bishop of Langres, whose deposition at the council of Rheims for gross offences has been already mentioned,^q and Adelman, schoolmaster of Liège, who afterwards became bishop of Brixen.^r These writers entreat Berengar to abandon his dangerous speculations. Adelman tells him that in countries of the German as well as of the Latin tongue he was reported to have forsaken the unity of the church.

In 1049, Berengar addressed a letter to Lanfranc, master of the monastic school of Bec in Normandy. Lanfranc was born at Pavia about the year 1005. He received a legal education, and, while yet a young man, became distinguished as an advocate. But the spirit of adventure led him to leave his country; he travelled through France, attended by a train of pupils, and, after having taught for a time at Avranches, was on his way to Rouen, when he was attacked by robbers, who plundered, stripped, and bound him. In his distress he made a vow to amend his life, and when, on the following day, he was set free by some travellers, he asked them to direct him to the humblest monastery with which they were

^k Adelman. in *Bibl. Patr.* xviii. 438.

^m *Hist. Litt.* viii. 199.

ⁿ On his name, see Dupin, viii. 7.

^o Schröckh, xxiii. 507. The '*Histoire Littéraire de la France*,' however, says that the archdeaconry was given by Bruno's predecessor, and not later than 1040. viii. 200.

^p See p. 306; Giesel. II. i. 123, 276; Hagenbach, ii. 91; Floss, in *Patrol.* cxxii. 20, seqq. Berengar supposed the treatise to have been written at the request of *Charlemagne*. *Ep. ad Ricardum*, Hard. vi. 1025.

^q P. 563.

^r Hugo, in *Bibl. Patr.* xviii. 417; Adelman. *ib.* 438. The bishop's letter must have been written before his deposition, in October, 1049. That of Adelman's is placed by Mabillon about the time of the synod of Paris against Berengar, A.D. 1051 (*Acta SS.* IX. x.). But it is generally dated earlier. Soden-dorf assigns it to 1047-8. '*Berengarius Turonensis*,' Hannov. 1850, p. 7. There is a letter by Wolfhelm, abbot of Braunweiler, against Berengar, in the *Patrol.* cliv. 412-4.

esteemed than the neighbouring house of Bec (or Le Bec),* which Herluin, an old soldier who had turned monk, was then building. Lanfranc found the abbot labouring with his own hands at the work, and was admitted into his society in 1042.¹ The poor and despised little monastery soon became famous as a seminary of learning,² and it is not impossible, that, among the motives by which Berengar was led to attack Lanfranc's doctrine, there may have mingled some feeling of jealousy at this unexpected and successful rivalry of his own fame as a teacher.³ In the letter which he now wrote, he expresses surprise that Lanfranc should (as he heard) have espoused the eucharistic doctrine of Paschasius, and should have condemned that of Scotus as heretical; such a judgment, he says, is rash, and unworthy of the "not despicable wit" which God had bestowed on Lanfranc. He taxes him with insufficient study of the Scriptures, while, for himself, he professes to be still but imperfectly acquainted with them. He proposes a conference on the point in question, and in the mean time tells Lanfranc that, if he consider Scotus heretical, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome must be included in the same sentence.⁴

When this letter reached Bec, Lanfranc was absent; and there is some uncertainty as to the next part of the story. Lanfranc states that he had gone to Italy—apparently after having attended the council of Rheims, and in the train of Leo IX;⁵ and that the letter, having been opened by some clerks, brought his own orthodoxy into suspicion. To this Berengar answers that it could not have had such an effect, inasmuch as it showed that the opinions of the person addressed were different from those of the writer, and agreeable to the doctrine which Lanfranc described as being generally held;⁶ and on the strength, chiefly, of this reply

* So called from its *beck*, or brook ("Rivum, qui Beccus dicitur," Chron. Beccense, Patrol. cl. 641). Caudebec, Bolbec, and other Norman names, retain this vestige of the Scandinavian language.

¹ Milo Crisp. Vita Lanfranci, c. 1, ap. Lanfr. ed. Dachery; Vita Herluini, ap. Mabill. ix.; Orderic. Vital. l. iv. t. ii. 109.

² Vita Lanf. 2; Guil. Gemet. vi. 9, ap. Bouquet, x. 35.

³ Guitmund brings this charge against Berengar very coarsely. Bibl. Patr. xvii. 441.

⁴ Hard. vi. 1016. Lessing speaks of this letter as "friendly, modest, and flat-

tering"! 'Berengarius Turonensis,' in Select Works, iv. 76, Donauöschingen, 1822. Milo Crispinus, in saying that Berengar wrote to Lanfranc "*quasi familiaris suo*" (c. 3), seems to mean that there was not such an intimacy between the two as would have warranted the familiar address.

⁵ Lanf. de Euchar. c. 4. See Hist. Litt. viii. 263; Lessing, 79.

⁶ Bereng. de Sacra Cœna, p. 36, ed. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The discovery of this work overthrows Mabillon's conjecture that Lanfranc referred to a different letter from that which now exists. Acta SS. IX. vii.

some modern writers have charged Lanfranc with a complication of intrigue and falsehood, and have supposed that he went to Rome for the express purpose of denouncing Berengar.^b If, however, we look to probability only, without claiming any consideration for Lanfranc's character, we may fairly see reason to question these inferences. Lanfranc could not but have foreseen Berengar's obvious and plausible answer, and would hardly have provoked it, unless he were conscious that his own story was nevertheless true. The mere rumour that a reputed heretic had written to him would naturally raise suspicions; and it would circulate far more widely than the contents of the letter. Nor was it necessary that Lanfranc should act the part of an informer; for Leo had in all likelihood heard of Berengar while yet bishop of Toul—situated as that see is in a district where Berengar's opinions had early excited attention, and on the direct road between the cities from which Adelman and Hugh had sent forth their remonstrances; and it is now known that the pope had spoken of Berengar's alleged errors before leaving Rome for his late circuit beyond the Alps.^c

A synod was held at Rome, where, after his letter to Lanfranc had been read, Berengar was excommunicated—a suitable punishment, say his opponents, for one who wished to deprive the church itself of its communion in the Saviour's body and blood.^d Lanfranc was then required to give an account of his faith, which he did to the satisfaction of the assembly; and Berengar, in order that he might have an opportunity of defending himself, was cited to a synod which was to meet at Vercelli in the following September. He was disposed to obey the summons, although some friends urged on him that, according to the canons, the pope's jurisdiction was limited to the case of appeals, and that questions ought to be decided in the province where they arose.^e

^b See Lessing, 80; Schröckh, xxiii. 516; Neand. vii. 227. The only other ground for these charges is a passage in the Life of Lanfranc by Milo Crispinus: "Romam petierat causâ cujusdam clerici, nomine Berengarii, qui de sacramento altaris aliter dogmatizabat quam ecclesia tenet" (c. 3). But too much is made of this. The other evidence, and even the biographer's own context, show that he was wrong in using words which might lead us to suppose that Berengar's affair was the special cause of Lanfranc's journey to Rome. All

that can be truly said is, that Lanfranc, while at Rome, was engaged in the affair.

^c This appears from a letter of Bruno of Angers, first published by Sudendorf. See Sudend. 15, 99.

^d Lanf. 4; Bernold. de Bereng. Condemnatione Multiplici (Hard. vi. 1013). The author of this tract (formerly styled 'Anonymus Chiffletianus,' after his first editor, Chifflet) was Bernold of Constance, the chronicler (Pertz, v. 386). Berengar denies the charge. De Sac. Cœn. 38.

^e Bereng. 41-2.

But the king, Henry I., to whom he applied as the Martin's monastery, instead of aiding him in his journey, committed him to prison, seized his property, and laid on which, according to Berengar, was greater in amount than he had ever possessed.^f Being thus detained from attending the council, he was again condemned in his absence. A passage read from the book ascribed to Scotus, in which the Eucharist is spoken of as a figure, a token, a pledge, of the Saviour and blood. On this, Peter, a deacon of the Roman church (probably Peter Damiani^g), exclaimed—"If we are a figure, when shall we get the reality?" Scotus was content with his admirer, and the book was committed to the flames by Berengar's brother canons, who had been sent by the king to Tours to request the pope's intercession for his release, and him styled a heretic, cried out to the speaker—"By the God, thou liest!" Another clerk, indignant at the condemnation of Scotus, protested that by such inconsideration St. Augustine himself might be condemned; and the pope thought that these two should be imprisoned, by way of protection from the fury of the multitude.^h

Through the influence of Bruno and other friends, Berengar recovered his liberty. He protested loudly against the done him by the pope, who ought, he said, rather to have ordered the imprisonment of one who was on his way to the papal seat than to have taken advantage of it in order to condemn him in his absence;^k and he desired an opportunity of making his opinions before a council.^m

It would seem to have been in 1051 that Berengar appeared at the council of Normandy, and was condemned by a council held at Bayeux in the presence of duke William;ⁿ and in the same year he was summoned to meet at Paris for the consideration of his opinions. On this Theotwin, the successor of Wazo in

^f Bereng. 42. That the application was made to Henry on account of his special connexion, as abbot, with St. Martin's—not, as Lessing (102) thought, on account of his general prerogative—see Schröckh, xxiii. 518-9; Stäudlin, in Bereng. Præf. 14. Against Gfrörer's wild fancies as to this part of the story (iv. 547-8), see Sudend. 109; Hefele, iv. 709.

^g As Lessing (103) and Sudendorf (109) suppose.

^h Lanf. 4; Bereng. 43; Bernold. ap.

PART II.

Hard. vi. 1013.

ⁱ Bereng. 47 (in answer to the assertion that the two were to defend Berengar's cause, and that he broke down in the attempt, c. 48).

^k Bereng. 42.

^l Ep. ad Ricardum, Hard. vi. 229.

^m Durandi abbat. Troarnensis Corp. et Sang. Christi (ap. Lanf. pend. 106). Sudendorf dates this in 1058. p. 27.

of Liège, addressed a letter to king Henry. After stating that Berengar, in addition to his errors on the Eucharist, was accused of "destroying lawful marriage" and of denying infant-baptism—charges which seem to have been altogether groundless—he speaks of the difficulty arising from the circumstance that Bruno, one of Berengar's chief partisans, was a bishop, and therefore subject to the pope's judgment alone; and he suggests that, in order to overcome this difficulty, the king should not allow any discussion of the question, but should proceed against the Berengarians as heretics already condemned.^o The council was held in October; Berengar, deterred by rumours which reached him, did not appear, and it is said that the assembly, not content with condemning his doctrine, and that of Scotus, decreed that he and his followers should be violently seized, and, in case of obstinacy, should be put to death.^p

In 1054 Berengar was cited to appear before a council which was to be held at Tours under Hildebrand, as legate. He looked forward to this as an opportunity of vindicating himself, and, before the meeting of the assembly, he showed the legate a collection of authorities for his doctrine.^q To the charge of asserting that the elements after consecration in no respect differed from what they before were, he answered that such was not his opinion; that he believed them, when consecrated, to be the very body and blood of Christ.^r Hildebrand, satisfied with this statement, proposed that Berengar should accompany him to Rome, and should there clear himself before the pope; and that in the mean time he

^o Hard. vi. 1023-4.

^p Durand. Troarn. 107. Lessing altogether denies the genuineness of Theotwin's letter and the truth of Durand's statements as to the councils of Brionne and Paris. Schröckh (xxiii. 520-2), Stäudlin (ap. Vischer, 15), and Neander (vi. 231), are more or less for the councils. Gieseler (II. i. 280-1) points out that Theotwin's letter is proved to be genuine by Guitmund's mention of it in his treatise against Berengar (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441). He gives up the council of Paris, and thinks, as does also Sudendorf (12), that a passage of Berengar's letter to Ascelin, which speaks of a journey undertaken for the purpose of appearing before a council, relates to the council of Vercelli. But he holds that Durand may be taken as authority for what passed in Normandy, where he

himself lived. Sudendorf (31) points out a new evidence in favour of the council of Paris—the 'Annales Elencenses Minores,' first published by Pertus (v. 20), which place it in October 1053. I have followed him (12, 30) in adopting that year for both the councils—which Durand (probably from a failure of memory) refers to 1053, while some place them as early as 1050. One argument against the council of Brionne is that the monastery of Pratellæ (Præaux, whence Berengar is said to have gone to it, was not founded until 1053 (Hefele, ii. 112). But there is a charter of 1054 in its favour (Bouquet, xi. 387); see Cossart, ap. Hard. vi. 1018; Nic. Alex. xiii. 508. Hefele places the council of Brionne before that of Vercelli. iv. 710.

^q Sudend. 130. See Hefele, iv. 73.

^r Bereng. 50-1.

should give such explanations as might satisfy the assembled bishops. These explanations were received with some distrust; it was suggested that perhaps Berengar might say one thing with his mouth and hold another thing in his heart. He therefore confirmed the sincerity of his profession by an oath—that the bread and wine are, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ. But the serious illness of Leo obliged Hildebrand to return in haste to Rome, and the arrangement which had been made was not carried out.^a The enemies of Berengar state that, being unable to defend his heresy, he recanted it at Tours, and afterwards resumed the profession of it.^c But this is a misrepresentation founded on their misconception of what his doctrine really was.^u

The controversy rested throughout the pontificates of Victor and of Stephen, until 1059, when Berengar appeared at Rome before the synod held by Nicolas II.^z This appearance would seem to have been voluntary; he probably relied on the favour of Hildebrand, to whom he carried a letter from his only lay supporter whose name is known to us—Geoffrey, count of Anjou—requesting that the cardinal would not temporise, as at the council of Tours, but would openly befriend the accused.^y But the majority of the council proved to be strongly hostile, and Berengar's friends were afraid to speak, while Hildebrand was unwilling to imperil his own influence, and the cause which he had most at heart, by encumbering himself with the defence of the suspected heretic.^z Berengar complains that the council behaved to him not only without Christian kindness, but without reason. They stopped their ears when he spoke of a *spiritual* participation in the eucharist;^a and, when he proceeded to argue in the dialectical form, they desired him to produce authority, rather than arguments which they dreaded as sophisms.^b He reproached the pope for exposing him to beasts, instead of instituting a deliberate inquiry by competent persons; to which Nicolas only replied that he must blame Hildebrand.^c Finding his attempts at a defence hopeless, Berengar

^a Ib. 52-3.

^b Lanfr. c. 3; Bernold, ap. Hard. vi. 1014.

^c Lessing (120) shows that Orderic Vitalis is wrong in supposing Lanfranc to have been at the council of Tours.

^y See p. 583.

^z Ep. x. in Sudendorf, 215-9, who gives a Life of Geoffrey—a powerful, warlike, rough, and lawless prince,

stepfather of the empress Agnes (cf. Gesta Consulum Andegav. c. 10, ap. Dachery, Spicil. iii.). The letter is evidently written by an ecclesiastic in Geoffrey's name.

^a Neand. vi. 235.

^b Bereng. 63-72.

^c Lanfr. c. 7.

^u Bereng. 72-3.

deceased. A concession, drawn up by cardinal Humbert, and embodying a strong and unequivocal assertion of a *material* change in the sacrament, was produced; and Berengar, overpowered, as he tells us, by the fear of death, and by the tumult of his opponents, took the document into his hands, prostrated himself in token of submission, and cast his own writings into the fire.^d

But on returning to his own country Berengar again openly taught his old opinions, and they were widely spread by the agency of poor students.^e He denounced the treatment which he had received from the late council, to which (he said) he had gone, not as a culprit, but of his own free will; ^f he reflected severely on Leo, Nicolas, Humbert, and the Roman church; ^g he maintained that his own doctrine was that of St. Augustine, while the doctrine of Lanfranc and Paschasius was no better than "a dotage of the vulgar."^h Lanfranc wrote to reproach him, Berengar rejoined, and a controversy ensued in which the opinions of each party were brought out into greater distinctness than before.

Lanfranc's treatise 'Of the Body and Blood of the Lord' was written between 1063 and 1070.ⁱ The work opens by blaming Berengar for spreading his errors in an underhand manner, and for declining to argue before competent judges. Lanfranc then

^d Bereng. 72-3. He denies Lanfranc's statement (c. 2), that he subscribed and swore to the confession, which may be found in that place, or in Hardouin, vi. 1064. Lanfranc is said to have been present (Vita 8), but this seems hardly consistent with Berengar's words—"Ego longè verius te quid cum Nicolao egerim novi . . . manu, quod mendaciter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi," etc. A later story was, that he attended Herluin to the council, and, when others were unable to answer Berengar, exposed his errors with such skill that Berengar exclaimed, "Aut tu es Lanfrancus, aut tu es Diabolus." Thom. de Eccleston, in 'Monumenta Franciscana,' 43, Lond. 1858 (Chron. and Mem.).

^e Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1015; W. Malmesb. 462. Lessing (48-9) conjectures that he did not again publish his doctrines until after the death of Nicolas (1061) and of Humbert (1063).

^f Bereng. 72.

^g He styled the church "*ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, nec apostolicam, sed sedem Satanae*;" and, instead of *pontificem*, called Leo *pompificem* and *pupificem*. (Lanfr. 16; Ber-

nold. ap. Hard. vi. 1014. Cf. Bereng. 39, 41, 71.) In Martene's 'Thesaurus,' i. 196, is a letter which the editors suppose to have been probably written by Paulinus, primicerius of Mentz, to Berengar, approving his doctrine and his defence of it, but blaming him "quod de tanta persona sacrilegium dixisti, . . . quia multa humilitate tanto in ecclesia culmini est deferendum." Does this refer to Leo or to Lanfranc as archbishop of Canterbury?

^h Lanfr. 4.

ⁱ For the date, see Lessing, c. iii.: Schröckh, xxiii. 528; Giesel. II. i. 285. The authors of the 'Hist. Litt. de la France' (viii. 212, 288) had attempted to show that it was not written before 1079, so as to give it the credit of finally converting Berengar. Their argument, that, if Berengar had been still inclined to defend his errors, he would have answered it, is destroyed by the discovery of the answer which he actually wrote (see below). The mention of the synod of 1079, in c. 2, on which the Hist. Litt. greatly relies, is an interpolation, found only in one MS. Lessing. 51-4.

gives an account of the proceedings under Leo and Nicolas. He remarks on his opponent's dialectical subtleties.^k He asserts the doctrine of Paschasius, and supports it by quotations from ecclesiastical writers. That the elements after consecration are still styled bread and wine, he accounts for by saying that in Scripture things are often called by the name of that from which they are made; thus man is spoken of as *earth, dust, ashes*; or they are named after something which they resemble—as Christ is styled a *lion* and a *lamb*.^m He represents Berengar as holding the sacrament to be nothing more than a figure and a memorial.ⁿ

Berengar replied in a treatise which, after having been long unknown, has in late times thrown a new and important light on his opinions.^o He gives (as we have seen) a version of the previous history different in many respects from that which had been given by Lanfranc. His fault in the synod under Nicolas consisted (he says) not in having sworn—for that was not required of him—but in having been silent as to the truth.^p He had yielded to the fear of death and of the raging multitude, and in behalf of this weakness he cites the examples of Aaron and of St. Peter; to have adhered to the confession extorted from him would have been as if the Apostle had persisted in the denial of his Lord.^q There is something like effrontery in the tone of contempt and defiance which Berengar assumes after having submitted to such humiliations; but, while we cannot give him credit for the spirit of a martyr, his words are a valuable evidence of the uselessness of force as a means of religious conviction. He strongly protests against the employment of swords and clubs and uproar by way of argument;^r he declares against the principle of being guided by the voice of a majority, while he yet states that the supporters of his own views are “very many, or almost innumerable, of every rank and dignity.”^s He defends his use of dialectics, and denies the charge of despising authority, although he holds reason to be “incomparably higher” as a means for the discovery of truth.^t

^k C. 7.

^m C. 20. Berengar answers this, p. 78, seqq.

ⁿ C. 22. Ebrard thinks that it was this treatise which, for the first time, established Transubstantiation (i. 450). See above, p. 304.

^o Bereng. Turon. De Sacra Cœna adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior, edd. A. et F. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The dis-

covery of the MS. by Lessing, in the Wolfenbüttel Library, led him to write his ‘Berengarius’ (A.D. 1770), in which large extracts from it are given.

^p Pp. 61, 74.

^q P. 59.

^r E. g. pp. 59, 72-3.

^s P. 54, seqq.

^t P. 100.

He complains that he had been condemned, not only without a hearing, but even without a knowledge of his doctrines—especially at the council of Vercelli, when he had not set forth his opinions, nor had attained to such clearness in them as persecution and study had since brought to him.^u The doctrine which he lays down is very different from that which was imputed to him; he distinguishes between the visible sacrament and the inward part or thing signified;^x it is to the outward part only that he would apply the terms for which he had been so much censured—*sign, figure, pledge, or likeness*. He repeatedly declares that the elements are *converted* by consecration into the very body and blood of the Saviour;^y that the bread, from having before been something common, becomes the beatific body of Christ—not, however, by the corruption of the bread, or as if the body which has so long existed in a blessed immortality could now again begin to be;^z that consecration operates, not by destroying the previous substance, but by exalting it.^a It is not a portion of Christ's body that is present in each fragment,^b but He is fully present throughout.^c

On the side of Rome, the pontificate of Alexander II. was a season of peace for Berengar. The pope wrote to him in friendly terms, urging him to forsake his errors; but, although he replied by declaring himself resolved to adhere to his opinions,^d no measures were taken against him, and, when he was persecuted by the nephews and successors of his old patron, Geoffrey of Anjou, Alexander befriended him and interceded for him.^e

In 1075, under the pontificate of Gregory, Berengar was brought before a council held under the presidency of a legate at Poitiers; and such was the tumult that he hardly escaped with his life. About the same time, Guitmund, a pupil of Lanfranc, and only second to him in fame as a teacher, wrote against him a dialogue 'Of the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist.' The tone of this work is very bitter. Guitmund repeats, with

^u Pp. 37-41, 64.

^x "Res sacramenti" (p. 114). See Ebrard, i. 447.

^y Pp. 57, &c.

^z P. 97.

^a Pp. 116, 188.

^b This very gross notion had been laid down by Gerard, bishop of Arras, in his synod against the heretics, A.D. 1025 (see p. 450), where it was said that the Host, on one occasion, appeared as "pars digiti auricularis sanguine

cruentata." Synod. Atrebat. in Patrol. cxliiii. 1282-3.

^c Pp. 119, 131 ~~7~~ cf. 120, 133, 137, 148, &c.

^d Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1015.

^e Sudend. 151-4, 163.

^f Giesel. II. i. 291.

^g Bibl. Patr. xviii. 440-468. The date varies between 1073 and 1077 (Giesel. I. ii. 285; Sudend. 55). Guitmund had refused an English bishoprick, offered to him by the Conqueror.

additions, the charges of error which had been brought by Theotwin;^b he asserts that Berengar denied the possibility of our Lord's having entered through closed doors; it was, therefore, no wonder if he and his followers disbelieved the miracles of the church.¹ The most remarkable passage is one in which the writer draws a distinction between various kinds of Berengarians. All, he says, agree that there is no essential change in the elements; but some deny any presence, and allow only shadows and figures; some—which is said to be the “very subtle opinion” of Berengar himself—admit that the Saviour's body and blood are really and latently contained in the elements, and are, so to speak, *impanated*; others, who are strongly opposed to Berengar, maintain that the elements are changed in part, and in part remain; while others, again, admit the entire change, but think that, when unworthy communicants approach, the bread and wine resume their natural substance.^k

Berengar was once more cited to Rome. The pope received him kindly, and, at a council in 1078,^m endeavoured to provide for his escape by a confession, which, while it A.D. 1078. avowed a change in the eucharistic elements, would have permitted him to retain his own opinions;ⁿ and against the authority of Lanfranc he cited that of Peter Damiani.^o Berengar remained at Rome nearly a year; but the opposite party was vehement, and he was required to undergo the ordeal of hot iron. While, however, he was preparing for it by prayer and fasting, the pope intimated to him that the trial was not to take place; a monk, whom Gregory had desired to address himself by special devotion to the Blessed Virgin for instruction on the subject, had received a

He was afterwards nominated to the archbishoprick of Rouen, but his enemies objected that he was the son of a priest. He then obtained his abbot's leave to go into Italy, where Gregory made him a cardinal, and he was consecrated archbishop of Aversa by Urban II. Order. Vital. l. iv. c. 13. See for him, Anselm, Ep. i. 16; Hist. Litt. viii. 553, seqq.

^b See p. 658.

¹ P. 460.

^k Pp. 441-2. Cf. Alger. Prolog. in Lib. de Sacramentis Corp. et Sang. Domini, Patrol. clxxx. 739. Alger, born about 1070, was schoolmaster of Liège, and died a monk of Cluny about 1132. His treatise is declared by Peter

the Venerable to be the best of all those against Berengar's opinions. Ib. clxxxix. 780.

^m See Hard. vi. 1015-6. Berengar's account of it is in Martene, Thes. Anecd. iv. 99, seqq.

ⁿ It asserted, however, the *identity* of the eucharistic with the natural body of the Saviour.

^o Bereng. ap. Mart. 103. Both parties, it would appear, found something to favour them in Peter. See the ‘Expositio Canonis Missae secundum P. Damiani’ (i. e. a tract professing to set forth his views, and probably written soon after his death), first published by Mai, and reprinted in the ‘Patrologia,’ cxlv. 879, seqq.

revelation that nothing ought to be added to the declarations of Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was sufficient.^p But his opponents pressed for stronger measures, the imperialists broadly impeached the pope's orthodoxy,^q and Berengar was alarmed by a rumour, that Gregory, to save his own reputation, was about to imprison him for life. At the Lent synod of 1079, which consisted of a hundred and fifty bishops and abbots,^r Berengar was required to sign a confession that the elements are "substantially" changed into the real, proper, and life-giving body and blood of Christ. A bold evasion suggested itself to his mind—that *substantially* might be interpreted to mean *while retaining their substance*!—and he professed himself ready to subscribe.^s In answer to a question whether he understood the form in the same sense as the council, he said that he understood it agreeably to the doctrine which he had privately explained to the pope some days before. Such a speech was not likely to be acceptable to Gregory, who thereupon told him that he must prostrate himself in token of unreserved submission, and must own that he had hitherto sinned in denying a substantial change. Berengar, in fear of anathema and of violence, obeyed—as God (he says) did not give him constancy;^t and, after having been charged to refrain from teaching, except for the purpose of recovering those whom he had misled, he was dismissed with a commendatory letter, addressed to all the faithful, in which the pope ordered that no one should injure him in person or in property, and that no one should reproach him as a heretic, forasmuch as he had been acknowledged as a son of the Roman church.^u

After returning to France, Berengar regretted his late compliance, and once more openly professed his real opinions. In 1080, he was summoned before a council at Bordeaux,^x where his statements seem to have been accepted; and in the same year Gregory wrote to desire that the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Angers would protect him against the count of Anjou, who had been incited by his enemies to persecute him.^y Berengar was allowed to spend his last years unmolested in the island of St.

^p Bereng. ap. Mart. 108.

^q Bowden, ii. 246. Gregory was often reproached by them for favouring Berengar. Beuno (ap. Goldast, 3) attacks him for ordering a fast with reference to this question.

^r Bernold (who was himself present),

in Hard. vi. 1016.

^s Bereng. ap. Mart. 105.

^t Ib. 109.

^u Hard. vi. 1585; Greg. Ep. Extrav. 41 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

^x Hard. vi. 1587.

^y Ep. Extrav. 53.

Côme, near Tours, where he died in 1088.^a The latest of his known writings is a letter addressed to a friend on the occasion of Gregory's death, in which he speaks of the pope with regard, expresses a conviction of his salvation, and excuses his behaviour towards himself.^a

The memory of Berengar was revered in the district of Tours, and there was, down to late times, a yearly solemnity at his tomb.^b Hence it has been argued that he finally renounced his heresy,^c having, as was supposed, been converted by Lanfranc's book. But the groundlessness of that supposition has been abundantly shown by the discovery of his answer to Lanfranc; nor is there any reason to question the statement of his contemporary Bernold that he persevered in his opinions to the last.^d The recovery of his treatise, and of other writings, has placed his doctrines in a clearer light, and it is now acknowledged by writers of the Roman church that, instead of supposing the Eucharist to be merely figurative, he acknowledged in it a real spiritual change, while he denied that doctrine of a material change which has become distinctive of their own communion.^e

^a Chron. Turon. ap. Bouquet, xii. 461-5 (where Berengar is described as "in grammatica et philosophia clarissimus, et in negromantia peritissimus"). William of Malmesbury (463) gives his epitaph, by Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, one of the most famous scholars of the age, who has been generally (but perhaps wrongly) described as a pupil of Berengar. (See Hist. Litt. xi. 251; Bourassé in Patrol. clxxi. 20.) The concluding lines are—

"Post obitum secum vivam, secum requiescam,
Nec fiat mellior sors mea sorte sua."

^a Sudend. 232.

^b It was celebrated in Noël Alexandre's day (xiii. 522), and may possibly be so still.

^c Mabill, Acta SS. IX. xxviii.; Nat. Alex. xiii. 522; Pagi, xvii. 598; Döllinger, i. 378. To these Romanists is to be added the "Old Lutheran" Guericke, who still treats him as a Calvinistic heretic. ii. 168-174.

^d Hard. vi. 1016. The chronicle of

Tours, however, states that he died "fidelis et vere Catholicus" (Bouquet, xii. 465). William of Malmesbury says, "*Ævo anteriore ita respuit, ut sine retractatione a quibusdam sanctus habeatur, innumeris bonis, maximeque humillitate et eleemosynis, approbatus,*" &c. (462). Coleridge in the translation of "the last words of Berengarius," on which his own eloquent lines are founded, has overlooked the real point of the saying in Malmesbury (465)—"*Hodie . . . apparebit mihi Dominus meus Jesus Christus, propter penitentiam, ut spero, ad gloriam; vel propter alios,* (i. e. those whom he had led astray,) *ut timeo, ad penam.*"

^e Mabillon inferred this from the MS. of the synod of 1079 (Acta SS. IX. xv. xxii.; Analecta, 513, seq.). See the note on Nat. Alex. xiii. 521; Martene, Thes. iv. 107. Bp. Cosin had vindicated him while less was known of his writings (iv. 116), and had been blamed for so doing by Fecht, a Lutheran, quoted by Lessing, 17.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR
HENRY IV.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A.D. 1085–1106.

GREGORY VII. left behind him a powerful and resolute party. It could reckon on the alliance of the Normans, for whom it was important that the pope should be favourable to their own interest rather than to that of the emperor; and it was supported by the devoted attachment of the Countess Matilda.^a On the other hand, the emperor's strength in Italy was greater in appearance than in reality; for, although many of the chief cities were with him, a strong desire of independence had arisen among them, and he could not safely rely on them unless in so far as his interest coincided with their private objects.^b

When asked on his deathbed to recommend a successor, Gregory had named Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, and first cardinal-presbyter of the Roman church, and had desired that, if the abbot should refuse the papacy, either Otho, bishop of Ostia, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons—the same who, as bishop of Die, had been legate in France^c—or Anselm, bishop of Lucca, the chaplain and chief counsellor of Matilda, should be chosen.^d The general wish was for Desiderius, but he obstinately refused—perhaps from unwillingness to exchange his peaceful dignity for one which, although loftier, must involve him in violent contentions with the emperor and the antipope.^e A year had elapsed, when, at Whitsuntide 1086, he was persuaded to go to Rome, supposing that he was then no longer in danger of having the popedom forced on him. Preparations were made for an election, and, by the advice of Desiderius, Otho was about to be chosen, when an objection

^a Planck, IV. i. 208.

^b *Ib.* 219.

^c See Hug. Flavin. in Pertz, viii. 410, 460.

^d Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Hug. Flavin. l. ii. (Pertz, viii. 466); Codex Udalrici, 166. Paul of Bernried (109, 111) and Anselm's biographer (c. 32, ap. Pertz,

xii.), although they state that Gregory bequeathed his mitre to Anselm, "*tanquam potestatem suam ligandi et solvendi, sed et miracula, credo, faciendi*," say nothing of his including him in the recommendation.

^e Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Stenzel, i. 539.

was raised that he was canonically disqualified, as being already a bishop. Although this impediment had in later times often been disregarded, the mention of it served to divert the multitude, who cried out for Desiderius. The abbot, struggling, and refusing to put on a part of the pontifical dress, was enthroned, and greeted as Victor III.; but immediately afterwards he left the city, and, renouncing the dignity which had been thrust on him, withdrew to his monastery.^f

Ten months more passed away, and in March, 1087, Desiderius summoned a council to meet at Capua, with a view to a new election. At this meeting Roger, son of Robert Guiscard,^g and Jordan, prince of Capua, with a number of bishops, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to retain the papacy; but Hugh of Lyons and Otho of Ostia objected to him, and required an examination into his conduct. By this opposition Desiderius was determined to accept the office which he had so long declined.^h He repaired to Rome under the protection of a Norman force, which wrested St. Peter's from the antipope; and on the 9th of May he was consecrated.ⁱ The partisans of Guibert, however, soon after recovered possession of the church, and, after the fashion of the ancient Donatists, they washed the altars in order to cleanse them from the pollution of the Hildebrandine mass.^k

Although the new pope had been among the most devoted of Gregory's adherents, it would seem that he was now weary of conflict, and desirous to make peace.^m Of his late opponents, Otho submitted to him; but Hugh, who himself aspired to the papacy, addressed to Matilda two letters, in which he charged him with apostasy from Gregory's policy, and with a disposition to grant unworthy concessions to the emperor.ⁿ By this letter Victor was greatly exasperated, and, at a synod at Benevento, in the month of August, he excommunicated the archbishop. The synod renewed the anathema against the antipope, and the decrees against investiture. After three sessions had been held, the pope fell ill; and, having been removed to Monte Cassino, he died on the 16th September.^o Victor has left three books of Dialogues,

^f Chron. Casin. iii. 66-7.

^g Guiscard had died in Cephallonia, on a new expedition against the Greek empire, July, 1085. Anna Comnena, vi. 6; Gibbon, v. 356.

^h Letter of Hugh to Matilda, in Hug. Flavin. (Pertz, viii. 467); Chron. Casin. iii. 68.

ⁱ Chron. Casin. iii. 68-9.

^k Ib. 69.

^m Stenzel, i. 540.

ⁿ Hug. Lugd. Epp. 8-9 (Patrol. clvii.).

^o Chron. Casin. iii. 72-3. Fabulous accounts of his death are given by William of Malmesbury (446), Benedict of Peterborough (Vita Henr. II. 687, ed. Hearne), and others.

which are valuable as throwing light on the history of his time, while, by the excessive credulity which he displays, as well as by their form, they remind us of his model, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.^p

Another long vacancy in the popedom followed. The antipope had possession of Rome, and the emperor's power was formidable to the inheritors of Gregory's principles. But they were encouraged by the resolution of Matilda; and, in March 1088 a council met at Terracina for the appointment of a successor to Victor. In consideration of the difficulties of the time, the form of election prescribed by Nicolas II. was set aside. About forty bishops and abbots were present, together with envoys from the Great Countess, and from some prelates beyond the Alps. The clergy of Rome were represented by the bishop of Porto; the people, by the prefect of the city; and Otho, bishop of Ostia, who had again been recommended by Victor on his deathbed, was unanimously chosen.^q

The new pope, who took the name of Urban II.,^r was a Frenchman of noble family. He was educated at Rheims, under Bruno, afterwards famous as the founder of the Carthusian order, and became a canon of that city; but he resigned his position to enter the monastery of Cluny. In consequence of a request which Gregory had made, that the abbot would send him some monks who might be fit for the episcopate, Otho left Cluny for Rome in 1076; he was employed by the pope in important business, and was advanced to the see of Ostia.^s Urban's principles were the same with those of Gregory, and, if he had not the originality of his master, he was not inferior to him in firmness, activity, or enterprise; while with these qualities he combined an artfulness and a caution which were more likely to be successful than Gregory's undisguised audacity and assumption.^t

At the time of the election, Rome was almost entirely in the hands of the antipope, so that Urban, on visiting it, was obliged to find shelter in the island of the Tiber; while such was his poverty that he was indebted to one of the Frangipani family, and even to some women of the humblest class, for the means of subsistence.^u

^p They are in Bibl. Patr. xviii.

^q Chron. Casin. iv. 2.

^r Benno calls him *Turbanus*, as having troubled the church (*Vita Hildeb. ap. Browne*, i. 82), and the same change was practised on the name of Urban III.

^s Guib. Novig. *Gesta Dei*, ii. 1; Order. Vital. iv. 11 (t. ii. 244); Hist. Litt. viii. 516. There is a Life of Urban by Ruinart in *Patrol. cli.*

^t Stenzel, i. 542; Milman, iii. 112.

^u Godef. *Vindoc. Ep.* i. 8 (*Patrol.*

The city was a scene of continual struggles between the opposite parties. Their mutual exasperation may be imagined from an instance on each side: that Bonizo, a vehement partisan of Urban, on being appointed to the see of Piacenza, after having been expelled from that of Sutri, was blinded and put to death with horrible mutilation by the imperialists of his new city;^a and that Urban declared it lawful to kill excommunicate persons, provided that it were done out of zeal for the church.^b

Henry, when compelled by Robert Guiscard to retire from Rome, had returned to Germany in 1084. He found the country in great disorder, and in August 1086 he was defeated by the Saxons and their allies, at the Bleichfeld, near Würzburg.^c But by degrees he was able to conciliate many of his old opponents,^d and his strength increased; in the following year he received the submission of his rival Hermann,^e and in 1088 he reduced the Saxons to tranquillity.^f In consequence of these successes, the bishops of the opposite party were expelled from their sees, so that Urban had only four adherents among the prelates of Germany.^g While the warriors fought the battles of the papacy and the empire with the sword, the theologians of the parties carried on a fierce controversy with the pen—some of them with learning, decency, and Christian feeling; others with outrageous violence, reckless falsehood, and contemptible buffoonery.^h

clvii.); Bernold, Ann. 1089 (p. 448); Schröckh, xxv. 14. The following epigrams were composed in the characters of Clement and Urban—

CLERM. "Diceris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ad urbe;

Vel muta nomen, vel regrediaris ad urbem."

URS. "Nomen habes Clemens, sed Clemens non potes esse, Cum tibi solvendi sit tradita nulla potestas."

Gerhoh. *Syntagma*, 17 (*Patrol.* cxciv.).

^a Bernold, A.D. 1089, p. 449.

^b Ep. ad Godefr. Ep. Lucanum, ap. Gratian. Decr. II. xxiii. qu. 5, c. 47. The same doctrine had been propounded in Gregory's time by a fanatical priest named Manegold, who also held that the "Henricians" might not be prayed for because they sinned against the Holy Ghost (Giesel, II. ii. 29). Although Manegold was considered by some to be a troublesome man ("homo importunus"), his writings were received "as the answers of a heavenly oracle" by others (Gerhoh. Dialog. de Clericis sæc.

et regul., *Patrol.* cxciv. 1415-6). Floto gives extracts from his unpublished book "Ad Gebhardum," ii. 154, 289, 299, &c. See too *Patrol.* clv. 147, seqq.

^c Ekkeh. 206; Bernold. 445.

^d Annal. Magdeb. ap. Pertz, xvi. 178.

^e Ekkeh. 207. For the insignificance into which Hermann had fallen, see Waltram, ii. 16; Floto, ii. 308.

^f Annal. Saxo, 723.

^g Ib. 722; Ekkeh. 209; Bernold. 449; Dodechin, in Pistorius, i. 658-661. There are letters of Urban as to the consecration of a bishop for Halberstadt at Rome, because the schism prevented his being consecrated at Mentz. The pope exhorts the people to resist the rival imperialist bishop. Epp. 100-2 (*Patrol.* cli.).

^h See Stenzel, i. 496-515. Among the respectable writers on Henry's side were Waltram bishop of Naumburg. Sigebert of Gemblours, Wenrich, schoolmaster of Treves (who wrote under the direction of Dietrich bishop of

In 1089, Urban issued a decree by which the sentences of Gregory were somewhat modified. Anathema was denounced in the first degree against the emperor and the antipope; in the second degree against such as should aid them, or should receive ecclesiastical dignities from them; while those who should merely communicate with them were not anathematised, but were not to be admitted to catholic fellowship except after penance and absolution.^f In the same year the antipope Clement was driven out of Rome by the citizens, who are said to have exacted from him an oath that he would not attempt to recover his dignity.^g A negotiation was soon after opened between the parties, on the condition that Henry should be acknowledged as emperor, and Urban as pope. But it was abandoned through the influence of the imperialist bishops, who naturally apprehended that they might be sacrificed to the proposed reconciliation.^h

Urban now persuaded Matilda, at the age of forty-three, to enter into a second marriage, with a youth of eighteen—the younger Welf, son of the duke of Bavaria.ⁱ The union was one of policy: the pope hoped to secure by it a male head for his lay adherents, to fix the allegiance of Matilda, who had now lost the guidance not only of Gregory but of Anselm of Lucca,^k and to engage the elder Welf to exert all his influence in Germany against the emperor.^l On hearing of the event, which had for some time been

^{A.D.} kept secret from him, Henry crossed the Alps in the ^{1090-92.} spring of 1090, and for three years ravaged Matilda's territories.^m Mantua, after a siege of six months, was surrendered to him by treachery.ⁿ The countess, reduced to great distress,

^{Sept. 1092.} entered into negotiations at Carpineto, and was about to yield, even to the recognition of Clement as pope, when the abbot of Canossa, starting up with the air of a prophet, de-

Verdun), and Wido or Guy bishop of Ferrara: among those who disgraced it were Benno bishop of Osnaburg, and Benzo (see p. 589). The bishop of Ferrara's treatise 'De Schismate Hildebrandi' is published for the first time in vol. xii. of Pertz' 'Monumenta' (1856). The author had been an adherent of Gregory, but after the pope's death joined the imperialists. In the first book he appears strenuously to defend Gregory; but the second is a dialogue between a very simple "Proponens" and a "Respondens" of Clement's party, who overthrows all that had been before said.

The work was written between 1085 and 1100 (p. 149).

^f Urban. Append. ap. Hard. Ep. 1: Bernold, 449.

^g Bernold, 450.

^h Ib.; Schröckh, xxvi. 15.

ⁱ Bernold, 449.

^k Anselm's death is placed in March 1086 by Pagi, xvii. 574, and Muratori. Ann. VI. ii. 30.

^l Schmidt, ii. 339.

^m Bernold, pp. 450-3. See Floto, ii. 334.

ⁿ Donizo, l. ii. cc. 4-5; Bernold, A.D. 1091, p. 451.

clared that to conclude peace on such terms would be a sin against every Person of the Divine Trinity, and the treaty was broken off.^o Henry attempted to take Canossa, the scene of his memorable humiliation; but he was foiled, partly through the dense gloom of the weather, and lost his standard, which was hung up as a trophy in the church of the castle.^p

October.

The antipope had found means of re-establishing himself at Rome in 1091;^q but in 1094 Urban again got possession of the Lateran, through the treachery of the governor, who offered to surrender it for a certain sum. There were, however, no means of raising this until Godfrey, abbot of Vendôme, who had arrived at Rome on a pilgrimage of devotion, by placing at the pope's disposal not only his ready money but the price of his horses and mules, enabled him to complete the bargain.^r

The empress Bertha had died in 1088,^s and in the following year Henry had married Adelaide or Praxedes, a Russian princess, and widow of Uto, marquis of Saxony.^t The marriage was unhappy, and Henry relapsed into the laxity of his early life.^u But worse infamies were now imputed to him;^x it was asserted that he had compelled Adelaide to prostitute herself to his courtiers, that he had required his son Conrad to commit incest with her, and that, when the prince recoiled with horror from the proposal, he had threatened to declare him a supposititious child.^y The empress was welcomed as an ally by Matilda, and her story was related before a synod at Constance, in 1094.^z What her motives may have been for publishing a tale so revolting, so improbable, and in parts so contradictory of itself—whether she were disordered in mind, or whether, in her ignorance of the language in which her depositions were drawn up, she subscribed them without knowing their contents—it is vain to conjecture.^a But it furnished her

^o Donizo, ii. c. 7. See Muratori's note in Pertz, xii. 392.

^p Donizo, ii. vv. 680-723.

^q Bernold, 451.

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husband's enemies with a weapon which they employed with terrible effect against him.^b

About the same time, Conrad appears to have been tampered with by some of the anti-imperialist clergy. This prince A.D. 1093. had grown up at a distance from Henry, and without experiencing his influence; for in early childhood he had been committed to the archbishop of Milan for education, and many years had passed before the troubles of Germany permitted the father and the son to meet again.^c To a character like Conrad's—gentle, studious, devout, and dreamy^d—the long and hopeless contentions of the time, its rude hostilities, the schism of western Christendom, could not but be deeply distasteful; it would seem that the work of alienating him from his father was easy, and that he was preparing to leave the court when Henry, suspecting the intention, committed him to custody. Conrad, however, found means to escape, and sought a refuge with Matilda, who had, perhaps, been concerned in the practices by which he had been incited to rebel,^e and now received him with honour, while Urban released him from his share in the emperor's excommunication. He was crowned at Monza as king of Italy, by Anselm, archbishop of Milan; and many Lombard cities declared in his favour.^f How little the prince's own will concurred in the movements of which he was the nominal head, appears from the fact that he always continued to style Henry his lord and emperor, and would not allow him to be spoken of with disrespect.^g The rebellion of his son inflicted on Henry a blow in comparison of which all his earlier sufferings had been as nothing. He cast off his robes, secluded himself in moody silence, and, it is said, was with difficulty prevented from putting an end to his own life.^h

But a new movement, which now began, was to be far more valuable to Urban and to the papacy than any advantages which could have resulted from the contest with the emperor.

For many years the hardships inflicted on pilgrims by the Mahometan masters of the Holy Land had roused the pity and the indignation of Christendom.ⁱ The stream of pilgrimage had con-

^b Donizo compares Matilda to Deborah, and styles Adelaide the Jael who drove the nail into the temple of the imperial Sisera. ii. c. 8.

^c Floto, ii. 148, 152.

^d Ekkeih. 211; Milman, iii. 115; Floto, ii. 346.

^e Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 57.

^f Bernold, 456; see Stenzel, i. 550; Luden, ix. 251-2.

^g Ekkeih. 211; Chron. S. Pantal. ap. Eccard, i. 916.

^h Bernold, 456.

ⁱ Wilken, i. 45.

tinued to flow, and with increasing fulness. Sometimes the pilgrims went in large bodies, which at once raised the apprehensions of the Mussulmans that they might attempt to take possession of the country, and, by the wealth which was displayed, excited their desire of plunder. A company, headed by Lietbert, bishop of Cambray, in 1054, was so numerous that it was styled "the host of the Lord;" but the bishop and his followers had the mortification of finding that Jerusalem was for the time closed against the entrance of Christians.^k Ten years later, on a revival of the belief that the day of judgment was at hand,^m a still greater expedition set out under Siegfried of Mentz, whose mean and tortuous career was varied from time to time by fits of penitence and devotion. The pilgrims were repeatedly attacked, and, out of 7000 who had left their homes, more than 5000 fell victims to the dangers, the fatigues, and the privations of the journey.ⁿ

A fresh race of conquerors, the Seljookian Turks, had appeared in the east. They carried their arms into Asia Minor, wrested all but the western coast of it from the Greeks, and in 1071 humiliated the empire by taking prisoner its sovereign, Romanus Diogenes. Their conquests were formed into a kingdom to which they insolently gave the name of Roum (or Rome), with Nicæa, the city venerable for the definition of orthodox Christianity, for its capital;^o and in 1076 they gained possession of Palestine. Under these new masters, the condition of the Christian inhabitants and pilgrims was greatly altered for the worse. With the manners of barbarians the Turks combined the intolerant zeal of recent converts to Islam; and the feelings of European Christians were continually excited by reports of the exactions, the insults, and the outrages to which their brethren in the east were subjected.^p

The idea of a religious war for the recovery of the Holy Land was

^k Vita Lietb. 32 (Patrol. cxlvii.).

^m The ground of this belief was, that Easter fell on March 27, which was marked in the Calendar as the anniversary of the Resurrection. Vita Altmanni Patav. c. 3 (Pertz, xii.).

ⁿ Lambert, Ann. 1064-5. Marianus Scotus ap. Pertz, v. 559; Vita Altmanni, 3-5. Among these pilgrims was Ingulf, an Englishman by birth, who had been secretary to William of Normandy, and afterwards became abbot of Croiland (Orderic. Vital. ii. 285). The History of Croiland which bears his name is shown to be spurious by Sir F.

Palgrave in the 'Quarterly Review,' xxxiv. 289-296 (compare Stevenson, Pref. to Ingulf); and to the anachronisms there noted it may be added that Sophronius, who died in 1059, is named as patriarch of Jerusalem at the time of the pilgrimage. It would seem, however, that the 'Historia Croylandensis' is founded on a genuine earlier work. See Lingard, i. 460; Lappenberg, I. lxii.-iv.; Hardy, Pref. to Monum. Hist. Brit. 19.

^o See Gibbon, ch. lvii.

^p Gibbon, v. 403.

first proclaimed (as we have seen³) by Sylvester II. Gregory VII. in the beginning of his pontificate, had projected a crusade, and had endeavoured to enlist the emperor and other princes in the cause;⁴ but, as the object was only to succour the Byzantine empire, not to deliver the Holy Land, his proposal failed to excite any general enthusiasm, and led to no result.⁵ His successor, Victor, had published an invitation to a war against the Saracens of Africa with a promise of remission of all sins to those who should engage in it; and a successful expedition had been the consequence.⁶ But now a greater impulse was to be given to such enterprises.⁷

Peter, a native of Amiens, had been a soldier in his youth. He was married, but withdrew from the society of his wife into a monastery, and afterwards became a hermit.⁸ In 1093, he visited Jerusalem, where his spirit was greatly stirred by the sight of the indignities which the Christians had to endure. He suggested to the patriarch Symeon an application for aid to the Byzantine emperor; the patriarch replied that the empire was too weak to assist him, but that the Christians of the west could help effectually, by prayers if not by arms. On his return to Europe, Peter presented himself before the pope, related his interview with Symeon, and enforced the patriarch's request by a story of a vision in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the Saviour had appeared to him, and had charged him to rouse the western nations for the

³ P. 434.

⁴ See p. 615.

⁵ Sybel, 189; Milman, iii. 129.

⁶ Chron. Casin. iii. 71.

⁷ The chroniclers of the time in general give some account of the first crusade. Of those who have specially made it their subject, vol. clv. of the 'Patrologia' contains Anselm of Ribemont ('Ep. ad Manass. Rem.'), Radulf of Caen ('Gesta Tancredi'—which I have read in Muratori, vol. v.), Raymond de Agiles ('Hist. Francorum'), Robert of St. Rémi ('Hist. Hierosolymitana'), Tudebod ('Hist. de Hieros. Itinere'), Fulcher of Chartres ('Hist. Hieros.'), Gilo ('Gesta Viae Hieros.'), &c. Guibert of Nogent ('Gesta Dei per Francos') is in vol. clvi.; Baldric of Dol ('Hist. Hieros.') and Albert of Aix ('Hist. Hieros.') in vol. clxvi.; Lisiard of Tours ('Hist. Hieros.') in vol. clxxiv.; and William of Tyre ('Hist. Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum') in vol. cci. To these I have added the histories by Wilken, Michaud, and

Sybel ('Der erste Kreuzzug,' Düsseldorf, 1841), with the *Essays on the Influence of the Crusades by Heeren* (Histor. Werke, ii. Göttingen, 1821.) and Choiseul-Daillecourt (Paris, 1824.). Of the two chief recent histories, Wilken's is the more solid and Michaud's the more interesting. Von Sybel aspires to be the Niebuhr of the Crusade—dissecting the old narratives and reconstructing the story. Michaud has analysed the whole literature of the Crusades in his 'Bibliothèque des Croisades' (4 vols. Paris, 1829). The last volume, which contains the Oriental accounts, is the most valuable.

⁸ Guib. Novig. ii. 4; Gibbon, v. 405. Orderic calls him De Acheris. M. Le Prevost thinks that the name L'Ermite was derived from his father; that Peter was not a hermit, and that he did not become a monk until his return from the crusade (n. on Orderic, iii. 477). Alberic of Trois Fontaines speaks of him as a priest, and "vere cognominatus Eremita," ap. Bouquet, xiii. 687.

delivery of the Holy Land.⁷ Urban listened with approbation, but, instead of at once committing himself to the enterprise, he desired Peter to publish it by way of sounding the general feeling. The hermit set forth, roughly dressed, with a thick cord round his waist, with his head and feet bare, and riding on a mule.^a Short of stature, lean, of dark complexion, with a head disproportionately large, but with an eye of fire, and a rude, glowing eloquence, he preached to high and to low, in churches and on highways, the sufferings of their brethren, and the foul desecrations of the land which had been hallowed by their Redeemer's birth and life. He read letters from the patriarch and other Christians, with one which he professed to have received from heaven.^a When words and breath failed him, he wept, he groaned, he beat his breast, and pointed to a crucifix which he kissed with fervent devotion. Some, it is said, regarded him as a hypocrite;^b but the vast mass listened with rapture. The hairs which fell from his mule were treasured up as precious relics. Gifts were showered on him, and were distributed by him as alms. He reconciled enemies; he aroused many from lives of gross sin, and others from a decent indifference; he reclaimed women from a course of profligacy, portioned them, and provided them with husbands. In no long time he was able to return to the pope, with a report that everywhere his tale had been received with enthusiasm, so that he had even found it difficult to restrain his hearers from at once taking arms and compelling him to lead them to the Holy Land.^c

The pope appears to have been sincerely interested in the enterprise for its own sake; yet he can hardly have failed to apprehend something of the advantages which he was likely to reap from it. It opened to him the prospect of uniting all Christian Europe in one cause; of placing himself at the head of a movement which might lift him triumphantly above the antipope, and might secure for the church a victory over the temporal power; of putting an end to the schism which had so long divided the Greek from the Latin Christianity.^d And, while the greater part of his own city was still in the hands of a rival—while he was embroiled in deadly hostility with the most powerful sovereign of the west—Urban boldly resolved to undertake the great work.

⁷ Alb. Aquens. i. 4-5; Will. Tyr. i. 11-2; Wilken, i. 48.

^a Radulf. Cadomensis, ap. Muratori, v. 81; Guib. Novig. ii. 4.

^b Dodechin, Ann. 1096, p. 663; Anal. Saxo, 728; Will. Tyr. i. 11-13.

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^a See Gibbon, v. 407; Schröckh, xxvi. 18; Stenzel, i. 552; Sismondi, iv. 499; Luden, ix. 256; Giesel. II. ii. 40; Milman, iii. 118.

In 1089, Urban issued a decree by which the sentences of Gregory were somewhat modified. Anathema was denounced in the first degree against the emperor and the antipope; in the second degree, against such as should aid them, or should receive ecclesiastical dignities from them; while those who should merely communicate with them were not anathematised, but were not to be admitted to catholic fellowship except after penance and absolution.^f In the same year the antipope Clement was driven out of Rome by the citizens, who are said to have exacted from him an oath that he would not attempt to recover his dignity.^g A negotiation was soon after opened between the parties, on the condition that Henry should be acknowledged as emperor, and Urban as pope. But it was abandoned through the influence of the imperialist bishops, who naturally apprehended that they might be sacrificed to the proposed reconciliation.^h

Urban now persuaded Matilda, at the age of forty-three, to enter into a second marriage, with a youth of eighteen—the younger Welf, son of the duke of Bavaria.ⁱ The union was one of policy: the pope hoped to secure by it a male head for his lay adherents, to fix the allegiance of Matilda, who had now lost the guidance not only of Gregory but of Anselm of Lucca,^k and to engage the elder Welf to exert all his influence in Germany against the emperor.^l On hearing of the event, which had for some time been

^{A.D.} kept secret from him, Henry crossed the Alps in the 1090-92. spring of 1090, and for three years ravaged Matilda's territories.^m Mantua, after a siege of six months, was surrendered to him by treachery.ⁿ The countess, reduced to great distress,

^{Sept. 1092.} entered into negotiations at Carpineto, and was about to yield, even to the recognition of Clement as pope, when the abbot of Canossa, starting up with the air of a prophet, de-

Verdun), and Wido or Guy bishop of Ferrara: among those who disgraced it were Benno bishop of Osnaburg, and Benzo (see p. 589). The bishop of Ferrara's treatise 'De Schismate Hildebrandi' is published for the first time in vol. xii. of Pertz' 'Monumenta' (1856). The author had been an adherent of Gregory, but after the pope's death joined the imperialists. In the first book he appears strenuously to defend Gregory; but the second is a dialogue between a very simple "Proponens" and a "Respondens" of Clement's party, who overthrows all that had been before said.

The work was written between 1085 and 1100 (p. 149).

^f Urban. Append. ap. Hard. Ep. 1: Bernold, 449.

^g Bernold, 450.

^h Ib.; Schröckh, xxvi. 15.

ⁱ Bernold, 449.

^k Anselm's death is placed in March 1086 by Pagi, xvii. 574, and Muratori. Ann. VI. ii. 80.

^l Schmidt, ii. 339.

^m Bernold, pp. 450-3. See Floto, ii. 334.

ⁿ Donizo, l. ii. cc. 4-5; Bernold, A.D. 1091, p. 451.

clared that to conclude peace on such terms would be a sin against every Person of the Divine Trinity, and the treaty was broken off.^o Henry attempted to take Canossa, the scene of his memorable humiliation; but he was foiled, partly through the dense gloom of the weather, and lost his standard, which was hung up as a trophy in the church of the castle.^p

The antipope had found means of re-establishing himself at Rome in 1091;^q but in 1094 Urban again got possession of the Lateran, through the treachery of the governor, who offered to surrender it for a certain sum. There were, however, no means of raising this until Godfrey, abbot of Vendôme, who had arrived at Rome on a pilgrimage of devotion, by placing at the pope's disposal not only his ready money but the price of his horses and mules, enabled him to complete the bargain.^r

The empress Bertha had died in 1088,^s and in the following year Henry had married Adelaide or Praxedes, a Russian princess, and widow of Uto, marquis of Saxony.^t The marriage was unhappy, and Henry relapsed into the laxity of his early life.^u But worse infamies were now imputed to him;^x it was asserted that he had compelled Adelaide to prostitute herself to his courtiers, that he had required his son Conrad to commit incest with her, and that, when the prince recoiled with horror from the proposal, he had threatened to declare him a supposititious child.^y The empress was welcomed as an ally by Matilda, and her story was related before a synod at Constance, in 1094.^z What her motives may have been for publishing a tale so revolting, so improbable, and in parts so contradictory of itself—whether she were disordered in mind, or whether, in her ignorance of the language in which her depositions were drawn up, she subscribed them without knowing their contents—it is vain to conjecture.^a But it furnished her

^o Donizo, ii. c. 7. See Muratori's (Pertz, xvi. 71).
note in Pertz, xii. 392.

^p Donizo, ii. vv. 680-723.

^q Bernold, 451.

^r Godefr. Vindoc. Ep. i. 8 (Patrol. clviii.).

^s Ekkehard, in ann.

^t Ekkeh. A.D. 1089; Annal. Saxo. p. 721. Some writers strangely make her a sister of Godfrey of Bouillon. The Hist. Litt. viii. 599, 603, adopts this view.

^u See Giesel. II. ii. 40. There are strange fables in the Annals of Pölde

^x Luden, ix. 255.

^y Donizo, ii. c. 8; Bernold, Ann. 1094, p. 458; Dodech. Ann. 1093.

^z Bernold, 457-8. It is commonly said that she herself told it there; but, as Luden remarks (ix. 609), this does not seem to be implied in the chronicler's words—"Querimonia pervenit."

^a See Gibbon, v. 407; Schröckh, xxvi. 18; Stenzel, i. 552; Sismondi, iv. 499; Luden, ix. 256; Giesel. II. ii. 40; Milman, iii. 118.

and his nephew Walter "the Pennyless,"^k A separation then took place; the military chiefs went on, with the more vigorous of their followers, and promised to wait for Peter and the rest at Constantinople.^m A second swarm followed under a priest named Gottschalk, and a third under another priest named Folkmar, with whom was joined Count Emicho, a man notorious for his violent and lawless character.ⁿ Each successive crowd was worse than that which had preceded it; among them were old and infirm men, children of both sexes, women of loose virtue—some of them in male attire;^o they were without order or discipline, most of them unprovided with armour or money, with no idea of the distance of Jerusalem, or of the difficulties to be encountered by the way.^p Emicho's host was composed of the very refuse of the people, animated by the vilest fanaticism. It is said that their march was directed by the movements of a goose and a goat, which were supposed to be inspired.^q Their passage through the towns of the Moselle and the Rhine, the Maine and the Danube, was marked by the plunder and savage butchery of the Jewish inhabitants, who in other quarters also suffered from the fury excited among the multitude against all enemies of the Christian name. Bishops endeavoured to rescue the victims by admitting them to a temporary profession of Christianity; but some of the more zealous Jews shut themselves up in their houses, slew their children, and disappointed their persecutors by burning themselves with all their property.^r

'Recueil des Historiens' (Index to vol. xii.) and Lappenberg (ii. 213) identify this place with Pacy on the Eure. Others suppose it to be Poissy, of which the more usual Latin name is *Pisicacum*.

^k *Sensaveir*, *Sine-habere* (W. Tyr. i. 18), or *Sine-pecunia* (Fulcher, i. 2, c. 831)—in German, *Habenichts*.

^m Alb. Aq. i. 7-8; Wilken, i. 80.

ⁿ Ekkehard, 215, who calls Gottschalk "non verus sed falsus Dei servus." See above, p. 308, note ^k. The same writer mentions (A.D. 1117) that Emicho was slain, and (A.D. 1123) that his spirit appeared, with that of other military oppressors, armed and mounted, and entreating prayers and alms for their deliverance from torment.

^o Bernold, Ann. 1096.

^p Wilken, i. 76. Guibert speaks of peasants who put themselves, with their families and all that they had, into carts drawn by oxen, and so went on

the crusade, while, as each town or castle came in sight, their children asked, "Is this Jerusalem?" ii. 3.

^q Alb. Aq. i. 31; Guib. Novig. viii. 9. See Michelet, iii. 25; Wilken, i. 96; Michaud, i. 88-90. Dean Milman quotes, from Billings, on 'The Temple Church' (but without confidently adopting it), an explanation which connects these creatures with Gnosticism. Note on Gibbon, v. 418.

^r Ekkehard, Ann. 1096; Annal. Saxo, 729; Gesta Treverorum, c. 17, ap. Pertz, viii.; Alb. Aq. i. 26; Dodechin, Ann. 1096. Guibert of Nogent relates that, while some were making their preparations for the crusade at Romen, they began to ask, "Why should we go so far to attack God's enemies, when we have before our eyes the Jews, than whom no nation is more bitter in enmity to Him?" They then drove the Jews into a church, and murdered all, of whatever sex or age,

No provision had been made for the subsistence of these vast hordes in the countries through which they were to pass. Their dissoluteness, disorder, and plundering habits raised the populations of Hungary and Bulgaria against them;^a and the later swarms suffered for the misdeeds of those who had gone before. Gottschalk and his followers were destroyed in Hungary, after having been treacherously persuaded to lay down their arms.^t Others were turned back from the frontier of that country, or straggled home to tell the fate of their companions, who had perished in battles and sieges; while want and fatigue aided the sword of their enemies in its ravages.^u The elder Walter died at Philippopoli;^x but his nephew and Peter the Hermit struggled onwards, and reached Constantinople with numbers which, although greatly diminished, were still formidable and imposing.^y

The emperor Alexius was alarmed by the unexpected form in which the succour which he had requested presented itself; and the thefts and unruliness of the strangers disturbed the peace of his capital.^z It is said that he was impressed by the eloquence of Peter, and urged him to wait for the arrival of the other crusaders; but the hermit's followers were resolved to fight, and the emperor was glad to rid himself of them by conveying them across the Bosphorus.^a A great battle took place under the walls of Nicæa, the Turkish capital. Walter the Penneyless, a brave soldier, who had energetically striven against the difficulties of his position, was slain, with most of his followers. Many were made prisoners, and some of them even submitted to apostatise. The Turks, after their victory, fell on the camp, where they slaughtered the unarmed and helpless multitude; and the bones of those who had fallen were gathered into a vast heap, which remained as a monument of their luckless enterprise.^b The scanty remains of the host were rescued

who refused to become Christians. (De Vita sua, ii. 5, Patrol. clvi.) Hugh of Flavigny has a curious passage—"Certe mirum videri potest quod una die pluribus in locis exterminatio illa [Judæorum] facta est, quanquam a multis improbetur factum et religioni adversari judicetur. Scimus tamen quia non potuit immutari quin fierit, cum multi sacerdotes, data excommunicationis sententia, multi principes, terrore comminationis, id perturbare conati sint." Chron. l. ii. Patrol. cliv. 353.

^a Ekkehard, 215; Alb. Aq. i. 7-13; Guib. Novig. ii. 4; Dodechin, Ann. 1096.

^t Alb. Aq. i. 25; Will. Tyr. i. 27-8; Wilken, i. 96.

^u Bernold, A.D. 1096.

^x Order. Vital. iii. 479.

^y Walter arrived on Aug. 1. Sybel, 250.

^z Anna Comnena, l. x. p. 283, ed. Paris; Guib. Novig. iv. 2; Baldr. 1071; Gibbon, v. 431. Anna says that the crusaders were preceded by swarms of locusts. p. 284.

^a Anna Comn. p. 286; Rob. S. Rem. i. 3.

^b Rob. S. Rem. i. 4; Anna Comn. x. p. 287; Alb. Aq. i. 22.

by Alexius, at the request of Peter, who had returned to Constantinople in disgust at the unruliness of his companions; they sold their arms to the emperor, and endeavoured to find their way back to their homes.^c It is reckoned that in these ill-conducted expeditions half a million of human beings had already perished, without any other effect than that of adding to the confidence of the enemy, who dispersed the armour of the slain over the east, in proof that the Franks were not to be dreaded.^d

In the mean time the more regular forces of the crusaders were preparing. Every country of the west, with the exception of Spain, where the Christians were engaged in their own continual holy war with the infidels,^e sent its contributions to swell the array.^f Germany, at enmity with the papacy, had not been visited by the preachers of the Crusade, and, when the crowds of pilgrims began to stream through it, the inhabitants mocked at them as crazy, in leaving certainties for wild adventure; but by degrees, and as the more disciplined troops appeared among them, the Germans too caught the contagion of enthusiasm. Visions in the sky—combats of airy warriors, and a beleaguered city—added to the excitement. It was said that Charlemagne had risen from his grave to be the leader, and preachers appeared who promised to conduct those who should follow them dryshod through the sea.^g

Of the chiefs, the most eminent by character was Godfrey of Bouillon, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had accompanied William of Normandy in the invasion of England, and descended from the Carolingian family through his mother, the saintly Ida, a sister of Godfrey the Hunchbacked.^h In his earlier years, Godfrey had been distinguished as a partisan of the emperor. It is said that at the Elster, where he carried the banner of the empire, he gave Rudolf of Swabia his deathwound by driving the shaft into his breast, and that he was the first of Henry's army to mount the

^c Alb. Aq. i. 23; Baldr. 1073; Orderic, iii. 491; Wilken, i. 88-94; Michaud, i. 94; Sybel, 254.

^d Raym. de Agiles, 5; Guib. Novig. ii. 5; Wilken, i. 101. Heeren observes that the estimates of the crusaders, being formed merely by conjecture, must be received with much distrust (82). Fulcher of Chartres reckons the fighting men of the first crusade at 600,000, and the whole multitude at ten times that number! i. 4; comp. Alb. Aq. iii. 37; Choiseul-Daillecourt, 28; Gibbon, v. 436-7.

^e This was the age of the Cid, whose death is placed in 1099. Pagi, xviii. 109.

^f William of Malmesbury takes the opportunity to satirize his neighbours—"Tunc Wallensis venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus cruditatem reliquit piscium." 533.

^g Ekkehard, 214-5.

^h Genealog. Comitum Buloniensum, ap. Pertz, ix. 300-1; Vita Idæ, Patrol. clv.; Order. Vital. iii. 612.

walls of Rome.¹ His services had been rewarded by Henry with the marquisate of Antwerp after the death of Godfrey, and to this was added in 1089 the dukedom of Lower Lorraine, which was forfeited by the emperor's rebel son Conrad.² A fever which he had caught at Rome long disabled him from active exertion; but at the announcement of the crusade he revived, and — partly, perhaps, in penitence for his former opposition to the pope—he vowed to join the enterprise, for which he raised the necessary funds by pledging his castle of Bouillon, in the Ardennes, to the bishop of Liège.³ Godfrey is described by the chroniclers as resembling a monk rather than a knight in the mildness of his ordinary demeanour, but as a lion in the battle-field—as wise in council, disinterested in purpose, generous, affable, and deeply religious.⁴ Among the other chiefs were his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France; the counts Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois and Chartres; and Robert duke of Normandy, the brave, thoughtless, indolent son of William the Conqueror.⁵ Each leader was wholly independent of the others, and the want of a recognised head became the cause of many disasters.⁶

In order that the passage of the army might not press too severely on any country, it was agreed that its several divisions should proceed to Constantinople by different routes.⁷ Godfrey, at the head of 10,000 horse and 80,000 foot, took the way through Hungary, where his prudence was successfully exerted in overcoming the exasperation raised by the irregular bands which had preceded him.⁸ The crusaders from Southern France in general

¹ W. Tyr. ix. 8; W. Malmesb. 572; Gibbon, v. 423; Wilken, i. 68. Von Sybel rejects the accounts of Godfrey's earlier history, and labours to show that his character has been unduly exalted and idealised. 262, 535, seqq.

² Sigebert, Ann. 1089; Luden, ix. 65.

³ Alb. Aq. v. 13; W. Tyr. ix. 8; W. Malmesb. 574; Michaud, i. 96. As the castle, from its position, had been a source of great annoyance to the people of the diocese, the bishop Otbert (who will be mentioned again hereafter) was so desirous to get possession of it, that for this purpose he stripped St. Lambert's relics of their golden case, and sold the ornaments of his churches. It was to become per-

manently the property of the see, unless redeemed within a certain time by Godfrey or one of his next three successors; and so it remained (Gesta Pontif. Leodiens. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 607). See the 'Triumphale Bulonicum' of Reiner, a monk of Liège, i. 1 (Patrol. cciv.), where it is said that Godfrey's brother Eustace, on returning from the Holy Land, renounced all claim to it.

⁴ Radulph. Cadom. 14; Rob. S. Rem. i. 3; W. Tyr. ix. 5.

⁵ Urban. Ep. ad Alex. Comn. ap. Hard. 1645; Radulph. Cadom. 15.

⁶ Sybel, 283.

⁷ Wilken, i. 77.

⁸ Ekkehard, 215; Alb. Aq. ii. 6; Wilken, i. 104.

went through Italy, and thence by sea either to the ports of Greece and Dalmatia, or direct to Constantinople.* A large force of Normans, under Roger of Sicily, and Bohemund, the son of Robert Guiscard by his first marriage, were engaged in the siege of Amalfi, when Hugh of Vermandois, with his crusaders, arrived in the neighbourhood. The enthusiasm of the strangers infected the besiegers, and Bohemund, who had been disinherited in favour of his half-brother, and had been obliged to content himself with the principality of Tarentum, resolved to turn the enterprise to his own advantage. He raised the cry of "God wills it!" and, sending for a mantle of great value, caused it to be cut up into crosses, which he distributed among the eager soldiers, by whose defection Roger found himself compelled to abandon the siege. The new leader was distinguished by deep subtlety and selfishness; but with him was a warrior of very opposite fame—his cousin or nephew Tancred, whose character has (perhaps not without some violence to facts) been idealised into the model of Christian chivalry.¹

The gradual appearance of the crusading forces at Constantinople renewed the uneasiness of Alexius, and the accession of Bohemund, who had been known to him of old in Guiscard's wars against the empire, was especially alarming.² That the emperor treated his allies with an artful, jealous, distrustful policy, is certain, even from the panegyric history of his daughter Anna Comnena;³ but the statements of the Latin chroniclers⁴ are greatly at variance with those of the Byzantine princess; and it would seem that there is no foundation for the darker charges of treachery which they advance against Alexius.⁵ Godfrey was obliged to resort to force in order to establish an understanding with him;⁶ and the emperor then took another method of proceeding. While obliged to entertain his unwelcome visitors during the remainder of the winter season, he plied the leaders with flattery and with gifts, and obtained from one after another of them an act of homage, with a promise to resign to him such parts of their expected conquests as had formerly belonged to the

* Fulcher, i. 2; W. Tyr. ii. 17, seqq.

¹ Tudeb. l. i. col. 767; Rob. S. Rem. ii. 2; Guib. Novig. iii. 2; Chron. Casin. iv. 11; Lupus Protospatha, Ann. 1096, ap. Pertz, v.; Orderic, iii. 487; Wilken, i. 123-4. As to Tancred's parentage, see Giannone, l. ix. c. 7; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 73.

² Anna Comn. l. x. pp. 285, 302-5;

Tudeb. l. ii. col. 770; Guib. Novig. iv. 21.

³ Pp. 293, seqq.
⁴ See, e. g., Will. Malmesbur. 535; R. de Agiles, *passim*; Ekkehard, 216; Rad. Cadom. 9; Chron. S. Pantaleon. ap. Eccard. i. 912.

⁵ Schröckh, xxv. 64; Wilken, i. 109.

⁶ A. Comn. p. 294; Guib. Novig. ii. 6; W. Tyr. ii. 6-8.

empire, in return for which he promised to provide for their supply on the march, and to follow with an army for their support. He skilfully decoyed one party across the Bosphorus before the arrival of another; and by Whitsuntide 1097 the whole host had passed into Asia.^b They had been joined at Constantinople by Peter the Hermit,^c and were accompanied by an imperial commissioner, whose golden substitute for a nose excited the wonder and distrust of the Franks.^d

The Turks of Roum were now before them, and, on approaching the capital of the kingdom, their zeal and rage were excited by the sight of the hill of bones which marked the place where Walter and his companions had fallen.^e Nicæa was besieged from the 14th of May to the 20th of June, but on its capture the Latins were disappointed of their expected plunder, by finding that the Turks, when it became untenable, had been induced by the imperial commissioner to make a secret agreement for surrendering it to Alexius. The discovery filled them with disgust and indignation, which were hardly mitigated by the presents which the emperor offered by way of compensation; and they eagerly looked for an opportunity of requiting their perfidious ally.^f A fortnight later was fought the battle of Dorylæum, in which the fortune of the day is said to have been turned by heavenly July 4.

champions, who descended to aid the Christians.^g The victory was so decisive that the sultan of Roum was driven to seek support among the brethren of his race and religion in the east.^h

The army had already suffered severely, and, as it advanced through Asia Minor, it was continually thinned by skirmishes and sieges, by the difficulties of the way, and by scarcity of food and water.ⁱ The greater part of the horses perished, and their riders endeavoured to supply their place by cows and oxen—nay, it is

^b A. Comn. pp. 298-300; R. S. Rem. iii. 3; Guib. Novig. iii. 2; Order. Vital. iii. 499; Gibbon, v. 432-5; Wilken, i. 119-121; Michaud, i. 111-7; Sybel, 319, seqq.

^c Alb. Aq. ii. 19.

^d "Naso desciso, et ob id utens aureo" (Guib. Novig. iv. 4). "Nares habens mutilas, in signum mentis perverse." W. Tyr. ii. 23.

^e Wilken, i. 141.

^f A. Comn. l. xi. pp. 310-11; Alb. Aq. ii. 22-7; R. Agil. 4; Fulcher, i. 4; Guib. Novig. iii. 5; Baldr. 1083-4; W. Tyr. iii. 11; Ord. Vital. iii. 506-7;

Wilken, i. 150.

^g R. Agil. 6 (who, however, adds, "Sed nos non vidimus"); Michaud, i. 143-7. Here we meet with a well-known name, "Robertus vero Parisiensis, miseris volens succurrere, sagitta volatili confixus et extinctus est" (Alb. Aq. ii. 39). The scene at the homage to Alexius, in which Scott identifies Robert with the Frank who took the emperor's seat, is related by Anna Comnena, pp. 300-1.

^h Alb. Aq. iv. 1-7; Gibbon, v. 440.

ⁱ Gibbon, v. 438; Wilken, i. 157.

said, by the large dogs and rams of the country.^k Godfrey was for a time disabled by wounds received in an encounter with a savage bear.^m Disunion appeared among the leaders,ⁿ and some of them began to show a preference for their private interests over the great object of the expedition.^o Baldwin, disregarding the remonstrances of his companions, accepted an invitation to assist a Christian prince or tyrant of Edessa, who adopted him and promised to make him his heir. The prince's subjects rose against him, and, in endeavouring to escape by an outlet in the wall of the city, he was pierced with arrows before reaching the ground, while Baldwin established himself in his stead.^p But the great mass of the crusaders held on their march for Jerusalem.

At length they arrived in Syria, and on the 18th of October laid siege to Antioch. The miseries endured during this siege, which lasted eight months, were frightful. The tents of the crusaders were demolished by the winds, or were rotted by the heavy rains, which converted their encampment into a swamp;^q their provisions had been thoughtlessly wasted in the beginning of the siege, and they were soon brought to the extremity of distress; the flesh of horses, camels, dogs, and mice, grass and thistles, leather and bark, were greedily devoured; and disease added its ravages to famine.^r Parties which were sent out to forage were unable to find any supplies, and returned with their numbers diminished by the attacks of the enemy.^s The horses were reduced from 70,000 to less than 1000, and even these were mostly unfit for service.^t Gallant knights lost their courage and deserted; among them was Stephen of Blois, who, under pretence of sickness, withdrew to Alexandretta, with the intention of providing for his own safety if the enterprise of his comrades should miscarry.^u The golden-nosed Greek commissioner, looking on the ruin of the crusaders as certain, obtained leave to depart, by promising to return with reinforcements and supplies, but was careful not to reappear.^x Peter the Hermit, unable to bear the privations of the siege, and perhaps the

^k R. S. Rem. iii. 4; Tudeb. ii. 3.

^m Alb. Aq. iii. 21; W. Tyr. iii. 18.

ⁿ Alb. Aq. iii. 8-11.

^o Michaud, i. 141.

^p Fulcher, i. 6; Alb. Aq. iii. 19-24; Guib. Novig. iii. 6; W. Tyr. iv. 5; Wilken, i. 167-9; Sybel, 376.

^q Fulch. i. 7; R. S. Rem. iv. 2; Alb. Aq. iii. 52; W. Tyr. iv. 17.

^r R. Agil. 5.

^s W. Tyr. iv. 17.

^t Ans. de Ribodim. col. 473; Tudeb. l. ii. col. 780; R. Agil. 8; Alb. Aq. iv. 28.

^u Fulch. i. 7; Alb. Aq. iii. 14; Tudeb. col. 794; W. Tyr. v. 10.

^x Tudeb. l. ii. col. 780; Guib. Novig. iv. 51; W. Tyr. iv. 21.

reproaches of the multitude, ran away, with William, count of Melun, who, from the heaviness of his blows, was styled "the Carpenter;" but the fugitives were brought back by order of Bohemund, who made them swear to remain with the army.⁷ Yet, in the midst of these sufferings, the camp of the crusaders was a scene of gross licentiousness, until the legate Adhemar compelled them to remove all women from it, to give up gaming, and to seek deliverance from their distress by penitential exercises.⁸ As the spring advanced, the condition of the army improved; supplies of provisions were obtained from Edessa, and from Genoese ships which had arrived in the harbour of St. Symeon; most of the deserters returned; and on the 2nd of June, through the treachery of one Firuz, who had opened a negotiation with Bohemund, and professed to embrace Christianity, the crusaders got possession of the city, although the fortress still remained in the hands of the enemy.⁹

The capture of Antioch was marked by barbarous and shameful excesses.¹⁰ All who refused to become Christians were ruthlessly put to the sword.¹¹ The crusaders, unwarned by their former distress, recklessly wasted their provisions, and when, soon after, an overwhelming force of Turks appeared, under Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who had been sent by the sultan of Bagdad to the relief of Antioch, they found themselves shut up between these new enemies and the garrison of the fortress.¹² Their sufferings soon became more intense than ever. The most loathsome food was sold at exorbitant prices; old hides, thongs, and shoe-leather were steeped in water, and were greedily devoured;¹³ even human flesh was eaten. Warriors were reduced to creep feebly about the silent streets, supporting themselves on staves.¹⁴ The cravings of famine levelled all ranks; nobles sold their horses and arms to buy food, begged without shame, or intruded themselves unbidden at the meals of meaner men; while some, in despair and indifference to

⁷ Rob. S. Rem. iv. 3; Tudeb. col. 779; Guib. iv. 4.

⁸ R. Agil. 8; W. Tyr. iv. 22.

⁹ Radulph. Cadom. 58-72; Alb. Aq. iv. 20-6; Rob. S. Rem. v. 4; Baldr. col. 1102; Will. Tyr. v. 11-23; W. Malmeab. 556-8; Order. Vital. 524, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 442-6; Wilken, i. 176-201; Michaud, ii. 10-41; Sybel, 383-410. Firuz afterwards relapsed. The Franks called him Pyrrhus, and thus he came under the odium attached to the traditional complexion of Judas. "Si enim

Pyrrhus Græce rufus est Latine, et infidelitatis nota rufus inuritur, isdem ergo a sua minime linea exorbitasse probatur." Guib. Novig. vi. 5.

¹⁰ Order. Vital. iii. 540; Rad. Cad. 67.

¹¹ Ans. de Ribodim. col. 474.

¹² Fulch. i. 11; Alb. Aq. iv. 1; Ans. de Ribodim. col. 474.

¹³ R. Agil. 16, Tudeb. col. 797; Alb. Aq. iv. 34; Baldr. col. 1117.

¹⁴ W. Tyr. vi. 7.

life, withdrew to hide themselves and to die.^g Many deserted, —William the Carpenter being especially noted among them, for the violation of his late oath; and while some of these were cut off by the enemy, others surrendered themselves and apostatised.^h Rumours of the distress which prevailed, even exaggerated (if exaggeration were possible), reached Stephen of Blois in his retreat; regarding the condition of his brethren as hopeless, he set out on his return to the west, and, on meeting Alexius, who was advancing with reinforcements, he gave such a representation of the case as furnished the emperor with a pretext for turning back, and leaving his allies to a fate which seemed inevitable.ⁱ

In the extremity of this misery, Peter Bartholom  s, a disreputable priest of Marseilles, announced a revelation which he professed to have thrice received in visions from St. Andrew—that the lance which pierced the Redeemer's side was to be found in the church of St. Peter. The legate made light of the story; but Raymond of Toulouse, to whose force Peter was attached, insisted on a search, and, after thirteen men had dug a whole day, the head of a lance was found.^k The crusaders passed at once from despair to enthusiasm. Peter the Hermit was sent to Kerboga, with a message desiring him to withdraw; but the infidel scornfully replied by vowing that the invaders should be compelled to embrace the faith of Islam; and the Christians resolved to fight. After a solemn preparation, by prayer, fasting, and administration of the

holy eucharist, all that could be mustered of effective
June 29.

soldiers made a sally from the city, with the sacred lance borne by the legate's chaplain, the chronicler Raymond of Agiles.^m The Saracens, divided among themselves by fierce dissensions, fled before the unexpected attack, leaving behind them an immense mass of spoil; and again the victory of the Christians was ascribed to the aid of celestial warriors, who are said to have issued from the neighbouring mountains in countless numbers, mounted on white horses, and armed in dazzling white.ⁿ The fortress was

^g Rad. Cad. 73, seqq.; Alb. Aq. iv. 36, seqq.; R. S. Rem. vi. 3; W. Tyr. vi. 7; Order. Vital. iii. 546-551; Wilken, i. 210; Michaud, ii. 45-7.

^h Guib. Novig. vi. 3.

ⁱ Anna Comn. i. xi. pp. 324-5; Alb. Aq. iv. 37-40; W. Tyr. vi. 9-12.

^k R. Agil. 14-5; Alb. Aq. iv. 44-7; W. Tyr. vi. 14. See Vic and Vaissette, ii. 309-310. Anna Comnena confounds this Peter with the Hermit and with Adhemar. i. xi. p. 326.

^m R. Agil. 17; Ans. de Ribodim. col. 475; R. S. Rem. vii. 2; Tudeb. col. 800. See the extracts from Mussulman writers in Michaud, Bibl. des Croisades, iv. 9.

ⁿ Rob. S. Rem. vii. 3-4; Baldr. col. 1123; Fulcher, i. 14; Will. Tyr. vi. 18-22; Rad. Cad. 100; Orderic, iii. 548-559; Wilken, i. 213-224; Michaud, ii. 50-9. Firuz is said, in a conference with Bohemund, to have asked where were the quarters of a troop, armed in white

soon after surrendered into their hands ;^o but the unburied corpses which poisoned the air produced a violent pestilence, and among its earliest victims was the pious and martial legate Adhemar.^p Fatal as this visitation was to those who had been enfeebled by the labours and privations of the siege, it was yet more so to a force of 1500 Germans, who arrived by sea soon after its appearance, and were cut off almost to a man.^q Godfrey, fearing a return of the malady which he had caught at Rome, sought safety from the plague by withdrawing for a time into the territory of his brother Baldwin of Edessa.^r

A report of the capture of Antioch and of the legate's death was sent off to Urban, with a request that he would come in person to take possession of St. Peter's eastern see, and would follow up the victory over the unbelievers by reducing the schismatical Christians of the east to the communion of the Roman church.^s In the mean time the Greek patriarch was reinstated, although he soon found himself compelled to give way to a Latin ;^t and, after much discussion between the chiefs who asserted and those who denied that the conduct of Alexius had released them from their promise to him, Bohemund, in fulfilment of a promise which he had exacted as the condition of his obtaining the surrender of the city, was established as prince of Antioch.^u

Although the discovery of the holy lance had been the means of leading the crusaders to victory, the imposture was to cost its author dear. The Norman, when offended by his patron Raymond of Toulouse, in the advance to Jerusalem, ridiculed the idea of St. Andrew's having chosen such a man for the medium of a revelation, and declared that the lance, which was clearly of Saracen manufacture, had been hidden by Peter himself. Peter offered, in proof of his veracity, to undergo the ordeal of passing between two burning piles, and the trial took place on Good Friday 1099. He was severely scorched ; but the multitude, who supposed him to have come out unhurt, crowded round him, threw him down in their excitement, and, in tearing his clothes into relics, pulled off pieces of his flesh with them. In consequence

and riding white horses, which in every encounter spread destruction among the infidels ; and the question revealed to the crusaders that they were supported by superhuman aid. Rob. S. Rem. v. 4.

^o Rob. S. Rem. vii. 4 ; Tudeb. col. 800.

^p Alb. Aq. v. 4 ; Baldr. col. 1127.

^q Alb. Aq. v. 23 ; W. Tyr. vii. 8.

^r Alb. Aq. v. 13.

^s The letter is in Fulcher, i. 15.

^t Alb. Aq. v. 1 ; Will. Tyr. vi. 23.

^u Rob. S. Rem. v. 4 ; viii. 1 ; R. Agil. 8, 21 ; Baldr. col. 1104, 1128 ; Wilken, i. 265 ; Sybel, 455.

of this treatment he died on the twelfth day; but to the last he maintained the credit of his story, and it continued to find many believers.^a

The ravages of the plague, and the necessity of recruiting their strength after the sufferings which they had undergone, detained the crusaders at Antioch until March of the following year.⁷ Three hundred thousand, it is said, had reached Antioch, but famine and disease, desertion and the sword, had reduced their force to little more than 40,000, of whom only 20,000 foot and 1500 horse were fit for service;^a and on the march to Jerusalem their numbers were further thinned in sieges and encounters with the enemy, so that at last there remained only 12,000 effective foot-soldiers, and from 1200 to 1300 horse.^a Aided by the terror of the crusade, the Fatimite Arabs had succeeded in recovering Jerusalem from the Turks; and before Antioch the Christian leaders had received from the caliph an announcement of his conquest, with an offer to rebuild their churches, and to protect their religion, if they would come to him as peaceful pilgrims. But they disdained to admit any distinction among the followers of the false prophet, and replied that, with God's help, they must win and hold the land which He had bestowed on their fathers.^b On the 6th of June, after a night during which their eagerness would hardly allow them to rest, they arrived in sight of the holy city. A cry of "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! It is the will of God!" burst forth, while with many the excess of joy could only find vent in tears and sighs. All threw themselves on their knees, and kissed the sacred ground. But for the necessity of guarding against attack, they would have continued their pilgrimage with bare feet; and they surveyed with eager credulity the traditional scenes of the Gospel story, which were pointed out

^a Rad. Cadom. 102, 108; Tudeb. col. 807; R. Agil. 28-31; Will. Tyr. vii. 18. Guibert of Nogent is indignant with Fulcher for doubting the truth of the tale (Fulch. i. 10; Guib. viii. 9). Raymond has a story of a priest to whom the legate Adhemar appeared after death, saying, "Ego sum in choro cum beato Nicolao, sed quia de lancea Domini dubitavi, qui maxime credere debuissem, deductus sum in infernum, ibique capilli mei, ex hac dextera parte capitis, et mediætas barbæ combusta est; et licet in pœna non sim, tamen clare Deum videre non potero, donec capilli et barba sicut antea fuerant mihi succreverint" (27). The chronicler also

relates that he himself had secretly doubted, and was put to confusion by finding, after the ordeal, that Peter had been informed of his doubts by a vision of the Blessed Virgin and bishop Adhemar (28).

⁷ Wilken, i. 253.

^a R. Agil. 25; Gibbon, v. 452; Michaud, ii. 51.

^b R. Agil. 38. The chronicler of St. Pantaleon's says that in this march they suffered from hunger to such a degree as to eat "corpora Sarracenorum jam fœtentium." Eccard, i. 913.

^b Ekkehard, 217; R. S. Rem. v. 1; W. Tyr. vii. 23.

by a hermit of Mount Olivet.^c The Christians who had been expelled from the city, and had since been miserably huddled together in the surrounding villages, crowded to them with tales of cruelty and profanation, which raised their excitement still higher. Trusting in their enthusiasm, and expecting miraculous aid, they at once assaulted the walls; but they were unprovided with the necessary engines, and met with a disastrous repulse.^d

During the siege of forty days which followed, although those who could afford to buy were well supplied with food and wine,^e the crusaders in general suffered severely from hunger, and yet more from the fierce thirst produced by the heats of midsummer, and the burning south wind of that parched country. The brooks were dried; the cisterns had been destroyed or poisoned, and the wells had been choked up by the enemy; water was brought in skins from a distance by peasants, and was sold at extravagant prices, but such was its impurity that many died of drinking it;^f the horses and mules were led six miles to water, exposed to the assaults of the Arabs; many of them died, and the camp was infected by the stench of their unburied bodies.^g The want of wood was a serious difficulty for the besiegers. In order to remedy this, the buildings of the neighbourhood were pulled down, and their timber was employed in constructing engines of war;^h but the supply was insufficient, until Tancred (according to his biographer) accidentally found in a cave some long beams which had been used as scaling-ladders by the Arabs in the late siege, and two hundred men under his command brought trees from a forest in the hills near Nablous.ⁱ All—nobles and common soldiers alike—now laboured at the construction of machines, while the defenders of the city were engaged in similar works, with better materials and implements. But the Christians received an unexpected aid by means of a Genoese fleet which opportunely arrived at Joppa. The sailors, finding themselves threatened by an overwhelming naval force from Egypt, forsook their ships, and joined the besiegers of Jerusalem, bringing to them an ample supply of tools, and superior skill in the use of them.^k At length the works were completed,

^c Rad. Cad. 111-3; Baldr. col. 1139; W. Tyr. vii. 24-5.

^d Fulcher, i. 18; Will. Tyr. vii. 23; Michaud, ii. 92-4.

^e Fulcher, i. 18; Alb. Aq. vi. 7.

^f R. Agil. 35; Alb. Aq. vi. 6; Guib. Novig. vii. 2; Will. Tyr. viii. 4.

^g Baldr. col. 1141; Will. Tyr. viii. 7; Order. Vital. iii. 602.

^h Baldr. col. 1141.

ⁱ Rad. Cad. 120-1; Michaud, ii. 97, who, in his appendix, identifies this with the ancient forest of Sharon.

^k W. Tyr. viii. 8-10.

and the crusaders, in obedience, it is said, to a vision of the legate Adhemar, prepared for the attack of the city by solemn religious exercises. After having moved in slow procession around the walls, they ascended the Mount of Olives, where addresses were delivered by Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, a chaplain of Robert of Normandy. The princes composed their feuds, and all confessed their sins and implored a blessing on their enterprise, while the Saracens from the walls looked on with amazement, and endeavoured to provoke them by setting up crosses, which they treated with every sort of execration and contempt.^m On the 14th of July a second assault was made. The besiegers, old and young, able-bodied and infirm, women as well as men, rushed with enthusiasm to the work. The towering structures, which had been so laboriously built, on being advanced to the walls, were opposed by the machines of the enemy; beams and long grappling-hooks were thrust forth to overthrow them; showers of arrows, huge stones, burning pitch and oil, Greek fire, were poured on the besiegers; but their courage did not quail, their engines stood firm, and the hides with which these were covered resisted all attempts to ignite them. The fight was kept up for twelve hours, and at night the Christians retired.ⁿ Next day the contest was renewed, with even increased fury. As a last means of disabling the great engine which was the chief object of their dread, the Saracens brought forward two sorceresses, who assailed it with spells and curses; but a stone from the machine crushed them, and their bodies fell down from the ramparts, amid the acclamations of the besiegers.^o In the end, however, the crusaders were repulsed, and were on the point of yielding to despair, when Godfrey saw on the Mount of Olives a warrior waving his resplendent shield as a signal for another effort.^p Adhemar and others of their dead companions are also said to have appeared in front of the assailants, and, after a fierce struggle, they became masters of the holy city—the form of the legate being the first to mount the breach. It was noted that the capture took place at the hour of three on the afternoon of a Friday—the day and the hour of the Saviour's passion.^q

The victory was followed by scenes of rapine, lust, and carnage,

^m R. Agil. 36-7; W. Tyr. 8, 11.

ⁿ Alb. Aq. vi. 2-15; Guib. Novig. vii. 8; Will. Tyr. viii. 13.

^o Will. Tyr. viii. 15.

^p "Miles, qui tamen postea non comparuit." (Will. Tyr. viii. 16.) Compare

an incident after the battle of Marathon. Herodot. vi. 124; Grote, iv. 473.

^q R. Agil. 39; Tudeb. col. 816; Will. Tyr. viii. 18-22; Gibbon, v. 454; Will. Maken, i. 289; Michaud, ii. 107-8.

disgraceful to the Christian name. The crusaders, inflamed to madness by the thought of the wrongs inflicted on their brethren, by the remembrance of their own fearful sufferings, and by the obstinate resistance of the besieged, spared neither old man, woman, nor infant. They forced their way into houses, slew the inhabitants, and seized all the treasures that they could discover.⁷ Seventy thousand Mahometans were massacred; many who had received a promise of life from the leaders were pitilessly slaughtered by the soldiery.⁸ The thoroughfares were choked up with corpses; the temple and Solomon's porch, where some of the Saracens had made a desperate defence, were filled with blood to the height of a horse's knee; and, in the general rage against the enemies of Christ, the Jews were burnt in their synagogue.¹ Godfrey, who in the assault had distinguished himself by prodigious acts of valour, took no part in these atrocities, but, immediately after the victory, repaired, in the dress of a pilgrim, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to pour out his thanks for having been permitted to reach the sacred city. Many followed his example, relinquishing their savage work for tears of penitence and joy, and loading the altars with their spoil; but, by a revulsion of feeling natural to a state of high excitement, they soon returned to the work of butchery, and for three days Jerusalem ran with blood.² When weary of slaying, the crusaders employed the surviving Saracens in clearing the city of the dead bodies and burning them without the walls; and, having spared them until this labour was performed, they either killed them or sold them as slaves.³

Eight days after the taking of the city, the victors met for the election of a king. The names of various chiefs were proposed, and, as the surest means of ascertaining their real characters, their attendants were questioned as to their private habits. Against Godfrey nothing was discovered, except that his devotion was such as sometimes to detain him at the accustomed hours of food—a charge which the electors regarded as implying not a fault but a virtue. The duke of Lorraine, therefore, was chosen king of Jerusalem; but he refused to wear a crown of gold where the

⁷ Will. Tyr. viii. 20.

⁸ Alb. Aq. vi. 23; Baldr. col. 1144; Will. Tyr. viii. 19.

¹ R. Agil. 38; Ekkehard, 217; Rad. Cad. 132-4; Guib. Novig. vii. 4; Will. Tyr. viii. 19; W. Malmesb. 568; Order. Vital. iii. 610-1. Lupus Protospatha

(Ann. 1099, ap. Pertz, v.) exaggerates the number of victims to 200,000.

² Rob. S. Rem. ix. 1; Alb. Aq. vi. 25; Tudeb. col. 817; Guib. Novig. vii. 4; Wilken, i. 297-8.

³ Baldr. col. 1144; Guib. Novig. vii. 4.

King of kings had been crowned with thorns, and contented himself with the style of "Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre."⁷

Godfrey had hardly been chosen when he was again summoned to arms by the appearance of a superior force of Saracens from Egypt, which had arrived too late to succour the garrison of

Jerusalem. The crusaders were victorious in the battle
 Aug. 14.

of Askelon;⁸ and, having thus secured the footing of their brethren in the Holy Land,^a the great body of them returned to Europe, after having bathed in the Jordan, carrying with them palm-branches from Jericho, and relics of holy personages, who, for the most part, had before been unheard of in the west.^b Among those who returned was Peter the Hermit, who spent the remainder of his days in a monastery of his own foundation at Huy, near Liège, until his death in 1115.^c

The new kingdom was at first confined to the cities of Jerusalem and Joppa, with a small surrounding territory, but was gradually extended to the ancient boundaries of Palestine.^d The French language was established; and Godfrey, with the assistance of the most skilful advisers whom he could find, laid the foundation of a code of laws, derived from those of the west, and afterwards famous under the name of the "Assizes of Jerusalem."^e After having held

his dignity for little more than a year, Godfrey died
 Aug. 17, 1100. amidst universal regret, and, by his recommendation, his brother, Baldwin of Edessa, was chosen to succeed him as king;^f for the scruple which the hero of the crusade had felt as to this title was now regarded as unnecessary.^g Crusaders and pilgrims

⁷ Tudeb. col. 818; Will. Tyr. ix. 2, 9; W. Malmesb. 576; Gibbon, v. 456.

^a R. Agil. 42; Tudeb. col. 819; Fulcher, i. 19; Will. Tyr. ix. 10-2.

^b Ekkehard, 217; Gibbon, v. 456.

^c Fulcher, i. 20-2; Wilken, ii. 19; Mosheim, ii. 314. Edmer relates that Bohemund, when in Normandy, in 1106, divided between St. Anselm and certain churches twelve hairs, which the patriarch of Antioch had given him, with the assurance that the Blessed Virgin plucked them from her head as she stood mourning by the cross (Hist. Novorum, p. 75). Another crusader was so fortunate as, at the taking of Jerusalem, to find, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, some hairs with a similar history. They had been preserved by St. John and other "philo-

Christi"—"quia hoc multorum saluti profuturum noverant." Order. Vital. iii. 608-9.

^d Gesta Pontif. Leod. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 607; Pagi, xviii. 270.

^e Fulcher, ii. 2; Gibbon, v. 457. The principality of Antioch was annexed under Baldwin II. Fulcher, iii. 7.

^f On these see Gibbon, v. 460; Wilken, i. 305, seqq., and supplement. In their present shape, the Assizes are a hundred and fifty years later, and Von Sybel thinks that the account of their origin is fabulous (517). The laws relating to judicial combat, and the titles of the rest, are given in the 'Patrologia,' vol. clv.

^g Rad. Cad. 142-3; Wilken, ii. 59.

^h See Fulcher, ii. 2.

continued to flock towards the Holy Land, excited less by the triumphs of their brethren than by sympathy for their sufferings; and in these expeditions many perished through the difficulties and dangers of the way.^b

The patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been sent out of the city by the Arabs before the siege, had since died in Cyprus.¹ As at Antioch, a Latin patriarch was established; and the Greek Christians, who found themselves persecuted as schismatics, were reduced to regret the days when they had lived under the government of the infidels.^k Nor were the Latins free from serious dissensions among themselves. The Norman Arnulf, who has been already mentioned, a man of ability, but turbulent, ambitious, and grossly immoral,^m had contrived to get himself hastily elected to the patriarchate on the taking of Jerusalem, and had endeavoured to prevent the appointment of any secular head for the community.ⁿ He was set aside in favour of Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who arrived from Rome with a commission as legate in succession to Adhemar,^o and is said to have obtained the support of the chiefs by means of wealth which he had acquired on a mission in Spain; but Daimbert was no less bent on establishing the supremacy of the hierarchy. Not content with persuading Godfrey and Bohemund to take investiture at his hands, he advanced claims of territory for the church which would have left the new royalty almost destitute; and Godfrey was glad, in the difficulties of his situation, to make a provisional compromise with the patriarch's demands.^p The troubles thus begun continued to divide the kings and the patriarchs of Jerusalem, while the patriarchate itself was the subject of intrigues, which led more than once to the deposition of its possessors.^q The patriarch, too, had to contend with his brother of Antioch for precedence and jurisdiction;^r and his authority was boldly defied by the great military orders which soon after arose.^s

The diminished kingdom of Roum, of which Iconium became the capital, was now isolated between the Latins of Syria and the Byzantine empire.^t But, although the crusaders had saved the

^b Wilken, ii. c. 12; Michaud, i. 137; x. 5.

¹ Alb. Aq. vi. 39.

^k Gibbon, v. 457.

^m Will. Tyr. vii. 18; ix. 1; xi. 15, 26.

ⁿ R. Agil. 35, 40; Wilken, i. 301-6.

^o Bernard, 466; Alb. Aq. vii. 7; Fulcher, i. 21; Guib. Novig. viii. 1.

^p Will. Tyr. ix. 15-8; Wilken, ii. 53-5.

^q See Alb. Aq. vi. 46-51, 58-62; viii. 16-17; Will. Tyr.; Schröckh, xxv. 86-90.

^r Paschal II. Epp. 20, 28-9; Will. Tyr. xi. 28.

^s See below, p. 782.

^t Gibbon, v. 467. •

empire of Alexius, his relations with them were of no friendly kind. They taxed him with perfidy, with deserting them in their troubles, with secretly stirring up the infidels against them.^a They held themselves released by his conduct from the feudal obligations which they had contracted to him; Bohemund, who, after a captivity in the east, had revisited Europe, and had married a daughter of Philip of France,^c even for a time alarmed the empire by a renewal of his fathers projects against it.^d Instead of effecting, as had been expected, a reconciliation between the eastern and the western churches, the crusade had the effect of embittering their hostility beyond the hope of cure.^e

In endeavouring to estimate the crusades—the Trojan war of modern history^f (as they have been truly styled)—we must not limit our consideration to their immediate purpose, to the means by which this was sought, or to the degree in which it was attained. They have often been condemned as undertaken for a chimerical object; as an unjust aggression on the possessors of the Holy Land; as having occasioned a lavish waste of life and treasure; as having inflicted great hardships on society by the transference of property, the impoverishment of families, and the heavy exactions for which they became the pretext; as having produced grievous misrule and disorder by drawing away prelates, nobles, and at length even sovereigns, from their duties of government at home to engage in the war with the infidels.^g Much of this censure, however, seems to be unfounded. The charge of injustice is a refinement which it is even now difficult to understand, and which would not have occurred to either the assailants or the assailed in an age when the feeling of local religion (however little countenanced by the New Testament) was as strong in the Christian as in the Jew or the Moslem. But in truth the crusades were rather defensive than aggressive. They were occasioned by the advance of the new tribes which with the religion of Mahomet had taken up that spirit of conquest which had cooled and died away among the older Mahometan nations. They transferred to the east that war in defence of the faith which for ages had been carried on in Spain.^h And while this was enough to justify the

^a Will. Tyr. x. 13.

^c Fulcher, ii. 28.

^d Bernold, 466; Anna Comn. xi. xiii.; Fulcher, ii. 36-7; Alb. Aq. x. 39-43; Wilken, b. ii. c. 18; Finlay, 143, seqq.

^e Fleury, Discours, c. 9.

^f See Heeren, 42.

^g See Mosheim, ii. 312; Gibbon, v. 411.

^h Guizot, i. 151; Mackintosh, i. 123-6; Milman, iii. 147-8.

undertaking of the crusades, they led to results which were altogether unforeseen, but which far more than outweigh the temporary evils which they caused.^c

The idea of a war for the recovery of the land endeared to Christians by the holiest associations, was of itself a gain for the martial nations of the west—raising, as it did, their thoughts from the petty quarrels in which they had too generally wasted themselves, to unite their efforts in a hallowed and ennobling cause. It was by the crusades that the nations of Europe were first made known to each other as bound together by one common interest. Feudal relations were cast aside; every knight was at liberty to follow the banner of the leader whom he might prefer; instead of being confined to one small and narrow circle, the crusaders were brought into intercourse with men of various nations; and the consequence tended to mutual refinement. And, while the intercourse of nations was important, the communication into which persons of different classes were brought by the crusades was no less so; the high and the low, the lord and the vassal or common soldier, the fighting man and the merchant, learned to understand and to value each other better.^d The chivalrous spirit, of which France had hitherto been the home, now spread among the warriors of other countries, and the object of the crusades infused into chivalry a new religious character.^e Nor was chivalry without its effect on religion, although this influence was of a more questionable kind. In the cause of the cross, the canons against clerical warriors were suspended;^f and the devotion which knights owed to their ladies tended to exalt the devotion of the middle ages to her who was regarded as the highest type of glorified womanhood.^g

The Christians of the west were brought by the crusades into contact with the civilisation of the Arabs, new to them in its character, and on the whole higher than their own. After the first blind fury of their enmity had passed away, they learnt to respect in their adversaries the likeness of the virtues which were regarded as adorning the character of the Christian knight; and they were ready to adopt from them whatever of knowledge or of refinement the Orientals might be able to impart.^h Literature and science

^c Choiseul-Daillecourt, 220.

^d Guizot, i. 149; Sismondi, vi. 129-131.

^e Gibbon, v. 428; Heeren, ii. 127, 180-4; Milman, iii. 153.

^f See Ducange, s. v. *Hostis*, 718. The

fighting clergy of the west excited great horror among the Greeks. See Anna Comn. i. x. p. 292, ed. Paris.

^g Heeren, ii. 184; Milman, iii. 154.

^h Heeren, ii. 72; Milman, ii. 154.

benefited by the intercourse which was thus established.¹ Navigation was improved; ships of increased size were built for the transport of the armaments destined for the holy wars. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles were enriched by the commerce of the east; the gems, the silks, the spices, and the medicines of Asia became familiarly known in Europe; new branches of industry were introduced; and the inland trading cities gained a new importance and prosperity by aiding to distribute the commodities and luxuries which they received through the agency of the great seaports.^k

The political effects of the crusades on the kingdoms of western Europe were very important. They tended to increase the power of sovereigns by lessening the number of fiefs. As many of the holders of these were obliged to sell them, in order to find the means of equipment for the holy war, the feudal power became lodged in a less number of hands than before, and kings were able to make themselves masters of much that had until then been independent of their authority.^m At the same time the class of citizens was rising in importance and dignity. As the wealth of towns was increased by commerce, they purchased or otherwise acquired privileges, and became emancipated from their lay or ecclesiastical lords. It was the interest of kings to favour them, as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles; and thus, more especially in France, the strength of the crown and the liberty of the trading class advanced in alliance with each other.ⁿ And, although slowly and gradually, the crusades contributed towards the elevation of the peasantry, and the abolition of slavery in western Europe.^o

To the clergy, the transfer of property occasioned by the crusades was very advantageous. Sees or monasteries could not permanently suffer by the zeal of crusading bishops or abbots, inasmuch as the incumbents could not dispose of more than a life-interest in their property. And, while they were thus secured against loss, the hierarchy had the opportunity of gaining immense profit by purchasing the lay estates which were thrown into the market at a depreciated value, while in such purchases they were almost with-

¹ See Heeren, pt. iii., and Choix-Daillecourt, pt. iv.

^k See Heeren, pt. ii.; Choix-Daillecourt, pt. ii.; Robertson's 'Charles V.' i. 23-6, ed. Oxford, 1825; Wilken, ii. 191-3; Forster's 'Mahometanism Unveiled,' cc. 12-3.

^m Guizot, i. 158.

ⁿ Heeren, ii. 203-217, 241; Choix-Daillecourt, 50-61; Michaud, x. 95-102; Stephen, Lect. v.; Michelet, iii. 67.

^o Heeren, ii. 217-40; Choix-Daillecourt, 43-53.

out rivalry, as the Jews, the only other class which possessed the command of a large capital, were not buyers or cultivators of land.^p

But the popes were the chief gainers by the crusades. By means of these enterprises they acquired a control over western Christendom which they might otherwise have sought in vain. They held in their own hands the direction of movements which engaged all Europe; and their power was still further increased, when, in the second crusade, sovereign princes had shown the example of taking the cross. The spirit of the time then emboldened the popes to propose that emperors and kings should embark in a crusade; to refuse would have been disgraceful; and when the promise had been made, the pope was entitled to require the fulfilment of it whenever he might think fit. Nor would any plea of inconvenience serve as an excuse; for what was the interest of a prince or of his dominions to the general concern of Christendom?^q In the east, the popes extended their sway by the establishment of the Latin church, while they claimed the suzerainty of the territories wrested from the infidels. And while in the west the holy war afforded them a continual pretext for sending legates to interfere in every country,^r they also gained by means of it a large addition to their wealth. The contributions which had at first been a free offering towards the cause became a permanent tribute, which was exacted especially from the monks and clergy; and when this took the form of a certain proportion of the revenues, the popes were thus authorised to investigate and to control the amount and the disposal of the whole property which belonged to ecclesiastical or monastic foundations.^s

Urban felt the addition of strength which he had gained by the crusade. He compelled Conrad to renounce the power of investiture, which the prince had ventured to exercise at Milan; and in a council held at Bari, in 1098, with a view to a reconciliation with the Greeks, he would have excommunicated the king of England for his behaviour to the primate Anselm, had not Anselm himself entreated him to refrain.^t But to his surest allies, the Normans of the south, the pope was careful to give no offence. Roger, Great Count of Sicily, had now firmly established himself

^p Schmidt, ii. 498; Heeren, ii. 152.

^q Fleury, *Disc.* c. 8; Heeren, ii. 140-2.

^r Heeren, 147.

^s Heeren, 147, 150; Milman, iii. 145.

^t Eadmer, 53. See the next chapter.

in that island, and, while he allowed toleration to the Mahometan inhabitants, had restored the profession of Christianity, founded bishopricks, and built many churches and monasteries." In 1098 the Great Count was offended by finding that the pope, without consulting him, had appointed the bishop of Trani legate for Sicily; and, in consequence of his remonstrances at a council at Salerno, a remarkable arrangement was made, which, from the circumstance that it lodged the ecclesiastical power in the same hands with the civil, is known as the "Sicilian Monarchy." By this the pope invests Roger and his successors with the character of perpetual legates of the apostolic see; all papal mandates are to be executed through their agency, and they are to have the right of selecting such bishops and abbots as they may think fit to attend the papal councils.* In explanation of a grant so unlike the usual policy of Rome, it has been conjectured that the pope, being aware that the Normans would be guilty of many irregularities in the administration of the church, yet being resolved not to quarrel with such valuable auxiliaries, devolved his authority on the prince with a view to rid himself of personal responsibility for the toleration of these irregularities.†

In 1099, the antipope and his adherents were finally driven out from Rome, where they had until then kept possession of some churches; and Urban became master of the whole city.‡ But on the 29th of July in that year he died—a fortnight after the taking of Jerusalem, but before he could receive the tidings of the triumph which had crowned his enterprise.§ His successor was

* Malaterra, iv. 7.

† Ibid. 29; or Urban, Ep. xiii. ap. Hard. vi. 1644. The genuineness of this document is combated by Baronius, who gives a long history of the Sicilian Monarchy (1098. 18-143). One of his arguments is,* as Gieseler remarks (II. ii. 46), especially amusing for its naïveté. "How," asks the cardinal, "is it to be supposed that Urban would have granted to Roger such powers, when, by granting but a small part of them to Henry, he might have prevented so much misery?" (37.) He holds that the grant is forged or interpolated, and in its present form comes from the antipope Anacletus II. (58; cf. A.D. 1130. 53); and from the words of the document—"omni vitæ tuæ tempore, vel filii tui Simonis, aut alterius qui legitimus tuus hæres extiterit"—he

argues that, even if genuine, it bestowed the privilege on Roger and his sons only—not on their posterity, and still less on any others who might get possession of Sicily (32-3). The volume which contained this passage was forbidden in the Spanish dominions, of which Sicily was then a part; and in one edition, printed in the Spanish Netherlands (Antwerp, 1647), the dissertation was omitted. The power continued to be exercised by the Spaniards, and, although Clement XI., in 1715, abolished it, the sovereign of Sicily was still governor of the church. Giannone, l. x. c. 8; Mosheim, ii. 306; Schröckh, xxvi. 28-30.

‡ Planck, IV. i. 243.

§ Bernold, 466.

* Schröckh, xxvi. 33.

Rainier, a Tuscan by birth, who had been a monk at Cluny, and, having been sent to Rome at the age of twenty, on the business of his monastery, had obtained the patronage of Gregory, by whom he was employed in important affairs and promoted to the dignity of cardinal. Rainier on his election assumed the name of Paschal II.^b

In the following year, Guibert or Clement, the rival of four successive popes, died at Castelli. That he was a man of great abilities and acquirements, and was possessed of ^{Sept. 1100.} many noble qualities, is admitted by such of his opponents as are not wholly blinded by the enmity of party;^c and his power of securing a warm attachment to his person is proved by the fact that in the decline of his fortunes, and even to the last, he was not deserted.^d His grave at Ravenna was said to be distinguished by miracles, until Paschal ordered his remains to be dug up and cast into unconsecrated ground.^e Three antipopes—Theoderic, Albert, and Maginulf, the last of whom took the name of Sylvester IV.—were set up in succession by Guibert's party; but they failed to gain any considerable strength, and Paschal held undisturbed possession of his see.^f

Philip of France, after having been excommunicated by Urban at Clermont, had succeeded, through the intercession of Ivo of Chartres, in obtaining absolution, which was ^{July 1096.} pronounced by the pope in a council at Nismes, on condition of his forswearing further intercourse with Bertrada.^g This promise, however, was soon violated, and in 1097 the king was again excommunicated by the legate, Hugh of Lyons. The pope, greatly to his legate's annoyance, was prevailed on to grant a second absolution in the following year;^h but in 1100 the adulterous pair incurred a fresh excommunication at Poitiers.ⁱ Four years later, on the king's humble request, supported by the representations of Ivo and other bishops, who had met in a council at Beaugency,^k

^b Pandulph. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 354.

^c E. g. Ekkehard, 219; Pandulph, 375.

^d Milman, iii. 160. Eccard, i. 917. The Cologne chronicler (whose work is styled by Pertz, vol. xvii. 'Annales Colonienses Maximi') has here borrowed from Ekkehard, A.D. 1100—"malens, ut ab ipsius ore didicimus, apostolici nomen nunquam suscepisse."

^e Codex Udalrici, 173; Dodech. Ann. 1099.

^f Pandulph, 355. As to Maginulf, see Paschal, Ep. 168 (Patrol. clxiii.).

^g Bernold, 464; Brial, in Rec. des Hist. xvi. Pref. 74.

^h Brial, ib. 76-8.

ⁱ See Order. Vital. iii. 389; Hug. Flavin. in Patrol. cliv. 384, seqq.

^k Ivo, Ep. 144 (Patrol. clxii.); Brial, 70, 95 (who shows, from Ivo's letters, that the excommunication was not regarded as releasing Philip's subjects from their allegiance).

Paschal authorised his legate Lambert, bishop of Arras, to absolve them on condition that they should never thenceforth see each other except in the presence of unsuspected witnesses.^m At a synod at Paris in 1105, the king appeared as a barefooted penitent, and both he and Bertrada were absolved on swearing to the prescribed conditions;ⁿ yet it appears that they afterwards lived together without any further remonstrance on the part of the pope.^o Philip on his deathbed, in 1108, expressed a feeling that he was unworthy to share the royal sepulchre at St. Denys, and desired that he might be buried at Fleury, in the hope that St. Benedict, the patron of the monastery, would intercede for the pardon of his sins.^p

The marriage of Matilda with the younger Welf had been a matter of policy, not of affection. The countess, finding her political strength increase, treated her young husband with coldness;^q and Welf was disgusted by discovering that the rich inheritance, which had been a chief inducement to the connexion, had already been made over in remainder to the church. A separation took place. Welf, as the only possible means of

^m Ep. 35, ap. Hard. vi.

ⁿ Ib. 1875.

^o Brial, 100. Some have supposed that Paschal at last sanctioned their union. Ib. 105-6; see Schröckh, xxvi. 72; Giesel. II. ii. 47; Sismondi, v. 15.

^p Order. Vital. iv. 284; Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, i. c. 12 (Patrol. clxxxvi.). Henry of Huntingdon says that Philip in his last days became a monk (l. vii., Patrol. cxlv. 952), and William of Malmesbury adds that this was at Fleury (Gesta Regum, 404). But the statement is unsupported by the French writers. See Bouquet, xiv. 811, where there is a letter from Hugh of Cluuy exhorting the king to enter that monastery. Guibert of Nogent tells us that Philip, for his misdeeds, lost the power of healing the king's evil by his touch, but that his son Louis recovered it (De Pignoribus Sanctorum, i. 1, Patrol. clvi.). Dachery supposes this to be the earliest notice of the practice (not. in loc.); but Pagi infers from a passage in the Life of Robert I. that the gift was first bestowed on that king (Helgald. Vita Rob., Patrol. cxli. 931; Pagi, xviii. 540). Although Guibert says (l. c.) that he does not know of any such gift in the kings of England, William of Malmesbury (222) ascribes it to Edward

the Confessor. A contemporary biographer of Edward mentions (as Malmesbury also does) the case of a scrofulous young woman who was told in a dream that she might be cured if the king would wash her, and was cured accordingly; but nothing is said by this writer as to a customary power of healing by touch. (See Lives of Edward, ed. Laard, 428, in Chron. and Mem. of G. B., Lond. 1858. Comp. Bouquet, xiv. 222; Aelred in Patrol. cxlv. 761.) English writers have supposed that the French kings derived their power of healing from their connexion with the royal blood of England. See Fuller, i. 224-8; and Collier, i. 532-5, who maintains that England had a long priority, because Philip "was near 200 years after the death of our Edward the Confessor" [whereas the reigns of the two had really some years in common]. On the other hand, the authors of the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates' are clearly wrong in inferring from Guibert of Nogent's words that the kings of England did not claim the gift of healing until they assumed the title and arms of France. v. 520.

^q Cosmas of Prague gives a strange account of their wedded life. ii. 32 (Pertz, ix.).

annulling the donation, invoked the emperor's aid, and his father, the duke of Bavaria, hitherto Henry's most formidable opponent in Germany, now joined the emperor with all his influence.^r On returning to his native country, after a sojourn of nearly seven years in Italy, Henry met with a general welcome. He devoted himself to the government of Germany, and for some years the stormy agitation of his life was exchanged for tranquil prosperity. His conciliatory policy won over many of his old opponents, whose enmity died away as intercourse with him revealed to them his real character;^s and, at a great diet at Cologne, in 1098, he obtained an acknowledgment of his second son, Henry, as his successor, in the room of the rebel Conrad, while, with a jealousy suggested by sad experience, he exacted from the prince an oath that he would not during his father's lifetime attempt to gain political power.^t The emperor's ecclesiastical prerogative was acknowledged; although his excommunication was unrepealed, even bishops of the papal party communicated with him and were fain to take investiture at his hands.^u The Jews, who had suffered from the fury of the crusading multitudes, were taken under his special protection, and from that time were regarded as immediately dependent on the crown.^x

The death of the antipope Clement, and the substitution of Paschal for Urban, appeared to open a prospect of reconciliation with Rome; and circumstances were rendered still more favourable by the removal of Conrad, who died in 1101, neglected by those who had made him their tool, but who no longer needed him.^y Henry announced an intention of crossing the Alps, and submitting his differences with Rome to the judgment of a council. But—whether from unwillingness to revisit a country which had been so disastrous to him, from a fear to leave Germany exposed, in compliance with the dissuasions of his bishops, or from an apprehension that the pope, elated by the success of the crusade, would ask exorbitant terms of reconciliation^z—he failed to make his appearance; and Paschal, at a synod in March 1102, renewed his

^r Bernold, 461-3; Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 67. ^s Luden, ix. 289.

^t Vita Henrici, c. 7 (Pertz, xii.). I quote this henceforth as the work of Otbert, bishop of Liège, to whom Wattenbach, the editor in Pertz's collection (269), agrees with Goldast that it is properly to be assigned.

^u Bernold, Ann. 1000; Luden, ix. 293.

^x Ekkehard, Ann. 1098; Milman, iii. 163.

^y Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 91; Stenzel, i. 568; Luden, ix. 288. Ekkehard (A.D. 1101) says that some suspected poison; Landulf the younger, that Conrad was poisoned by Matilda's physician. Hist. Mediol. i. (Patrol. clxxiii.).

^z See Schmidt, ii. 267; Stenzel, i. 571.

excommunication, adding an anathema against all heresies, and "especially that which disturbs the present state of the church" by despising ecclesiastical censures.^a Yet the emperor's clergy still adhered to him; among them, the pious Otho of Bamberg, afterwards famous as the Apostle of Pomerania, who acted as his secretary and assisted him in his devotions.^b

Henry spent the Christmas of 1102 at Mentz, where he declared a resolution of abdicating in favour of his son, and setting out for the Holy War, as soon as he should be reconciled with the pope.^c At the same time he proclaimed peace to the empire for four years,—that no one should during that time injure his neighbour, whether in person or in property; and he compelled the princes to swear to it.^d The decree was obeyed, and Germany by degrees recovered from the wounds inflicted by its long distractions. The peaceable classes—the merchant and trader, the husbandman and the artisan—carried on their occupations unmolested; the highways were safe for travellers, and the traffic of the rivers was unimpeded by the little tyrants whose castles frowned along the banks.^e But the discords of Germany were only laid to sleep for a time. Intrigue was busy among the clergy, with whom the principles of Gregory had made way in proportion as their utility for the interests of the class became more apparent. Many bishops were won over from Henry's party, and were ready to countenance a new movement against him.^f And a renewal of civil war was sure to be welcome to the nobles and their armed retainers, who fretted against the forced inaction which was so opposite to the habits of their former lives, while many of them, being no longer at liberty to resort to violence and plunder, found themselves reduced from splendour to poverty.^g

The younger Henry was now tampered with. The young nobles, with whom the emperor had studiously encouraged him to associate, were prompted to insinuate to him that he was improperly kept under—that if he should wait until his father's death, the empire would probably then be seized by another; and that the oath exacted of him by his father was not binding.^h These suggestions were too successful. In December 1104, as the emperor

^a Hard. vi. 1863; Ekkehard, 223-4.

^b Herbord. Vita Ottonis, 3-4, ap. Pertz, xii. Cf. Chron. S. Pantal. ap. Eccard, i. 917.

^c There is a letter to Hugh of Cluny, expressing this intention, and requesting the abbot's mediation. Patrol. clix. 932.

^d Pertz, Leges, ii. 60; Sigebert, Ann. 1103; Ekkehard, Ann. 1103; Stenzel, i. 576.

^e Othbert, 8.

^f Schmidt, ii. 354.

^g Othbert, 8.
^h Ib. 9. The prince was born in 1081. Floto, i. 319.

was on an expedition against a refractory Saxon count, his son deserted him at Fritzlar, and to all his overtures and entreaties made no other answer than that he could hold no intercourse with an excommunicate person, and that his oath to such a person was null and void.¹ There is no evidence to show that the pope had been concerned in suggesting this defection; but the prince immediately asked his counsel, and was absolved from his share in the emperor's excommunication by the legate, Gebhard, bishop of Constance.² On declaring himself against his father, the young Henry at once found himself at the head of a powerful party, among the most conspicuous members of which was Ruthard, archbishop of Mentz, who had been charged with misdemeanours as to the property of the Jews slain by the crusaders, and had found it expedient to abscond when the emperor proposed an inquiry into his conduct.³ For a year Germany was disquieted by the muster, the movements, and the contests of hostile armies. The prince, however, professed that he had no wish to reign—that his only motive in rebelling was to bring about his father's conversion; and, with consistent hypocrisy, he refused to assume the ensigns of royalty.⁴

On the 21st of December, 1105, an interview between the father and the son took place at Coblenz. The emperor's fondness burst forth without restraint; he threw himself at the feet of his son, and confessed himself guilty of many offences against God, but adjured the prince not to stain his own name by taking it on himself to punish his father's misdeeds.⁵ The behaviour of the young Henry was marked throughout by the deepest perfidy. He professed to return his father's love, and proposed that they should dismiss their followers with the exception of a few knights on each side, and should spend the Christmas season together at Mentz. The emperor consented, and, in his interviews with his son, as they proceeded up the bank of the Rhine, he poured forth all the warmth of his affection for him, while the prince professed to return his feelings, and repeatedly gave him the most solemn assurances of safety. But at Bingen Henry found himself made prisoner, and he was shut up in the castle of Bockelheim on the Nahe, under the custody of his enemy Gebhard, bishop of Spirea, who had lately been promoted to that see by the rebel king.⁶ The emperor was

¹ Othert, 9; Ekkehard, 227.

² Dodech. A.D. 1105; Stenzel, i. 586.

See the Chron. S. Hub. c. 97 (Patrol. cliv.).

³ Ekkehard, Ann. 1098; Addit. ad

Lambert. ap. Pistor. i. 426.

⁴ Ekkeh. A.D. 1105.

⁵ Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. ap. Siebert. 370; ad Hug. Cluniac., Patrol. cliv. 935; Floto, ii. 400.

⁶ Floto, ii. 403.

rudely treated and ill fed ; his beard was unshorn ; he was denied the use of a bath ; at Christmas the holy eucharist was refused to him, nor was he allowed the ministrations of a confessor ; and he was assailed with threats of personal violence, of death or lifelong captivity, until he was persuaded to surrender the ensigns of his power—the cross and the lance, the crown, the sceptre, and the globe—into the hands of the rebel's partisans.⁹ He entreated that an opportunity of defending his conduct before the princes of Germany might be granted him ; but, although a great diet was about to meet at Mentz, he was not allowed to appear before it—under the pretext that his excommunication made him unfit, but in reality because it was feared that his appearance might move the members to compassion, while the citizens of Mentz, like the inhabitants of most other German cities, were known to be still firmly attached to him.⁷ On the 31st of December he was re-

Jan. 1106.

moved to Ingelheim, where he was brought before an assembly composed exclusively of his enemies. Worn out by threats and ill usage, he professed himself desirous to resign his power, and to withdraw into the quiet which his age rendered suitable for him. The papal legate and the fallen emperor's own son alone remained unmoved by his humiliation. In answer to his passionate entreaties for absolution, the legate told him that he must acknowledge himself guilty of having unjustly persecuted Gregory. The emperor earnestly desired that a day might be allowed him to justify his conduct before the princes of the empire, but it was answered that he must at once submit, under pain of imprisonment for life. He asked whether by unreserved submission he might hope to obtain absolution ; but the legate replied that absolution could only be granted by the pope himself. Henry's spirit was entirely broken, and he promised to satisfy the church in all points ;⁸ it is even said that he solicited, for the sake of a maintenance, to be admitted as a canon of Spire, a cathedral founded by himself, and that the bishop harshly refused his request.⁴ On the festival of the Epiphany, the younger Henry was crowned at Mentz by archbishop Ruthard, who, at the ceremony, warned him that, if he should fail in his duties as a sovereign, his father's fate would overtake him.⁵ The violence of his ecclesiastical abettors

⁹ *Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. l. c.* ; *ad lipp. l. c. 371* ; *ad Hug. l. c. 936* ; *Hard. Hug. l. c. 936* ; *Othert, 10* ; *Ekkehard, vi. 1880* ; *Othert, 10*.

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⁷ *Ekkehard, 231* ; *Luden, ix. 325*.

⁸ *Ekkehard, A.D. 1106* ; *Ep. ad Phi-*

⁴ *Helmold. i. 33 (ap. Leibniz, ii.)*

⁵ This story is now generally rejected.

⁶ *Annal. Hildesh. in Patrol. cxli. 594*.

was shown by disinterring the bones of deceased imperialist bishops.*

But serious outbreaks took place in favour of the dethroned emperor in Alsatia and elsewhere;⁷ and after a time, alarmed by rumours that his death or perpetual captivity was intended, he contrived to make his escape by the river to Cologne.⁸ At Aix-la-Chapelle he was met by Otbert, bishop of Liège, to whose affectionate pen we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge of his latest fortunes,⁹ and under the bishop's escort he proceeded to Liège.¹⁰ The clergy of that city had steadily adhered to him, and when Paschal desired count Robert of Flanders to punish them for their fidelity, one of their number, the annalist Sigebert of Gemblours, sent forth a powerful letter in defence of their conduct, and in reproof of the papal assumptions.¹¹ From Liège Henry addressed letters to the kings of France, England, and Denmark, in which he denounced the new claims of Rome as an aggression on the common rights of all princes, and pathetically related the story of his sufferings from the enmity of the papal party and from the treachery of his own son whom they had misled.¹² He again offered to abide an examination of his conduct by the princes of Germany,¹³ and he requested his godfather, the venerable abbot of Cluny, to mediate with the pope.¹⁴ Other cities joined with Liège in declaring for him; he was urged to retract his forced resignation, and he once more found himself in a condition to contest the kingdom.¹⁵ The younger Henry was repulsed from Cologne, and the hostile armies were advancing towards each other, when the emperor's faithful chamberlain appeared in the king's camp, and delivered to him his father's ring and sword. Henry IV. had died at Liège, on the 7th of August, 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign—desiring on his deathbed that these relics might be carried to his successor, with a request (which

* Ekkehard, 233.

⁷ Otbert, 11; Luden, ix. 331.

⁸ Ep. ad Hug. l. c. 936.

⁹ The opposite party give a very unfavourable account of Otbert—as might in any case be expected. See Hist. Litt. x. 158-161; Chron. S. Hub. 68, seqq.; Rupert. Tuit. Chron. (Patrol. clxx. 698).

¹⁰ Chron. S. Hub. Andag. 97 (Patrol. cliv.).

¹¹ Epistola Leodiensium, ap. Hard. vi. 1769, who dates it about 1107. But the

date is more probably 1102, or 1103, according to Bethmann, in Pertz, vi. 272. The authorship of this letter is avowed by Sigebert, De Scriptoribus Eccles. 171 (Patrol. clx.). Jaffé dates Paschal's letter to Robert, Jan. 21, 1103.

¹² Ep. ad Philipp. Franciæ Regem, ap. Sigebert, 369-371.

¹³ Ekkehard, 234.

¹⁴ Patrol. cliv. 933-7; Stenzel, i. 597.

¹⁵ Otbert, pp. 222-3.

proved fruitless) that his partisans might be forgiven for their adherence to him.^b

In surveying the long and troubled reign of this prince, it seems impossible to acquit the hierarchy of grievous wrongs towards him. His early impressions of the clergy were not likely to be favourable—derived as they must have been from the remembrance of his abduction by Hanno, and from the sight of that prelate's sternness, ambition, pride, and nepotism, of Adalbert's vanity and worldliness, and of the gross simony, misrule, rapacity, and corruption which disgraced the German church. Under his self-appointed ecclesiastical guardians, his education was neglected, and he was encouraged in licence and riot. The warnings of Gregory, however sound in their substance, were not conveyed in a manner which could be expected to influence him for good, since they were accompanied by new claims against the royal and imperial power. Gregory took advantage of his weakness; he surrounded him with a net of intrigues; he used against him the disaffection of his subjects, which had been in great part provoked by the encroachments of some ecclesiastics and was swollen by the industry of others; he humbled him to the dust, and trampled on him. The claims of the papacy, whether just or unjust, were novel; it was the pope that invaded the emperor's traditional power, while Henry asserted only the prerogatives which his predecessors had exercised without question. "It was his fate," says William of Malmesbury, "that whosoever took up arms against him regarded himself as a champion of religion."^c By the hierarchy his troubles were fomented, and atrocious calumnies were devised against him; it was under pretence of religion that his sons, one after the other, rebelled, and that that son on whom he had lavished his tenderness, to whom he was even willing to transfer all his power, forced from him a premature resignation by the most hateful treachery and violence. Yet Henry, among all the faults which are imputed to him, is not taxed by his very enemies with any profanity or irreligion;^k his contests were not even with the papacy, but with its occupants, and with the new pretensions by which they assailed his crown.

The conduct of Henry as a ruler must be viewed with allowance

^b Annal. Blandin. ap. Pertz, v. 27; Gerhoh of Reichersperg, a pious but weak and bitterly prejudiced man, charging him with abominations of this kind. Syntagma, 11 (Patrol. exciv.).

^c Gesta Regum, p. 467.

^k At a later time, however, we find

for the unfortunate training and circumstances of his youth. The faults of other men were visited on him; the demands of his subjects were frequently unreasonable, and were urged in an offensive style; and if his breach of engagements was often and too justly charged against him, it may be palliated by the consideration that the opposition to him was animated by a power which claimed authority to release from all oaths and obligations. Adversity drew forth the display of talents and of virtues which had not before been suspected; from the time of his humiliation at Canossa, he appeared to have awakened to a new understanding of his difficulties and of his duties, and exhibited a vigour, a firmness of purpose, and a fertility of resource, of which his earlier life had given little indication. His clemency and placability were so remarkable as even to extort the acknowledgments of hostile writers.^m The troubles of his last days were excited, not by misgovernment, but by his having governed too well.

To the needy and to the oppressed classes Henry was endeared by his warm sympathy for them, by his support of them against the tyranny of the nobles, by the charity not only of bountiful almsgiving, but of personal kindness in administering to their relief.ⁿ The poor, the widows, the orphans crowded around his bier, pouring forth their tears and prayers, kissing the hands which had distributed his gifts,^o and commemorating his kind and gentle deeds.^p The loyal Otbert buried his master with the rites of the church, but was soon after compelled by way of penance to disinter the body, which was then carried to Spire, where Henry himself had desired to be buried in the cathedral raised by his bounty. But this was not to be permitted; the cathedral, in consequence of having been polluted by the corpse, was interdicted by bishop Gebhard; and for five years the remains of the excommunicated emperor were kept in an unconsecrated vault, where, like the relics of a saint, they were visited by multitudes who affectionately cherished his memory.^q

^m E. g. Dodechin, A.D. 1106.

ⁿ Otbert, 1; Dodechin, l. c.; Floto, b. iii. c. 24; iv. 35.

^o "Largas manus." Otbert, 13, p. 283.

^p Some placed seed-corn on the bier, in the hope that it would thus become able to impart productiveness to other

seed. (Sigeib. ap. Pertz, vi. 371-2.) A like mark of reverence is recorded by Saxo Grammaticus as paid to Waldemar I., king of Denmark, while living. l. xiv. p. 303.

^q Godefr. Viterb., Patrol. cxviii. 985; Luden, ix. 347.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH
OF ST. ANSELM.

A.D. 1066-1108.

THE successful expedition of William of Normandy produced important changes in the English church. At his coronation, which was performed by Aldred, archbishop of York, William, as heir of Edward the Confessor, swore to administer equal justice to all his subjects;^a but the necessity of providing for his followers soon led him to disregard this pledge, while a pretext was afforded by the obstinate resistance which he met with in completing the subjugation of the country, and by the frequent insurrections of the Saxons. Much property of churches and monasteries was confiscated, together with the treasures which the wealthier English had deposited in the monasteries for security.^b During the reign of Edward,^c the Norman influence had for a time prevailed in England; many Normans had been advanced to high ecclesiastical stations, and the system of alien priories—*i. e.* of annexing priories and estates in England to foreign religious houses—had been largely practised.^d But under the ascendancy of Earl Godwin, the Norman archbishop of Canterbury, Robert of Jumièges, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, and the primacy had been conferred on Stigand, bishop of Winchester, who, after having unsuccessfully applied for the pall to Leo IX., received it from the antipope John of Velletri, and held his see in defiance of Alexander II.^e Stigand, according to some writers,^f refused to officiate at the coronation of the

^a Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1066; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 229; Sym. Dunelm. 195. See Phillips, i. 87.

^b Hist. Abing. i. 486; Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1071; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 5; Lingard, i. 469-470; Lappenberg, ii. 96.

^c See the contemporary Life, in Lives of Edward, edited by the Rev. H. R. Luard (Chron. and Mem.), pp. 399, 415.

^d Archd. Churton (272) and Dean Hook (i. 496) speak of it as then intro-

duced. But earlier instances are mentioned in the Monasticon, e. g. the gift of Lewisham to St. Peter's of Ghent by Alfred's mother. vi. 987.

^e Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1058; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. (Patrol. clxxix. 1458); Collier, i. 521; Lingard, i. 341-2.

^f Will. Neubrig. i. 1, p. 13; Bromton (who, however, mentions both stories), ap. Twysden, 962.

Conqueror, while others^g state that William refused his services; in any case, he was obnoxious as a Saxon. William for a time affected to treat him with great honour;^h but at a council held at Winchester, under two papal legates, in 1070, he was charged with having intruded into the seat of a living bishop; with having irregularly held at once the sees of Winchester and Canterbury; with the want of a properly-conferred pall, and with having used for a time that of his ejected predecessor.ⁱ These pretexts served for the deprivation of the archbishop, which was followed by that of other native prelates, so that, with a single exception, the English sees were soon in the hands of Normans, who either had been appointed under Edward or were now promoted by the Conqueror.^k The system of preferring foreigners was gradually extended to the abbacies and lower dignities, and for a long series of years it was hopeless for any Englishman, whatever his merit might be, to aspire to any considerable station in the church of his own land.^m One Norman only, Guitmund, the opponent of Berengar, is recorded as having ventured to refuse an English bishoprick, and to protest

^g Eadmer, 29; W. Malmesb. ii. 421; Sym. Dunelm. 195; Wendover, ii. 1. Lappenberg does not decide between the statements (ii. 67). Aldred had also crowned Harold, according to Florence of Worcester (i. 224) and Symeon of Durham (193), although William of Poitiers (Patrol. cxlix. 1245) and Orderic (iii. 17), as well as the Bayeux Tapestry, represent Stigand as having officiated. Dean Hook (i. 514) follows Orderic and William, but Drs. Lingard (i. 360) and Lappenberg (i. 532) seem to be right in preferring the statement of the English chroniclers to that of the foreigners.

^h Will. Malmesb. G. P. in Patrol. clxxix. 1459.

ⁱ Flor. Wig. ii. 5; Rog. Hoveden, 269, b; Inett, ii. 7. Dean Hook shows reason for thinking that Stigand himself was not present (i. 522). At this council the crown was placed on William's head by the legates, who are therefore said by Lanfranc's biographer to have "confirmed him as king of England" (c. 6; cf. Order. Vital. iv. 8). But it seems to have been nothing more than the observance of a custom usual among northern nations, that at certain festival seasons the king wore his crown, which was placed on his head by some eminent prelate. (See Cosm. Pragense. i. 28, and the note in Pertz, viii.; Inett, ii. 11.) At Christmas 1109, during a

vacancy in the see of Canterbury, there was a quarrel between the archbishop of York and the bishop of London (as provincial dean of Canterbury), for the right of "crowning" Henry I. They wished to follow this up by a struggle for precedence at the king's table, but he ordered them both to be turned out of the hall. (Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 83.) See, too, a story as to archbishop Ralph at the second marriage of Henry, in l. vi. init.

^k Inett, ii. 14-5; Lappenb. ii. 100. The only Englishman who retained his bishoprick was the pious and simple-minded Wulstan, of Worcester. W. Malmesb. ii. 450.

^m Ingulph. ap. Fell, 70; Eadmer, 29, 87; Lingard, i. 457. In 1114 the monks of Canterbury cried out against the appointment of any more foreigners, on the ground that there were persons "*patriæ linguæ*" who equalled Lanfranc in learning and Anselm in piety; but the candidate whom they carried, Ralph, although of English birth, was "*si genus explores, spectabili Normanorum prosapia oriundus*" (W. Malmesb. G. P. 1506); and the same combination of Norman descent with English birth is found again in Thomas Becket (A.D. 1162), who has often been supposed a Saxon. The intervening archbishops were foreigners.

against a system so adverse to the interests of the church and of the people.ⁿ

The later Anglo-Saxon clergy are very unfavourably represented to us by writers after the conquest. It is said that they were scarcely able to stammer out the forms of Divine service—that any one who knew “grammar” was regarded by his brethren as a prodigy;^o and religion as well as learning had fallen into decay. But, although the increase of intercourse with other countries eventually led to an improvement in the English church, it seems questionable whether the immediate effect of the change introduced by the conquest was beneficial. The new prelates were in general chosen for other than ecclesiastical merits; they could not edify their flocks, whose language they would have scorned to understand;^p the Anglo-Saxon literature, the richest by far that any Teutonic nation as yet possessed, fell into oblivion and contempt; the traditions of older English piety were lost; and there was no love or mutual confidence to win for the new hierarchy the influence which the native pastors had been able to exert for the enforcement of religion on their people.^q

But while the dignities of the church were commonly bestowed on illiterate warriors or on court-chaplains, the primacy was to be otherwise disposed of. Lanfranc had been sentenced by William to banishment from Normandy for opposing his marriage with Matilda, as being within the forbidden degrees; but, as he was on his way to leave the country, an accidental meeting with the duke led to a friendly understanding, so that Lanfranc was employed to obtain the pope’s sanction for the union, and a removal of the interdict under which William’s territories had been laid.^r His success in this commission recommended him to the duke’s favour; he was transferred from Bec to the headship of St. Stephen’s at Caen, the noble abbey which William was required to found in penance for the irregularity of his marriage, and, after having already refused the archbishoprick of Rouen, he was now urged to accept that of Canterbury.^s It was not without much reluctance that he resolved to undertake so onerous a dignity among a people of barbarous and unknown language; and the difficulties which he experienced and foresaw in the execution of his office speedily

ⁿ Ord. Vit. l. iv. 13. See above, p. 662.

^o W. Malmesb. ii. 417-8. Cf. Ord. Vit. iv. 10.

^p William himself attempted to learn it; “ast a perceptione hujusmodi durior ætas illum compecebat, et tumultus mul-

timodorum occupationum ad alia necessario attrahebat.” Ord. Vit. iv. 11.

^q See Lappenb. ii. 97-102.

^r Vita Lanfr. 7-8.

^s Ib. 4, 6; Guib. Gemet. vii. 26.

induced him to solicit permission from Alexander II. to return to his monastery;[†] but the pope refused to consent, and Lanfranc thereupon requested that the pall might be sent to him. The answer came from the archdeacon Hildebrand—that, if the pall could be granted to any one without his personal appearance at Rome, it would be granted to Lanfranc; but that the journey was indispensable.[‡] On his arrival at Rome, the archbishop was treated with distinguished honour. The pope, who had formerly been his pupil at Bec, rose up to receive him, explaining^{A.D. 1071.} that he did so out of regard not for his office but for his learning; and it was not until after this that he desired Lanfranc in his turn to perform the reverence which was due to St. Peter.[§] He bestowed on him two palls, as a mark of signal consideration—a compliment of which it is said that there has never been another instance^{||}—and invested him with the authority of legate. A question as to precedence was raised by Thomas, archbishop of York, who had accompanied Lanfranc to Rome, and contended that, by the terms of Gregory's instructions to Augustine, the primacy of England ought to alternate between Canterbury and the northern see, for which he also claimed jurisdiction over Worcester, Lichfield, and Lincoln.[¶] The pope declined to give judgment, and remitted the questions to England, where, after discussions in the king's presence at Winchester and at Windsor, they were decided in favour of Lanfranc on the ground of ancient custom.^{A.D. 1072.}

The archbishop of York was required to promise submission to Canterbury, and, with his suffragans, to attend councils at such places as the archbishop of Canterbury should appoint.[‡]

Lanfranc exerted himself to reform the disorders of the English church, and in this he was effectually supported by the king, who bestowed on him his full confidence, and usually entrusted him with the regency during his own absence on the continent. The primate used his influence to obtain the promotion of deserving men to bishopricks.^b Many churches which had fallen into ruin were

[†] Ep. 1; Orderic, l. iv. t. ii. 212.

[‡] Inter Epp. Lanfr. 6. This had not been the case in earlier times (see the 'Liber Diurnus,' c. 4, in Patrol. cv.); and the popes were soon obliged to give way on the point. Giesel. II. ii. 235.

[§] Vita Lanf. 11; Eadmer, 30.

^{||} Will. Malmesb. G. Pontif. Patrol. clxxix. 1460; Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' ii. 151.

[¶] W. Malmesb. G. P. 1460-1. See

above, p. 19; and for the York version of the affair, Stubbs, in Twysden, 1685-1706. It is said that the appointment of Thomas was objected to on the ground that he was the son of a priest, but that Lanfranc interceded for him, and persuaded the pope to overlook this irregularity. Rad. de Diceto, ib. 483.

^a Lanfr. Ep. 3; Vita, 10-1; Wilkins, i. 324-5.

^b Lappenb. ii. 107-8.

rebuilt. Sees which had been established in villages or small towns were removed to places of greater importance; thus the bishoprick of Selsey was transferred to Chichester, that of Sherborne to Sarum, Elmham to Thetford, Dorchester to Lincoln, Lichfield to Chester^c—a change agreeable to the ancient system of the church, but perhaps suggested by the policy of William, who, by thus placing the bishops in fortified cities, secured their assistance in preserving the subjection of the people.^d Lanfranc was zealous for celibacy and monasticism. The effects of Dunstan's labours had passed away, and the English clergy had been accustomed to marry freely; but the Italian primate renewed the endeavour to substitute monks for secular canons in cathedrals, and serious struggles arose in consequence.^e Nor was the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy complete; for, although a council at Winchester in 1076 enacted that no canon should have a wife, and that for the future no married man should be ordained priest or deacon, the rural clergy were, in contradiction to the regulations which Gregory VII. was labouring to enforce elsewhere, allowed by the council to retain their wives.^f

William was greatly indebted to Rome. His expedition had been sanctioned by a consecrated banner, the gift of Alexander II.,^g and he had found the papal support valuable in carrying out his plans as to the English church. But he was determined to make use of Rome—not to acknowledge her as a mistress. He held firmly in his own grasp the government of the church. By refraining from the sale of preferment—however he may have been guilty of simony in that wider definition which includes the bestowal of benefices for service or by favour—he earned the commendation of Gregory;^h but he promoted bishops and abbots by his own will, invested them by the feudal forms, and took it upon himself to exempt the abbey which was founded in memory of his victory at Hastings from all episcopal and monastic jurisdiction.ⁱ No

^c W. Malmesb. G. Regum, 479; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1133 (Patrol. clx.).

^d Lappenberg, ii. 126, who, in proof of the opinion, remarks that Old Sarum, one of the new sees, was not a populous town, but merely a fortress.

^e W. Malmesb. G. P. 1478; Eadmer, 10, 32. For a list of the places where this change was made, see Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 352.

^f Can. 1 (Wilkins, i. 367).

^g W. Malmesb. 410.

^h Ep. ix. 5. I cannot agree with Dr. Lappenberg (ii. 139) that the praise was either ironical or meant to point out what William *ought* to do.

ⁱ Chron. de Bello, 25-8 (Lond. 1856). Gervase of Canterbury says that when Lanfranc, on the death of Scolland, abbot of St. Augustine's, asked leave to nominate an abbot, as his predecessors had done, the Conqueror answered that he was resolved to "keep all the staves in his own hands" (Twysden.

pope was to be acknowledged in England, except by the king's permission; nor, although William allowed legates to hold synods in furtherance of his own views, was anything to be treated or enacted at these meetings without his previous sanction. The bishops were forbidden to obey citations to Rome; they were forbidden to receive letters from the pope without showing them to the king; nor was any of his nobles or servants to be excommunicated without his licence.^k The bishop was no longer to sit in the same court with the sheriff, but his jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters.^m The tenure of frank-almoign (or free alms), under which the bishops had formerly held their lands, was exchanged for the feudal tenure by barony; and the estates of the clergy became subject to the same obligations as other lands.ⁿ

In his ecclesiastical policy William was willingly seconded by the primate. Lanfranc was indeed no devoted adherent of Gregory, with whom he was probably dissatisfied on account of the indulgence which the pope had shown to his antagonist Berengar. In a letter to a partisan of the antipope, he professes neutrality as to the great contest of the time, and even shows an inclination towards the imperial side. After censuring the unseemly language which his correspondent had applied to Gregory, he adds—"yet I believe that the emperor has not undertaken so great an enterprise without much reason, nor has he been able to achieve so great a victory without much aid from God." And, while he advises Guibert's agent not to come to England, it is on the ground that the king's leave ought first to be obtained—that England has not rejected Gregory, or given a public adhesion to either pope, and that there is room for hearing both parties before coming to a decision.^o If such was the archbishop's feeling as to the controversy between the pope and the emperor, he could hardly fail to be wholly with his sovereign in any questions between England and Rome.

Gregory, in his letters to William and to Lanfranc, spoke of the king with profuse expressions of the deepest respect, as in-

1327). But Thorn represents these words as spoken by William Rufus on being asked by the monks to let them choose their own abbot in the room of Scolland's successor, Guy (ib. 1794); and, in any case, they would seem to belong to Rufus, as Scolland died only four days before the death of the Conqueror in Normandy. See Thorn, 1792.

^k Eadmer, 29-30.

^m Wilkins, i. 368. This severance of jurisdiction, however, became the ground for great claims on the part of the clergy. See Inett, ii. 60-2.

ⁿ Rog. Wendover, ii. 7; Inett, ii. 49; Blackstone, i. 141.

^o Ep. 59 (probably addressed to Cardinal Hugh the White).

comparably superior to all other princes of the age; and, when obliged to censure any of his acts, he was careful to season the censure with compliments to the king's character, with remembrances of their old mutual regard, and of the services which he had rendered to William in former days.^p But these blandishments were thrown away on a sovereign whose policy was as decided, and whose will was as strong, as those of Gregory himself. When, in 1079, the pope required William to see to the payment of Peter-pence from England, and to swear fealty to the apostolic see, the answer was cool and peremptory—"Your legate has admonished me in your name to do fealty to you and your successors, and to take better order as to the money which my predecessors have been accustomed to send to the Roman church; the one I have admitted; the other I have not admitted. I refused to do fealty, nor will I do it, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors have performed it to yours."^q The payment was to be made, not as a tribute, but as alms.^r The pope declared that money without obedience was worthless, and at the same time he complained of the king's conduct in other respects; that, by a presumption which no one even among heathen princes had ventured on, he prevented the prelates of his kingdom from visiting the apostle's city; that he had promoted to the see of Rouen the son of a priest—an appointment to which Gregory was resolved never to consent. His legate was charged to threaten William with the wrath of St. Peter unless he should repent, and to cite certain representatives of the English and Norman bishops to a synod at Rome.^s No heed was paid to this citation; but the pope submitted to the slight; and it is certain that, but for the voluntary retirement of William's nominee, the objection in the case of Rouen would have been withdrawn.^t Equally unsuccessful were the pope's attempts on Lanfranc. Again and again invitations, becoming by degrees more urgent, required the archbishop to appear at Rome, where he had not been since Gregory's election. After a time the pope expresses a belief that he is influenced by fear of the king, but tells him that neither fear, nor love, nor the difficulties of the journey, ought to detain him.^u Lanfranc, in his answer, showed no disposition to comply; and he alluded, with an

^p E. g. Epp. i. 31; i. 70; vi. 30; vii. 23, 25.

^q Inter Epp. Lanfr. 7.

^r Inett, ii. 42.

^s Ep. vii. 1 (Sept. 23, 1079, Jaffé).

^t Guitmund, the person in question, was made cardinal by Gregory himself. See p. 663, n. 6.

^u Ep. vi. 30 (Mar. 25, 1079).

indifference which must have been very annoying, to the failure of the pope's claim to fealty.^v At length Gregory summoned the archbishop to set out for Rome within four months after receiving his citation, and to appear there on a certain day, under pain of deposition;^z but the citation was as vain as those before it, and the threat was never followed up.⁷

Gregory again found himself obliged to remonstrate in the case of William's half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Odo, deluded (it is said) by the arts of soothsayers, who assured him that a person of his name was to be pope, sent large sums of money to Rome for the purpose of securing himself an interest there, and enlisted a considerable force with which he intended to make his way to Italy. But William, on discovering the project, arrested and imprisoned him; and, in answer to an objection as to the bishop's spiritual character, declared that he had proceeded against him, not as bishop, but as earl of Kent.^a Gregory expostulated with the king, insisting on the immunities of the clergy, with the pretended saying of St. Ambrose, that royalty is less comparable to the episcopal dignity than lead to gold,^a and quoting the text—"He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye;"^b but Odo remained in prison until his brother, when dying, reluctantly ordered his release;^c and here, as in the other cases, conduct which would have drawn down the most awful thunders of Rome on the head of a weaker prince, was allowed to pass unpunished in the stern, able, powerful, and resolute master of England and Normandy.

In 1087 the Conqueror was succeeded by William Rufus. For a time the new king was kept within some degree of restraint by the influence of Lanfranc, who had been his tutor; but on the archbishop's death, in 1089, his evil dispositions were altogether uncontrolled. William, according to an ancient writer, "feared God but little, and men not at all."^d His character was utterly profane; his coarse and reckless wit was directed not only against

^v Lanfr. Ep. 8.

^z Ep. ix. 20 (Dec. 4, 1081).

⁷ In one of his letters to Lanfranc, Gregory begs the archbishop to restrain the Scots (i.e. Irish), who were said to be in the habit of selling their wives; and the English, too, if any of them did so. Append. Ep. 1.

^a Order. Vital. vii. 8 (t. iii. 189, seqq.). The Odo who became pope was Urban II. Dr. Lappenberg thinks it probable

that Gregory invited the bishop of Bayeux to aid him with an army against the emperor, and even flattered him with the hope of succeeding to the papacy. ii. 137.

^a See above, p. 627.

^b (Zach. ii. 8); Greg. Ep. xi. 2.

^c Flor. Wigorn. ii. 20.

^d W. Malmesb. 495; see, too, Rog. Wendover, ii. 160.

the superstitions of the age, or against the clergy, whom he despised and hated, but against religion itself.* The shameless debaucheries in which he indulged gave an example which his subjects were not slow to imitate.^f The rapacity by which he endeavoured to supply his profuse expenditure^g fell with especial weight on the property of the church. In former times the revenues of a vacant abbey had been committed to the bishop, and those of a vacant bishoprick to the archbishop, under whose superintendence they were applied to religious or charitable uses;^h under the Conqueror, they were administered by a clerk, who was accountable for his stewardship to the next incumbent.ⁱ But William's chosen adviser, a Norman ecclesiastic of low birth, named Ralph Passeflaber or Flambard,^k devised the idea that, as bishopricks and abbacies were fiefs of the crown, the profits of them during vacancy belonged to the sovereign. Under this pretext William kept bishopricks long vacant; while the diocese was left without a pastor, he extorted all that was possible from the tenants of the see, by means alike oppressive to them and injurious to the future bishop;^m and the most unblushing simony was practised in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments.ⁿ

After the death of Lanfranc, the primacy remained vacant for nearly four years. In answer to entreaties that he would nominate a successor, William swore, as he was wont, "by the holy face of Lucca," that he would as yet have no archbishop but himself; and when public prayers were offered up for the direction of his choice, he said that the church might ask what it pleased, but that he was resolved to take his own way.^o A severe illness, which followed soon after, was regarded as a judgment of heaven, and the king was earnestly urged to show his penitence by filling up the pri-

* See, for instances, Eadmer, 52.

^f Order. Vital. iv. 9; H. Huntingdon, i. vii., Patrol. cxcv. 934.

^g For this, see Malmesbury, 496.

^h Orderic, iii. 313; Collier, ii. 66.

ⁱ W. Malmesb. 498; Liugard, i. 534.

^k Order. Vital. iv. 54, 107-8. See Angl. Sac. i. 705-8, as to Rulph. It has been questioned whether he was called Flambard (*firebrand*) on account of his character, since he figures under that name in Domesday Book (p. 51) as a possessor of land in Hampshire before the Conquest (Lapenb. ii. 167; Foss, 'Judges of England,' i. 63). But Anselm says, "Propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti prænomine

Flambardus" (Ep. iv. 2); and it would seem from Orderic (iii. 311) that the name was given to him as characteristic before he attained power.

^m Order. Vital. iii. 312; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 46; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1100.

ⁿ Eadmer, 34.

^o Eadm. 34-5. The "holy face of Lucca" was a figure of the Saviour in cedar wood, said to have been carved by St. Nicodemus, and still preserved in the cathedral. (Baron. 1099. 40-7; Murray's Handbook of Central Italy, 19, ed. 1861.) Some writers (as Mr. Sharon Turner, 'Middle Ages,' i. 147) make William swear "by the face of St. Luke."

macy, and by redressing the grievances of his government. He consented, promised amendment, and made choice of Anselm as archbishop.^p

Anselm was born of an honourable family at Aosta, in 1033 or the following year.^q His boyhood was devout, but was succeeded by a somewhat irregular youth, more especially after the death of his pious and gentle mother, to whom he was deeply attached. The harshness with which his father treated him produced a resolution to leave his home; he crossed the Alps, and, after having, like Lanfranc, resided for some time at Avranches, he became, at the age of twenty-seven, a monk at Bec, where the founder, Herluin, was still abbot, while Lanfranc was prior and master of the school.^r On the removal of Lanfranc to Caen in 1063, Anselm succeeded him in his offices, and at the death of Herluin, in 1078, he was elected to the abbacy. With each dignity which he attained, his anxious feeling of responsibility increased, and he would have returned to the condition of a simple monk, but for the authority of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen.^s His fame speedily even surpassed that of Lanfranc, and his name was widely spread by treatises on philosophical, theological, and grammatical subjects. Pupils flocked to his instructions; questions were addressed to him from all quarters, and his friend and biographer, Edmer, tells us that his answers were received as oracles from heaven.^t Since the time of St. Augustine, the church had produced no teacher of equal eminence with Anselm, or so powerful in his influence on later ages. He has been described as the founder of natural theology;^u but if this title is to be applied to him, the term must be understood as signifying a theology which aimed at bringing the aid of philosophical thought to the support of the most rigid orthodoxy of the church.^x Whereas Scotus had made philosophy his foundation, and had endeavoured to reduce religion into accordance with it, the method of Anselm was exactly the opposite; its character is

^p Eadm. 35. Authorities used for Anselm:—Opera, ed. Gerberon, Paris, 1721; Eadmer, 'Vita Anselmi,' and 'Historia Novorum,' in Appendix to Anselm; Joh. Sarisb. Vita Anselmi, (Patrol. cxcix.); Möhler, 'Anselm v. Canterbury' (Aufsätze, i.); Church's 'Essays and Reviews,' Lond. 1854 (including two papers on St. Anselm from the 'British Critic' of 1843); Hasse, 'Anselm v. Canterbury,' vol. i. transl. by Turner, Lond. 1850, vol. ii. Leipz.

1852; Ch. de Rémusat, 'S. Anselme de Cantorbéry,' Paris, 1853.

^q Rémusat, 22.

^r Eadm. 2-3.

^s Ib. 5-9.

^t Ib. 8; Möhler, 54.

^u Schröckh, xxiv. 352-3.

^x See Rémusat, 55-7, 478; Möhler, 346; Ampère, iii. 306; Hasse, ii. 50-1; Giesel. II. ii. 383-6; Milman, iii. 248-9; Ritter, vii. 325-9

expressed in the title originally given to his 'Proslogion'—'Faith in search of Understanding.'^a The object of that work is to prove the existence and attributes of the Deity by a single argument. Edmer relates that when the idea of such a proof had entered into Anselm's mind, he was unable to eat, drink, or sleep; it disturbed him at his devotions, and, although he endeavoured to resist it as a temptation of the devil, he could not rest until, in the watches of the night, a light broke in on him^a—"God is that than which nothing greater can be conceived; and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived."^a A monk named Gaunilo wrote a short tract in reply, objecting that the conception of a thing does not imply its existence, and exemplifying this by the fabulous island of Atlantis;^b and Anselm rejoined that the illustration was inapplicable to the question, since existence is a part of the perfections which are conceived of as belonging to the Deity.^c

The character of Anselm was amiable, gentle, and modest. Simple, and even severe, in his own habits, he was indulgent to others, and the confidence which he placed in those below him, with his indifference to the vulgar interests of the world, was often abused. Edmer draws a very pleasing picture of his familiar intercourse, and relates many stories which illustrate his wisdom, his kindly temper, his mild, yet keen and subtle humour.^d In one of these stories, an abbot "who was accounted very religious" applies in despair for advice as to the treatment of the pupils in his monastery; he had flogged them indefatigably both by day and by night, but, instead of amending, they only grew worse. Anselm

^a 'Fides quærens intellectum,' Opera, 29; Rémusat, 459. "Sicut rectus ordo exigit ut profunda Christianæ fidei credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere, ita negligentia mihi videtur si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere" (Cur Deus Homo, i. 2). "Christianus per fidem debet ad intellectum proficere, non per intellectum ad fidem accedere, aut, si intelligere non valet, a fide recedere. Sed cum ad intellectum valet pertingere, delectatur; cum vero nequit, quod capere non potest, veneratur" (Ep. ii. 41). Cf. De Fide Trinitatis, 2, &c.

^b Eadm. 6.

^c Proslogion, c. 4. The tablets on which he had sketched out his argu-

ment twice disappeared, having, it was supposed, been made away with by the devil. Joh. Sariab. 5.

^b 'Liber pro Insipiente' (a title referring to Anselm's quotation of Ps. xiv. 1), in Anselm's works, 36.

^c 'Liber Apologeticus contra Gaunilonem respondentem pro Insipiente,' ib. 37-40. See Hist. Litt. viii. 153; Hasse, ii. 241; Ritter, vii. 335-8; Bp. Thomson's Bampton Lectures for 1853, pp. 5, 236. Anselm's argument did not find favour with the schoolmen in general, but has become famous in later times as revived, and perhaps independently (although this is not certain), by Des Cartes. Rémusat, 527-531.

^d Eadm. 16, 21.

by degrees leads him to understand that so brutal a discipline could only be expected to brutalise its objects, and the abbot returns home to practise a wiser and a gentler system.^a But as the exercise of Anselm's philosophical genius was subordinated to the strictest orthodoxy, so with his calm and peaceful nature he combined the most unbending resolution in the cause of the hierarchical system. To this he seems to have adhered, not from any feeling of interest or passion, or even of strong personal conviction, but because it was sanctioned by the church, while the scandalous abuses perpetrated by such sovereigns as William Rufus tended to blind him to the existence of dangers on the other side; and his assertion of it was marked by nothing of violence or assumption, but by an immovable tenacity and perseverance.^f

Anselm was already known and honoured in England, which he had visited for the purpose of superintending the English estates of his abbey. He had been acquainted with the Conqueror, who, in conversing with him, laid aside his wonted sternness;^g and he had been the guest of Lanfranc, who had profited by his advice to deal tenderly with the peculiarities and prejudices of the people committed to his care.^h It was with great reluctance that, during the vacancy of the primacy, he yielded to the repeated invitations of Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, who desired to see him in a sickness which was supposed to be mortal: for he knew that popular opinion had designated him as the successor of his old master; he was unwilling to exchange his monastery, with its quiet opportunities of study and thought, and his position of influence as a teacher, for the pomp and troubled dignity of the English primacy; and, honouring royalty, disliking contention, but firmly resolved to maintain the cause of the church, he shrank from the connexion with such a prince as William—a connexion which he compared to the yoking a young untamed bull with an old and feeble sheep.ⁱ He therefore endeavoured, with a sincerity which cannot reasonably be questioned, to decline the office; but he was carried into the sick king's chamber at Gloucester, the crosier was forced into

^a Ib. 8.

^f Rémusat, 286; Martineau, 302.

^g Eadm. 33.

^h In particular, Lanfranc questioned the title of Archbishop Alphege, murdered by the Danes in 1012 (Ang. Sax. Chron. in Ann.; Osbern. Vita Elph. in Patrol. cxlviii.), to the character of saint and martyr, in which the English regarded him, "although they do not

deny that he was slain, not for the confession of Christ's name, but because he would not redeem himself with money." Anselm showed how, even without inquiring further into the history, the national reverence might be justified, and Lanfranc was convinced. Eadm. 10-1. See Guib. Novig. in Patrol. clvi. 614.

ⁱ Eadmer, 36; Rémusat, 155-7.

his hands, and notwithstanding his struggles he was hurried away to a neighbouring church, where the people received him with acclamations as archbishop, and the clergy sang "Te Deum" for the election.^k He did not, however, consider himself at liberty to accept the primacy, until he had been released from his obligations to his monks, to the archbishop of Rouen, and to his sovereign, duke Robert of Normandy.^m

The king recovered, and relapsed into courses even worse than before.ⁿ The works of amendment which he had begun were undone, and when Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, ventured gently to remind him of his late promises, he disavowed the obligation in a speech of outrageous profanity.^o Anselm waited on him at Dover, and stated the terms on which only he would consent to be archbishop—that he should be allowed to enjoy all the rights of his see which Lanfranc had possessed, with such portions of its alienated property as he might be able to recover; that William should pay him the same regard in spiritual matters which the king claimed from the archbishop in temporal things; and that no offence should arise as to his acknowledgment of pope Urban, who had not yet been recognised in England. The answer was, that he should have all which Lanfranc had had, but that the other points must remain undecided for the present.^p The archbishop was invested in September 1093, but his consecration did not take place until the 4th of December. At this ceremony the archbishop of York, who took the chief part in it, objected to the title of "Metropolitan of all England," on the ground that the metropolitan power of Canterbury did not extend over the northern province. The objection was allowed, and the title of Primate was substituted.^q

The first entrance of Anselm into his city had been disturbed by the appearance of Flambard, who in the king's name instituted against him a suit of which the subject is not recorded;^r and other events soon occurred to justify the apprehensions with which he had undertaken his office. William was busy in raising subsidies for an

^k Anselm, Ep. iii. 1-2; Eadm. 13, 34-6.

^m Ep. iii. 4, 10.

ⁿ Henr. Huntingd. l. vii. (Patrol. cxcv. 834).

^o "Scias, O episcopo, quod per sanctum vultum de Luca nunquam me Deus bonum habebit pro malo quod mihi intulerit." Eadm. 37.

^p Eadm. 37; Anselm, Ep. iii. 24. For the trial on Penenden Heath between Lanfranc and Odo, who, as earl of Kent, had seized many manors belonging to the archbishoprick, see Ernulf, in Patrol. clxiii. 1449, seqq.

^q Eadm. 13, 37.

^r Id. 37.

intended expedition into Normandy, and the archbishop, after his consecration, was advised by his friends to send him a contribution of five hundred pounds, in the hope that it might render the king favourable to the church. William was at first pleased with the gift, but some of his advisers persuaded him that it was too little—that the archbishop, in consideration of his promotion, ought to have given twice or four times as much. Anselm replied that he could not raise more without distressing his tenants; that it should not be his last gift; that a little freely given was better than a larger sum extorted: and, as William persevered in refusing the money, he bestowed it on the poor for the benefit of the king's soul, comforting himself with the thought that he could not be charged with even the appearance of simony.* The king was deeply offended. He evaded the fulfilment of his promise as to the restoration of the archbishop's estates.[†] He refused him leave to hold a council for the suppression of disorders among the clergy and monks, and for the general reformation of morals; and when Anselm urged the necessity of filling up the vacant abbacies, he asked, "What is that to you?—are not the abbeys mine?" "They are yours," replied the primate, "to defend and protect as advocate, but they are not yours to invade and to devastate."[‡] The knowledge of the royal disfavour naturally raised up or encouraged a host of lesser enemies, who industriously persecuted Anselm by their encroachments on his property and by other annoyances.[§] The bishops advised him to propitiate William by a new offering of five hundred pounds; but he declared that he would not oppress his exhausted tenants, and that such a proceeding would be alike unworthy of the king and of himself.[¶]

Notwithstanding all discouragements, the archbishop set vigorously about the work of reform. In the beginning of Lent, when the court was at Hastings, he refused to give the customary ashes and benediction to the young nobles who affected an effeminate style of dress and manners—wearing long hair, which they curled and adorned like women. It is not to be supposed that he regarded for their own sake these follies, or the fashionable shoes in which the invention of Fulk of Anjou[‡] had been developed by one

* Ep. iii. 24; Eadm. 13, 38. Dr. Lingard observes (i. 539) that the money was probably borrowed, as the tenants of the see had been so drained by the royal exactions during the vacancy that for three years Anselm was obliged to anticipate his income. Eadm. 85.

[†] Ep. iii. 24.

[‡] Eadm. 39.

[§] Id. 17.

[¶] Id. 39.

[‡] See p. 677.

of William's courtiers, who twisted their long points into the likeness of a ram's horn.^a But he dreaded the tendency of such fashions to extinguish a high and active spirit, and he denounced them from a knowledge that they were connected with habits of luxury and gaming, and with the unnatural vices which had become rife in England since the conquest.^b

Since the death of Gregory VII. neither of the rival popes had been acknowledged in England.^c The king had come to regard it as a special prerogative of his crown, distinguishing him from other sovereigns, that within his dominions no pope should be recognised except by his permission; and this opinion had been encouraged by courtly prelates.^d The right of Urban had, however, been admitted in Normandy, and Anselm, as we have seen, had stipulated that he should be allowed to adhere to the profession which, as abbot of Bec, he had made to that pontiff. He now, on William's return from the Norman expedition, requested leave to go to Rome, and to receive his pall from the pope. "From which pope?" asked the king; and, on Anselm's replying "From Urban," he angrily declared that neither his father nor himself had ever allowed any one to be styled pope in England without their special warrant; as well might the archbishop attempt to deprive him of his crown. Anselm on this desired that the question whether his duty to the pope were inconsistent with his duty to the king might be discussed at a council; and an assembly of bishops and nobles met for the purpose at Rockingham, in March 1095.^e

The archbishop took his stand on the principle that God ought to be obeyed rather than man. Two only of his own order, the bishops of Rochester^f and Chichester, supported him. William of

^a Order. Vital. iii. 323, who styles the master of this fashion "nebulus."

^b Ib. 323-5; W. Malmesb. 498; Eadm. 39; Lingard, ii. 6. Fashion was, however, too strong. Orderic gives an invective against long hair, beards, and "scorpion" shoes, pronounced before Henry I., in 1005, by Serlo, bishop of Séz. The king, who had then particular reasons for conciliating the Norman clergy, submitted, and the bishop, drawing out a pair of scissors, clipped him and his courtiers on the spot. But Edmer, at a later time, tells us that any one who did not wear long hair was taken for a rustic or a monk (84), and, as the notes on the

passage of Orderic (iv. 207-210) show, the fashions long survived. See, too, Will. Malmesb. 694. and note; Brial. Pref. to Recueil des Hist. xvi. 20-4. A writer, of date about 1182, complains both as to peaked boots and as to long hair: the very rustics, he says, instead of shaven hair and long beards, wear long hair and shave their beards. Godefr. Vosiensis, in Rec. des Hist. xii. 450.

^c Anselm, Ep. iii. 37; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1091.

^d See the bishop of Durham's speech at Rockingham, in Eadm. 41.

^e Eadm. 17, 40.

^f Gundulf, formerly a monk of Bec,

St. Calais,^g bishop of Durham, and Herbert of Norwich, who, from his character, was styled *the Flatterer*,^h were vehement in their opposition; while the rest, accustomed as they had been to the Conqueror's ecclesiastical supremacy, and perplexed by the discord between powers which had until then acted in concert, behaved with timidity and indecision.ⁱ The king maintained that it was an invasion of his rights for a subject to look to any other authority, even in spiritual things. The bishops advised the archbishop to make full submission; but, when William asked them to disown him, they answered that they could not venture on such a step against the primate, not only of England, but of Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands. Anselm, who throughout retained his composure, and at one time even fell asleep while the bishops had withdrawn for a consultation, professed his readiness to answer for his conduct in the proper place; and his enemies were alarmed at the words, which they rightly understood to imply that, as metropolitan, he was amenable to the pope's jurisdiction only. The bishop of Durham, after having in vain attempted to influence Anselm, told the king that, as the archbishop had Scripture and the canons in his favour, the only way to deal with him was by force—that he should be stripped of the ensigns of his dignity, and should be banished from the realm.^k On being again asked by William whether they renounced the archbishop, some of the prelates replied that they did so absolutely; others, that they renounced him in so far as he pretended to act by Urban's authority. The king was indignant at the qualified answer, and those who had made it were afterwards obliged to pay heavily for the recovery of his favour.^m The nobles behaved with greater spirit than the

was an old and intimate friend of Anselm, many of whose letters are addressed to him. Vita Gund. in Patrol. clix. 817.

^g "De Sancto Carilefo"—the monastery of St. Calais in Normandy. Symeon of Durham gives a high character of this prelate. Hist. Dunelm. iv. 1, 5, cols. 49, 52, ap. Twysden.

^h "Losinga." Herbert, a native of the "Pagus Oximensis" in Normandy, had obtained the bishopric of Thetford by simony, but afterwards went to Rome, resigned it, and received a new appointment from the pope. On his return he removed the see to Norwich (A.D. 1094), where he founded the cathedral, and expended much wealth in

other acts of munificence. (Flor. Wigorn. ii. 33; Foss, 'Judges of England,' i. 127-8.) William of Malmesbury, indeed, speaks of church-building and such works as the means by which bishops who were not in other respects blameless endeavoured to cover their defects (679). Yet Herbert seems to have really become a better man, and is highly praised by Bartholomew de Cotton (Angl. Sac. i. 407). Some of his letters have been published by Col. R. Anstruther, Brussels, 1847.

ⁱ Eadm. 41; Church, 153; Rémusat, 198.

^k Eadm. 17, 42.

^m Id. 43.

bishops, declaring that, although they had not taken any oath to the primate, they could not disown him, especially as he had committed no offence; while the people, who surrounded the place of meeting, were zealous in his cause, and loudly exclaimed against his cowardly brethren as Judases, Pilates, and Herods.ⁿ At length it was resolved that there should be a truce until the octave of Whitsunday. Anselm was ordered in the mean time to confine himself to his diocese; but the truce was broken on the king's side by the pillage of the archbishop's estates, by attacks on his train, and by the banishment of some of his confidential friends.^o

William took advantage of the interval to send two ecclesiastics to Rome, with instructions to inquire into the claims of the rival popes, to make terms with the claimant whom they should find to be legitimate, and to obtain from him a pall for the archbishop of Canterbury, without naming Anselm, for whom the king hoped by this means to substitute another. The decision of the envoys was in favour of Urban, from whom a pall was brought to England by Walter, bishop of Albano. The king agreed to acknowledge Urban; but when he asked the legate to depose Anselm, he was told that it was impossible. The archbishop was summoned to court, and was desired to receive the pall from William's own hands. He replied that it was not for any secular person to give

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the pall; and, as he persevered in his refusal, it was agreed that the pall should be laid by the legate on the high altar at Canterbury, and that the archbishop should take it thence, as from the hand of St. Peter.^p

Robert of Normandy was now about to set out for the crusade, and had agreed to pledge the duchy to his brother in consideration of a sum of money for the expenses of his expedition.^q In order to make up this payment, William had recourse to severe exactions. He seized the plate of monasteries; and when the monks remonstrated, he met them in his usual style by asking—"Have ye not shrines of gold and silver for dead men's bones?"^r Anselm contributed liberally; but he was soon after required to

ⁿ Eadm. 42.

^o Id. 43; Collier, ii. 77; Lappenb. ii. 193.

^p Eadm. 44-5. Hugh of Flavigny says, "Adeo auctoritas Romana apud Anglos avaritia et cupiditate legatorum viluerat, ut eodem Albanense præsente et consentiente, nec contradicente, immo præcipiente, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus

fidelitatem B. Petro et papæ juraverat salva fidelitate domini sui regis," &c. (A.D. 1096, Patrol. cliv. 353.) The legate carried back with him the first Peter-pence that had been paid from England for many years. Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1095, p. 200.

^q Guil. Gemet. viii. 7 (Patrol. cxlix.).

^r W. Malmesb. 501.

answer in the king's court for having failed in the proper equipment of some soldiers whom he had supplied for an expedition against the Welsh.^a He saw in this summons a design to bring him under feudal subjection, and knew that he could not look for justice, while the hopelessness of any satisfactory relations with such a prince as William became continually more and more evident. He therefore resolved to lay his case before the pope, and requested leave to go to Rome that he might represent the state of the English church. William met the application by telling him that he had no need to make such a journey, since he had done nothing to require absolution, and, as for advice, he was fitter to give it to the pope than the pope to him.^b The suit was thrice urged in vain. Anselm declared that he must obey God rather than man; and that, even if leave were refused, he must go to Rome. The bishops, whom he requested to support him, told him that they revered his piety and heavenly conversation, but that it was too far above them; that, if he would descend to their level, they would gladly give him their assistance; but that otherwise they must decline to do anything inconsistent with their duty to the king.^c William required him either to renounce his design, and swear that he would never apply to St. Peter, or to quit the kingdom for ever, but finally, at Winchester, yielded an un-^{Oct. 15,} gracious consent. The archbishop offered to give him ^{1097.} his blessing unless it were refused; and, on William's replying that he did not refuse it, they parted with a solemn benediction.^d

At Canterbury the archbishop took from the altar the staff and the dress of a pilgrim. When about to embark at Dover, he was subjected to the indignity of having his baggage publicly searched by William of Warelwast, one of the king's chaplains, in the vain hope of finding treasures; and after his departure his archiepiscopal acts were annulled, the property of his see was confiscated, and his tenants were oppressed by the king's officers more mercilessly than ever.^e

Anselm had been forbidden to take his way through Normandy.^f The earlier part of his journey was a triumphant progress; the latter part was, from the fear of antipapalists and of robbers, performed in the garb of a simple monk, undistinguished by appearance from his companions, Baldwin, and the biographer Edmer, precentor

^a Eadm. 17, 46.^b Ep. iii. 11; Eadm. 17, 47; Rémusat,

226.

^c Eadm. 47.^d Id. 18, 48.^e Id. 19, 48-3.^f Order. Vital. iv. 55.

of Canterbury, whom in one of his epistles he describes as "the staff of his old age."^a On arriving at Rome, he was received with extraordinary distinction by Urban, who declared that he ought to be treated as an equal—as "pope and patriarch of another world"—and wrote to the king of England, desiring that the archiepiscopal property should be released from confiscation.^b After a stay of ten days in the city, Anselm withdrew to a monastery near Telesse, in compliance with an invitation from the abbot, who was a Norman and had formerly been his pupil. In order that he might escape the extreme heat of summer, his host conveyed him to a retreat among the neighbouring hills; and here he finished a treatise which he had begun in England, on the purpose of the Saviour's Incarnation^c—a treatise of which the doctrine has become a standard of orthodoxy even in communions where the obligation to Anselm is little suspected. In the opening of it, he states that the subject was engaging the attention not only of the learned, but of many uneducated Christians. He shows the necessity of a satisfaction for sin in order that man might become capable of that blessedness for which he was originally created; the impossibility that this satisfaction should be rendered except by God, while yet it must be made by man, from whom it was due;^d and the consequent necessity that the Mediator, who was to effect the reconciliation by his voluntary death, should at once be perfect God and perfect man.^e

Anselm in his retreat was regarded with veneration by all who saw him—even by the Saracens of the Apulian army. He thought of resigning his dignities, and of devoting himself to labour in this new sphere; but the pope rejected the proposal, and required him to attend a council which was to be held at Bari, before the body of St. Nicolas, with a view to the reconciliation of the Greek and

Latin churches.^f At this assembly, when the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost was proposed, Urban, after arguing from one of Anselm's treatises, desired the archbishop

^a Ep. iii. 25; Eadm. 19, 20, 49.

^b Eadm. 20, 50.

^c Ib. 20; Anselm, Preface to 'Cur Deus Homo.' ^d L. ii. 6.

^e Ib. 7-11; see Petav. de Incarn. ii. 13; Thomson's Bampton Lectures, VI; Giesel. vi. 386. The argument is partly grounded (i. 16-8) on an idea set forth by St. Augustine (Enchiridion, i. 29; De Civ. Dei, XXII. i. 2), that men were required to fill up the places of the fallen angels in heaven. Hasse cites Boëthius, Scotus Erigenz, and others, to

the same effect (ii. 516). Lau ('Gregor d. Grosse,' 362, 412) refers for the opinion to Greg. Moral. xxx. 49—a chapter which does not exist; but there is something like it in xxv. 30. Gregory, as reported by Lau, maintains that the number of the elect will be the same as that of the lost angels; but Anselm (i. 18) holds that it will be greater.

^f Eadm. 21, 52-3. The only records of this council are in the English writers. Hard. vi. 1753.

himself to stand forward, and pronounced a high eulogium on his character and sufferings. Anselm was ready to discuss the subject, but was requested to defer his argument until the following day, when he spoke with a clearness and an eloquence which won universal admiration.^g The pope then entered on the grievances of the English church; the council was unanimous for the excommunication of William; and Urban, inspirited by his success in the great movement of the crusade, was about to pronounce the sentence, when Anselm, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to forbear, and gained fresh admiration by this display of mildness towards his oppressor.^h

The archbishop accompanied Urban to Rome, where he was treated with a reverence second only to the pope, while the people, impressed by his demeanour, spoke of him not as "the man" or "the archbishop," but as "the *holy* man."ⁱ About Christmas, envoys from England appeared—William of Warelwast being one. The pope told them that their master must restore everything to the archbishop on pain of excommunication; but in private interviews they were able, by means of large presents, to obtain a truce until Michaelmas.^k At the synod of the following Lent, the decrees against investitures and homage were renewed, and were received with general acclamation.^m Reginer, bishop of Lucca, introduced the subject of Anselm's wrongs, in an indignant speech, to which he added emphasis by striking the floor with his pastoral staff; and it was with difficulty that the pope prevailed on him to desist, while Anselm, to whom the mention of his case was unexpected, took no part in the scene.ⁿ It was, however, now evident to him that he could not expect any strenuous assistance from Urban, and he withdrew to Lyons, where for a year and a half he was entertained with the greatest honour by archbishop Hugh.^o During this residence at Lyons he was informed of the pope's death, in July 1099, and of William's mysterious and awful end, in August 1100.^p

Henry I., at his coronation, promised to redress the grievances

^g Eadm. 53. His arguments were afterwards embodied in a book, at the request of Hildebert of Le Mans. Hildeb. Epp. ii. 9, 13 (Patrol. clxxi.).

^h Eadm. 53.

ⁱ Id. 21.

^k Id. 54.

^m "Fiat! fiat!" Id. 55; Rog. Hoveden, 268.

ⁿ Eadm. 55.

^o Ep. iv. 117.

^p Eadm. 22, 55-6. John of Peterborough relates that Anselm, on visiting Hugh of Cluny, was told by him "Rex ille proxima nocte ante Deum ductus, et adjudicatus tristem damnationis sententiam accepit." Sparke, 57.

in the church and in the civil administration from which his subjects had suffered during the late reign. Flambard, who had succeeded William of St. Calais as bishop of Durham, was committed to the

Sept. 1100. Tower.⁴ The king resolved to fill up the vacant bishopricks and abbeys; he urgently invited Anselm to return,⁵ and, on his arrival, apologised for having been crowned in the primate's absence.⁶ But a subject of difference soon arose.

The custom of investiture and homage, which were regarded as inseparable, was so firmly settled in England, that Anselm, notwithstanding his lofty ecclesiastical principles, had without scruple submitted to it at his elevation to the primacy.⁷ But when he was now required to repeat his engagements, in acknowledgment of the new sovereign, he answered that it was forbidden by the Roman council which he had lately attended. He declared that, although the objection to the ceremony was not his own, he held himself bound to maintain the council's decrees, and that if the king would not admit them, he could not communicate with him, or remain in England. He suggested, however, that Henry might ask the pope to dispense with the enforcement of them in his dominions.⁸ A truce until Easter was agreed on, and, soon after it had expired, the king received an answer to a letter which he had written to the pope. In this answer Paschal dwelt on the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular power, but without touching the question whether investiture and homage were really an invasion of the church's spiritual rights.⁹

The king found it necessary to temporise. He feared the influence of his brother Robert, who had returned from the east, adding to the charm of his popular manners the fame of a brave warrior, who had borne a conspicuous share in the delivery of the Holy Sepulchre from the infidels. Henry, therefore, could not afford to alienate the clergy, while he was unwilling to give up so important a part of his prerogative as that which was now assailed.⁷ The nobles in general were opposed to the ecclesiastical claim, and the bishops joined them in declaring that, rather than yield the national rights, they would expel the primate from the realm, and

⁴ Ang. Sax. Chron. 1100-1; Foss, i. 65. He made his escape, and eventually recovered his see. For some remarkable practices of Flambard as to the bishoprick of Lisieux, see Ivo Carnot. Epp. 149, 153-4, 157 (Patrol. clxii.); cf. Sym. Dunelm. Continuat. col. 61.

⁵ Anselm. Ep. iii. 41.

⁶ Eadm. 57.

⁷ Lappenberg, ii. 249.

⁸ Ep. iii. 100; Eadm. 57.

⁹ Eadmer gives it, p. 59.

⁷ Eadm. 57.

renounce their connexion with Rome.* Gerard, archbishop of York, Herbert of Norwich, and Robert of Coventry, were sent to Rome on the part of the king; Baldwin and another monk on that of Anselm. The bishops were charged with a letter, in which Henry, while professing his desire to respect the pope as his predecessors had done, declared himself resolved to uphold the rights of his crown; if, he said, he were to abase himself by suffering them to be diminished, neither his nobles nor his people would endure it; and he desired Paschal to choose between a relaxation of the decrees and a loss of England from his obedience.^a

In answer to the solicitations of the bishops, the pope declared that, even to save his life, he would not recede from the decrees; he wrote to the king that his treatment of the church was as if an unnatural son should reduce his mother to bondage; and he addressed to Anselm a letter of commendation and encouragement.^b The bishops, however, who brought back the letter for Henry, professed to have been verbally assured by the pope that, if the king would in other respects discharge his duties well, he should not be troubled on the subject of investiture. The archbishop's envoys said that they had received no such communication; but the bishops rejoined that it had been made in secret; that the pope would not commit it to writing, lest it should come to the knowledge of other princes, who might thereupon claim a like allowance. A vehement dispute followed. Baldwin indignantly insisted that he and his companion ought to be believed, supported as they were by the pope's letters. It was replied that the word of an archbishop and two bishops ought to outweigh that of two monkings,^c who by their very profession were disqualified for bearing witness in secular courts; and that it was far superior to sheepskins bescribbled with ink, with a lump of lead appended to them: to which Baldwin rejoined that the question was not secular but spiritual.^d A fresh reference was made to Rome, for the purpose

* Anselm. ad Paschalem, Ep. iv. 4. Martene (Thesaur. i. 273) has exposed Wharton's mistake in publishing this letter (Ang. Sac. ii. 178) as if it were not in Gerberon's edition. Cf. Epp. iii. 37; iv. 2, 6.

^a The letter is given by Bromton, Ann. 1103, ap. Twysden, 499.

^b Eadm. 61. Hume, after a fruitless search for the text, "I have said ye are gods," which Paschal quotes in one of his letters, supposes it to be probably

"a forgery of his Holiness" (l. i. 291.

^c "Monachelli." Baldwin had formerly been advocate of the church of Tournay. Herm. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Martini Tornac. 13 (Patrol. clxxx.).

^d Eadm. 62. Dr. Lappenberg seems to think the pope had acted with duplicity (ii. 250-1). Mr. Church acquits him (208). Professor Hasse (Transl. 155) thinks that the bishops had misunderstood him; M. de Rémusat, that in conversation he had spoken in

of ascertaining the pope's real sentiments,^e and in the mean time Anselm agreed that he would not suspend communion with the king, or with those who were invested by him. But he refused to consecrate some clergy of the court who were nominated to bishopricks; and, although the archbishop of York was willing to take the chief part in the rite, two of the nominees declined to receive consecration on such terms.^f

At Michaelmas 1102, a council was held at London, and, by Anselm's desire, it was attended by the nobles of the realm, in order to add force to its decisions. A number of abbots were deprived for simony or other irregularities; the obligation of celibacy was now for the first time extended to the parochial clergy of England;^g and the other canons bear sad evidence to the condition into which religion, discipline, and morality had sunk under the misgovernment of William Rufus.^h The enforcement of celibacy met with strong opposition, especially in the province of York, where many of the priests preferred the alternative of shutting their church-doors, and giving up the performance of all Divine service.ⁱ

The king and the archbishop received answers from the pope; but Henry refused to make known the contents of that addressed to him, and Anselm refrained for a time from opening the other, lest it should involve him in fresh difficulties. The king made an opportunity of visiting him at Canterbury, and proposed that the archbishop should himself go to Rome with a view of obtaining a relaxation of the decrees. Anselm replied that, although old and infirm, he was willing to undertake the journey, but that he would not do anything to the injury of the church, or to his own discredit; whereupon he was assured that he would only be expected to confirm the evidence of the king's own envoys as to the state of English affairs.^k

The archbishop set out, and, on arriving at Bec, opened the pope's letter, by which he found that Paschal solemnly disavowed the words imputed to him by Henry's late envoys, and placed the

a conciliatory tone, supposing that the parties would come to an agreement. 302.

^e Anselm, Ep. iii. 73.

^f Eadm. 63-4.

^g "Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum. Ne, dum munditias viribus majores appetent, in immunditias horribiles ad Chris-

tiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent." Henr. Huntingd. l. vii., Patrol. cxcv. 244. The words are repeated by Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1102 (ib. clx. or Pertz, vi.).

^h Eadm. 63; Wilkins, i. 382.

ⁱ Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1102, ap. Twysden, 228.

^k Eadm. 65.

three prelates under censure until they should make satisfaction.^m After a journey in which honours everywhere waited on him, he reached Rome, where about the same time William of Warelwast arrived as representative of the king. At an audience of the pope, the envoy declared that his master would rather lose his crown than abandon the right of investiture. Paschal replied that he himself would die rather than yield up his claim; but, by way of conciliation, he confirmed in some other points the usages which had been introduced by William the Conqueror. Anselm soon discovered that his opponents were employing the substantial arguments which were generally successful at Rome; and, after having received the papal blessing, with a vague confirmation of the privileges of his see, he again withdrew to the hospitality of Hugh of Lyons, who, since his former visit, had performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.ⁿ On the way he was overtaken by William of Warelwast, who travelled for some time in his company, and at parting told him that the king would gladly see him back, if the archbishop would do as his predecessors had done to the crown. Anselm considered this as forbidding his return, unless he would agree to terms which the late Roman canons had rendered impossible; and he wrote from Lyons to warn the king that on him must be the guilt of any mischiefs which might follow.^o

Henry committed the property of the archbishoprick to the care of two of Anselm's retainers, who, as would appear from a hint of Edmer, did not exercise their stewardship very faithfully.^p He repeatedly desired the primate to return, but without offering any mitigation of his conditions;^q while Anselm, in answer to letters from some of the clergy, who urged him to redress the disorders of the church, steadily declared that he could not return unless the king would make concessions.^r The archbishop attempted by frequent messages to urge the pope to a more decided course; but, although he prevailed on Paschal to excommunicate the Norman counsellors who had maintained the principle of investiture, and

^m Anselm. Ep. iii. 74; Eadm. 65.

ⁿ Eadm. 66-7; Rémusat, 336.

^o Ep. iii. 88; iv. 46; Eadm. 68.

^p Eadm. 69.

^q E. g. Ep. iii. 94, and the answer, 96; Eadm. 70.

^r Ep. iii. 90; Eadm. 69. Dr. Lapenberg censures Anselm for remaining in learned ease at Lyons, and throwing

on Henry the blame of forbidding his return (ii. 254). But it appears that the king justified the speech of William of Warelwast, and the interpretation which the archbishop put on it, although the prohibition was not generally known in England. Eadm. 69, 71; Inett, ii. 114; Rémusat, 337.

the ecclesiastics who accepted it, no sentence was uttered against the king himself.* At length Anselm resolved to take further steps on his own responsibility. In the spring of 1105, he visited Henry's sister, the countess of Blois, and told her that he was about to excommunicate the king. The countess was greatly alarmed by this information, as such a sentence might have dangerous effects at a time when Henry was at war with his brother Robert, and when his subjects were discontented on account of its cost. She therefore earnestly endeavoured to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and succeeded in bringing them to a conference at the castle of L'Aigle in Normandy, on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene (July 21).† But although at this meeting Henry professed himself willing to give up the revenues of Canterbury, the question of homage and investiture was still a bar to reconciliation; and again a reference to Rome was necessary.‡

Many of the English clergy had taken advantage of the primate's absence to defy the late canons as to celibacy, and Henry conceived the idea of turning their irregularities to profit by imposing a fine on them. As, however, the produce of this measure fell short of his expectations and of his necessities, he proceeded to levy a fine on every parish-church, holding the incumbents answerable for the payment. It was in vain that two hundred of the clergy, arrayed in their robes of ministration, waited on him with a petition for relief; and Anselm found himself obliged to address to the king a remonstrance against his usurpation of ecclesiastical discipline.§ The primate received fresh letters, detailing the increased confusion which prevailed among his flock, and earnestly entreating him to return. Gerard of York, and other prelates who had formerly been his opponents, now wrote to acknowledge their error, and declared themselves ready not only to follow but to go before him in the endeavour to heal the wounds of the church.¶

At length William of Warelwast and Baldwin, who had been sent to Rome as representatives of the king and of the archbishop respectively, returned with the proposal of a compromise—that the king should forego investiture, but that, until he should come to a better mind, bishops and abbots should be permitted to do homage, while those who had been invested by him were to be admitted to communion on such terms as the two envoys should agree on.* These

* Eadm. 70.

† Ep. iii. 110; Eadm. 71.

‡ Ep. iii. 110; iv. 73.

§ Ep. iii. 109; Eadm. 71-3.

¶ Ep. iii. 121; Eadm. 71-3.

* Ep. iii. 114; Eadm. 74.

conditions were ratified at Bec on the 25th of August, 1106, when the king promised to restore to Anselm the profits of the see during his absence, to abstain from the revenues of vacant bishopricks and abbeys, and to remit all fines to the clergy.^a The victory over Robert at Tenchebray, on the 28th of September, was regarded by many as a blessing on the peace which had been concluded with the church.^b

Anselm was received in England with enthusiasm. The queen, "Maud the Good," who had always regarded him with the highest reverence and had corresponded with him in his exile, went before him from stage to stage, to direct the preparations for his entertainment.^c He soon after joined with the archbishop of York in consecrating five bishops, among whom were his old antagonist Warelwast, and the two who had refused to be consecrated in the primate's absence.^d

A council was held at Westminster in 1107, when the king formally relinquished the privilege of investiture, and the archbishop promised to tolerate the ceremony of homage, notwithstanding the condemnation which Urban had pronounced against it.^e The king had conceded, and Anselm was congratulated by his correspondents as victorious; yet in truth Henry, by giving up an indifferent ceremonial, was able to retain the old relations of the crown with the hierarchy, and even the nomination of bishops.^f At this council, and at one held in the following year, the canons against the marriage of ecclesiastics were renewed with great strictness; but the pope consented for a time that the sons of clergymen might be admitted to orders, on the remarkable ground that "almost the greater and the better part of the English clergy" were derived from this class.^g

During the short remainder of his life, Anselm enjoyed the friendship and respect of Henry. Notwithstanding his growing

^a Eadm. 75.

^b Id. 76.

^c Ib. See, for this queen's character, W. Malmesb. 650-1.

^d Sym. Danelm. Ann. 1107.

^e Eadm. 76; Wilkins, iii. 386-7.

^f Planck, IV. ii. 23; Lingard, ii. 17-8; Phillips, i. 129; Rémusat, 367-370. Anselm soon after wrote to the pope—"Rex ipse in personis eligendis nullatenus propria utitur voluntate, sed religiosorum se penitus committit consilio." Hence Inett (ii. 122), Mr. Church

(220-1), and Mr. Martineau (309), suppose that the king virtually gave up his patronage. But the meaning seems merely to be that he took advice as to the fitness of his nominees. (See Hasse, Transl. 194.) Malmesbury's account of the accommodation is—"Rex investituram annuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum; retento tantum (*al.* tamen) electionis et regalium privilegio." P. 50.

^g Eadm. 76.

infirmity, he continued to write on theological and philosophical subjects; on his deathbed he expressed a wish that he might be permitted to live until he had solved a question as to the origin of the soul—because he feared that no other person would be able to give a right solution. After his death, which took place in April 1009,^h the primacy was allowed to remain vacant until 1114, when it was conferred on Ralph, bishop of Rochester, who had administered its affairs during the interval.ⁱ

^h Eadm. 25-6. John of Salisbury reports a saying which shows that Anselm was not disposed to make too much of what he had suffered from William Rufus and Henry—"Perpetua laude illustrium doctorum doctor Anselmus, ut a suis accepi, dicere consuevit, se nihil magis habere suspectum quam quod eum Deus

in tota vita nulla corripuerat adversitate." Opera, ii. 54, ed. Giles.

ⁱ Eadm. 86; W. Malmesb. G. P. 1506. An enthusiastic description of the prosperity of the English clergy and monks about this time is given by Baldric of Dol, in his 'Itinerarium' (Patrol. clxvi. 1173).

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV. TO THE
CONCORDAT OF WORMS.

A.D. 1106-1122.

So long as his father lived, Henry V. had been unmeasured in his professions of obedience to the Roman see; and, now that the elder emperor was removed, the pope supposed that he might make sure of compliance with the claims which from the time of Gregory had been advanced on behalf of the church. In October 1106, Paschal held a council at Guastalla, which renewed the decrees against lay investiture; while, with a view to the restoration of peace, it was provided that such bishops and clergy of the imperialist party as had received ordination from schismatics, should, unless guilty of simony or usurpation, be suffered to retain their preferments.^a Before the opening of the council, envoys had arrived from Henry, requesting the papal confirmation of his title,^b and inviting the pope to spend the Christmas season with him at Augsburg. The message appeared to promise the fulfilment of all Paschal's wishes; but, as he proceeded towards Germany, some expressions reached him which suggested a suspicion as to Henry's designs, and induced him to turn aside into France, in the hope of engaging Philip and his son Louis, who for some years had been associated in the kingdom,^c to take part with him against the German sovereign.^d He was, however, unable to obtain from the French princes anything beyond vague promises,^e and was to pay severely for the encouragement which he had given to Henry's rebellion against his father. The new king was bent on recovering all the authority which his crown had lost or risked in the contests of the preceding years, and for this purpose he was ready to employ all

^a Hard. vi. 1883; Ekkehard, 240.^b "... ut jus sibi regni
Concedat."—*Donizo*, li. 1091-2.

Luden, in supposing this to mean a demand of the right of investiture, infers too much from an expression dictated by the necessities of verse, and his view

altogether appears too subtle. ix. 352, 657.

^c It is uncertain whether since 1099 or 1101. Sismondi, v. 11.^d Ekkehard, 241; Planck, iv. 264.^e Suger, Vita Ludov. Grossi, c. 9 (Patrol. clxxxvi. 1269).

the resources of a character bold, crafty, persevering, and utterly unprincipled.^f

In April 1107, a conference was held at Châlons on the Marne between the pope and some ambassadors of Henry, headed by Bruno, archbishop of Treves, and Welf, duke of Bavaria. The king had now thrown off all disguise, investing bishops and compelling the prelates of Germany to consecrate them.^g The envoys, with a confident air, demanded that the right of investiture should be acknowledged, and, with the exception of the archbishop of Treves, are said to have behaved as if they intended rather to frighten the pope by clamour than to discuss the question—especially Welf, the nominal husband of Matilda, a large, burly, noisy man, who always appeared with a sword carried before him.^h The argument on the imperial side was left to archbishop Bruno, who eloquently and skilfully contended that from the time of Gregory the Great it had been customary that the vacancy of a bishoprick should be notified to the sovereign, and that his leave to elect a successor should be obtained; after which the new bishop was to be chosen by the clergy and people,ⁱ and invested by the sovereign with ring and staff.^k The bishop of Piacenza replied, on the part of the pope, that this reduced the church to the condition of a handmaid, and annulled the effect of the Redeemer's blood—a protest strangely inconsistent with the terms which Paschal had lately granted to Henry of England.^m The envoys gnashed their teeth, and declared that they would waste no more words; that the question must be determined at Rome and with the sword.ⁿ A few weeks later a council was held at Troyes, where the pope condemned simony and investitures, but Henry's representatives declared that their master would not be bound by the judgment of a synod assembled in a foreign kingdom.^o

It was not until 1110 that the internal troubles of Germany, and the wars in which he was engaged with his neighbours of Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, allowed Henry to attempt the fulfilment of his threat. He then, after having concluded a treaty

^f Stenzel, i. 612, 720.

^g Luden, ix. 356.

^h Suger, l. c. Welf is described as "vir corpulentus, et tota superficie longi et lati admirabilis, et clamorosus."

ⁱ "Petitione populi, electione cleri."

^k Suger (1270) places the investiture after consecration; but, as the real

course of proceeding was opposite, Stenzel (i. 613) and Luden (ix. 628) think that the mistake must lie with him, rather than with the prelate whose speech he reports.

^m Giesel, II. ii. 54.

ⁿ Suger, 1270.

^o Stenzel, i. 616.

of marriage with the princess Matilda of England,^p crossed the Alps at the head of 30,000 cavalry, with a great number of infantry and other followers; and for the purposes of controversial warfare he was attended by a body of learned men, while a chaplain, named David, a Scotsman by birth and afterwards bishop of Bangor, was charged with the task of writing the history of the expedition.^q The cities of Italy, which had shown an insubordinate spirit, submitted, with the exception of Novara and Arezzo, which paid dearly for their resistance.^r Even the countess Matilda did homage by proxy for the fiefs which she held under the crown, and promised to support the king against all men except the pope.^s Paschal, who in the two preceding years had sent forth fresh denunciations of investiture as a sacrilege, had engaged the Normans by a special promise to assist him; but, dispirited as they now were by the recent deaths of their leaders Roger of Apulia and Bohemund, they were altogether unable to cope with so overwhelming a force. They answered the pope's supplications with excuses, and were even afraid lest they should be driven out of their Italian conquests.^t From Arezzo Henry sent envoys to the pope, requiring him to bestow on him the imperial crown and to allow the right of investiture. In reply he received a startling proposal of a compromise—that, in consideration of his relinquishing investiture, the bishops and abbots should resign all the endowments and secular privileges which they had received from his predecessors since Charlemagne, and on which the royal claim was founded.^u The pope expressed an opinion that, as the corruptions of the clergy had chiefly arisen from the secular business in which these privileges had involved them, they would, if relieved of them, be able to perform their spiritual duties better; while he trusted for their maintenance to the tithes, with the oblations of the faithful, and such possessions as they had acquired from private bounty or by purchase. The sincerity of this offer, so prodigiously favourable to the king, has been questioned,^v but apparently without

^p The marriage took place in 1114. Ekkeh. in Ann.

^q Ekkehard, 243; Order. Vital. iv. 7; W. Malmesb. 655-6. The work of David, which was used by Ekkehard and Malmesbury, has never been printed, and is generally spoken of as lost, although I have somewhere read that it is supposed to exist in the Imperial Library at Vienna.

^r Ekkeh. 244; Donizo, ii. 18.

^s Donizo, ii. 1160-4.

^t Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Schröckh, xxvi. 47; Stenzel, 632.

^u "Civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, monetas, telonium, mercatum, advocatias regni, jura centurionum, et curtes quas regni erant, cum pertinentiis suis, militiam et castra." Pertz, Leges, ii. 67; Dodechin, Ann. 1110.

^v As by Planck, IV. i. 273.

reason, although it is difficult to imagine how the pope could have expected to obtain the consent of those whose interests were chiefly concerned.⁷ Henry foresaw their opposition—more especially as the pope, instead of employing clerical commissioners, had entrusted the proposal to a layman, Peter, the son of a convert from Judaism named Leo;⁸ and at Sutri he accepted the terms on condition that the cession of the “royalties” should be ratified by the bishops and the church. The engagements were to be exchanged at the imperial coronation, which the pope was to perform at Rome.⁹

Henry reached the city on the 12th of February, 1111, and was received with great magnificence. In St. Peter's, as if to throw all the odium of the proposed arrangement on the pope, he declared that it was not his wish to deprive the clergy of anything which his predecessors had given them. On this the German and Lombard prelates broke out violently against Paschal, whom they charged with sacrificing their rights, while he had taken care to secure his own lordship not only over the patrimony of St. Peter, but over Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. The nobles, alarmed at the prospect of losing the fiefs which they held under the church, were furious. Long conferences and delays took place. The king said that, as the pope could not fulfil his part of the compact, it must be given up, and required to be crowned at once. A German started forth and roughly told the pope that there was no need of further words; that the Germans would have their master crowned, like Pipin, Charlemagne, and Louis. The day had worn away, and, as night was coming on, Henry, by advice of his chaplain Adalbert, seized the pope and cardinals, with a number of clergy and others, and the palaces of the high ecclesiastics were plundered by the soldiery.^b Immediately Rome was in an uproar; the people murdered such of the Germans as were found straggling about the streets; and on the next day bloody fights took place. The king himself, after having slain five Romans with his lance, was unhorsed and wounded in the face; a Milanese noble, who gave up his horse to him, was torn in

⁷ See Schröckh, xxvi. 49; Gieseler, II. ii. 55, who considers that Urban had prepared the way for it by the 11th canon of Melfi, A.D. 1090: “Quod si forte clericorum aliquis cujuslibet laici possessionibus usus fuerit, aut vicarium, qui debitum reddat, inveniat, aut possessione cedat, ne gravamen ecclesiæ inferatur.” Placidus of Nonantula con-

tends that what has been given to the church may not be alienated. De Hon. Ecclesiæ, Præf., cc. 7-9 (Patrol. clxiii.).

⁸ Luden, ix. 388.

⁹ Ekkeh. 244; Sigeb. Gemblac. 373.

^b Chron. Casin. iv. 38; Pertz, Leges, ii. 65, seqq.; Otho Frising. vii. 14.

pieces, and his flesh was cast to dogs.^c Exasperated by these scenes, Henry carried off the pope and cardinals, and for sixty-one days kept them prisoners in the castles of the neighbourhood, while the country was fearfully devastated by the German troops. Henry was master only of the Transtiberine quarter; the rest of Rome was held out by the inhabitants, whom John, cardinal bishop of Tusculum, animated to resistance by the offer of forgiveness for all their sins.^d By some it is said that the pope was treated with personal respect; by others, that he was stripped of his robes, chained, and threatened with death unless he would comply with Henry's desires.^e It was in vain that the king endeavoured to bend him by representing that, in granting the right of investiture, he would not bestow offices or churches, but only royal privileges.^f But the cardinals who were with Paschal urged also that investiture was a mere external ceremony; the Romans, distressed by the ravages of the troops, and dreading the capture of their city, earnestly entreated him to make peace; and at last he yielded, declaring that for the deliverance of the church and of his people he made a sacrifice which he would not have made to save his own life. He swore, with thirteen cardinals, to allow investiture by ring and staff, after a free election and as a necessary preliminary to consecration; never to trouble the king either on this subject or as to his late treatment of him; and never to excommunicate him.^g Henry then released his prisoners, and on the 13th of April^h was crowned emperor in St. Peter's—the gates of the Leonine city being shut from an apprehension of tumults. The pope was reluctantly obliged during the ceremony to deliver to the emperor with his own hand a copy of his engagement, as evidence that he adhered to it after the recovery of his liberty. At the celebration of the eucharist, he divided the host into two parts, of which he himself took one, and administered the other to Henry, with a prayer that, as that portion of the lifegiving Body was divided, so whosoever should attempt to break the compact might be divided from the kingdom of Christ and of God.ⁱ The courtly historiographer David found a precedent for his master's treatment

^c Chron. Casin. iv. 39; Card. Aragon. 361-2; Landulf. jun. c. 18, ap. Murat. v.

^d Luden, ix. 394-8.

^e Chron. Casin. iv. 39-40; Suger. Vita Ludov. c. 9, col. 1272; Planck, IV. i. 278; Stenzel, i. 641.

^f Pertz, Leges, ii. 71.

^g Pasch. Ep. 24; Pertz, Leges, ii. 71-2; Chron. Casin. iv. 40.

^h See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 134.

ⁱ Chron. Casin. iv. 40; Card. Aragon. 363.

of the pope in Jacob's struggle with the angel, and in the speech "I will not let thee go except thou bless me."^k

The emperor returned to Germany in triumph, and on the way spent three days with the countess Matilda, whom he treated with high respect and appointed governor of Lombardy.^m He signalled his victory by nominating and investing his chaplain Adalbert to the archbishoprick of Mentz;ⁿ and he proceeded to celebrate the funeral of his father. Urged by the general feeling of the Germans, he had endeavoured at Sutri to obtain the pope's consent to the interment; but Paschal refused on the ground that it was contrary to Scripture, and that the martyrs had cast out the bodies of the wicked from their churches.^o The pope, however, afterwards found it convenient to believe an assertion of the late emperor's repentance; and the body which for five years Aug. 1111. had been excluded from Christian burial was now laid in the cathedral of Spire with a magnificence unexampled in the funeral of any former emperor.^p

No sooner had the terror of Henry's presence been removed from Italy than voices were loudly raised against the pope's late compliances. The Hildebrandine party, headed by Bruno, bishop of Segni^q and abbot of Monte Cassino, reproached him with a betrayal of the church, and urged him to recall his unworthy act; at an assembly held in his absence they renewed the decrees of his predecessors against investiture, and declared the compact with the emperor to be void. The feeble pleas which Paschal advanced, in conjunction with the cardinals who had been his fellow-prisoners, were disallowed, and in a letter to the cardinal bishops of Tusculum and Velletri, who, as they had escaped captivity, were conspicuous in the agitation against him, he promised to amend what he had done.^r An envoy whom he sent into Germany, to request that Henry would give up investitures, returned, as might have been expected, without success;^s and at the Lateran

^k Ekkehard, 244; W. Malmesb. 655-6.

^m Donizo, ii. 1250-9.

ⁿ Ekkehard, 245.

^o Chron. Casin. iv. 36.

^p Ekkehard, 245; Stenzel, 652. The family burial-place is described in the Chron. Urspergensis, p. 207 (Argent. 1609).

^q Bruno, who has left extensive commentaries on Scripture, is said to have received his see from Gregory VII. for

having overcome Berengar in dispute at the Roman synod of 1079. Patrol. clxiv. 103.

^r Ep. 23. The right reading is said to be *Vellitrensem* (Card. Aragon. 363), not *Vercellensem*. As Velletri was then joined with Ostia, the bishop was Leo, the author of the earlier Chronicles of Monte Cassino. Stenzel, 648; Wattenbach, Prolog. in Chron. Casin.

^s Stenzel, 648.

synod of 1112 the pope found himself obliged to condemn his own engagement, to which he said that he had consented under constraint, and solely for the peace of the church. He asked the advice of the prelates as to the means of retrieving his error. They loudly declared the compact to be condemned and annulled, as contrary to the Holy Ghost, and to the laws of the church; but even this was not enough for the more zealous members of the assembly, who urged Paschal to annul it by his own authority.¹ It seemed as if the papacy were to be set up against the pope. Paschal, in the hope of weakening Bruno's influence, obliged him to resign the great abbacy which he held in conjunction with his see;² but such were the strength and the clamour of the party that the pope thought of hiding his shame in a hermitage, and withdrew for a time to the island of the Tiber, from which he only returned to resume his office at the urgent entreaty of the cardinals.³ While thus urged on one side by the high ecclesiastical party, he had to resist, on the other side, the desire which the king of England and other princes expressed for the same privileges which he had granted to the emperor.⁴

Paschal was determined to observe his engagement not to excommunicate Henry, although he complained that the emperor had not been equally scrupulous;⁵ and on this head he withstood all importunities. But Guy, archbishop of Vienne, who in the end of 1111 had obtained from him a letter annulling the compact,⁶ and had since attended the Lateran synod, drew him into an extraordinary proceeding. In a council held at Vienne, within Henry's own kingdom of Burgundy, in September 1112, the archbishop declared investiture to be a heresy, renewed the Lateran condemnation of the compact, and anathematised the emperor for extorting it and for his other outrages against the pope. He then wrote to Paschal, asking him to confirm the decrees, and announce

¹ Hard. 1899-1902; W. Malmeab. 661-3; Ekkeh. A.D. 1112; Godfrey of Viterbo (a writer of little authority) says that the pope stripped off his insignia, and that the council, after having burnt the obnoxious writing, desired him to resume them. Patrol. cxcviii. 985.

² Chron. Casin. iv. 42.

³ Hildebert. Ep. ii. 22 (Patrol. clxxi. 235); Suger. Vita Ludov. 9 (ib. clxxxvi. 1272); Neand. vii. 193; Stenzel, 647.

⁴ Giesel. II. ii. 59. At an earlier time Anselm had written to him, asking whether it were true that he allowed

the king of Germany to invest; and telling him that, if so, the king of England intended to resume the practice (Ep. iii. 152). The pope replied, on Oct. 12, 1008, "We neither have tolerated nor ever will tolerate it. We are waiting until the ferocity of that nation be subdued; but if the king continue in the path of his father's wickedness, he shall without doubt feel the sword of St. Peter, which we have already begun to draw." Ib. 153.

⁵ Hard. vi. 1900.

⁶ Ep 24.

ing that, in case of his refusal, the members of the synod must withdraw their obedience from him.^b Thus pressed, the unfortunate pope answered by granting the required confirmation; yet, while, by this sanction, he made the excommunication his own, he considered that, so long as he did not directly pronounce it, he was not guilty of violating his oath.^c

In the mean time Germany was a scene of great agitation. Henry, as if the cession proposed at Sutri had taken effect, seized on the revenues of many churches and monasteries, assumed an entire control over ecclesiastical affairs, and excited the general detestation of the clergy.^d Conon, bishop of Palestrina, a cardinal and legate, who was at Jerusalem when he heard of the pope's

A.D. 1114- captivity, immediately pronounced an anathema against

5. the emperor, which he repeated in many cities of Greece, Hungary, Germany, and France.^e The new primate Adalbert, the creature of Henry and the adviser of his outrage against the pope, turned against his master under pretence of his being excommunicate, and craftily endeavoured to undermine him.

A.D. 1112. For this Adalbert was imprisoned on a charge of treason, but, after he had been kept in confinement nearly three years, the emperor was obliged to give him up to the citizens of

Oct. 1115. Mentz, when his miserable appearance bore witness to the sufferings and privations which he had endured, and excited general indignation. The archbishop was bent on vengeance; although he had sworn and had given hostages to answer to a charge of treason, he cast off the obligation, and became the soul of the anti-imperialist party.^f Germany was distracted by a civil war, and such was the exasperation of feeling that when, in 1115, the emperor was defeated at Welfesholz, the bishop of Halberstadt refused to allow the burial of his fallen soldiers, under the pretext that they had fought in the cause of an excommunicate person.^g

^b Hard. vi. 1913-4. Cf. Hist. Compostell. ii. 9 (Patrol. clxx. 1043).

^c Hard. vi. 1915.

^d Frideric. Colon. archiep. ad Otton. Bamberg. (Patrol. clxxiii. 1323); Stenzel, 658, 660.

^e Hard. vi. 1899, 1925-30. There is a letter from Conon (who was a German by birth) to Frederick of Cologne, desiring him not to heed some persons who said "non pertinere ad vos [nos?] excommunicare regem, quia nec rex nobis commissus, nec de parochia nostra esse videtur." The excommunication,

he says, is warranted by the Holy Spirit and by the authority of the Fathers, "since St. Ambrose, although neither pope, patriarch, nor legate, excommunicated Theodosius for a crime which was not committed within his diocese. Patrol. clxiii. 1438.

^f Ekkehard, 246; Chron. Halberstadt. ap. Leibn. ii. 122; Cod. Udalrici, 319; Otho Frising. vii. 14. Adalbert was not consecrated until after his release (Dodech. 1116). Schmidt calls him the Becket of Germany. ii. 365.

^g Ekkehard, 252.

In 1116 Henry again crossed the Alps, in order to take possession of the inheritance of Matilda, who had died in the preceding summer, and to counteract some negotiations which aimed at the recognition of Alexius Comnenus or a prince of the Byzantine family as emperor of Rome.^h His appearance put an end to this scheme, and he seized on all that had belonged to the Great Countess—on the fiefs in his character of suzerain, and on the allodial territories as heir,ⁱ while the pope did not venture even to raise a protest in behalf of the donations by which her possessions had been twice bestowed on the Roman see.^k

While the emperor was at Venice, in March 1116, Paschal held a council in the Lateran,^l at which he desired the bishops to join with him in condemning the compact which he had executed while Henry's prisoner. On this Bruno of Segni burst forth into triumph at the pope's having with his own mouth condemned his heretical act. "If it contained heresy," exclaimed a member of the council, "then the author of it is a heretic." But cardinal John of Gaeta and others of the more moderate party reproved Bruno for the indecency of his speech, and declared that, although blameable, the writing was not heretical. Conon of Palestrina detailed the anathemas which he had pronounced against the emperor from Jerusalem to France, and asked the approbation of the pope and of the council, which was granted.^m

On his way to Rome Henry made overtures to the pope—partly in consequence of the impression produced by a dreadful earthquake which took place at the time.ⁿ Paschal replied that he would himself observe his oath not to excommunicate the emperor; that he had not authorised the excommunications which Conon and another legate had pronounced in Germany; but that decrees passed by the most important members of the church could not be

^h Chron. Casin. iv. 46 (A.D. 1112). See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 141.

ⁱ His pretensions to this character were very questionable. Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 149; Luden, ix. 456.

^k Schröckh, xxvi. 65-7. The later donation, of 1102, is in Muratori, v. 384. It has been a question whether Matilda meant to make over her fiefs as well as her other territories to St. Peter. In strictness, they lapsed to the suzerain on her death; but the notions of the age on such matters were very loose. (Stenzel, 668; Luden, ix. 455-8; Giesel. II. ii. 60.) Sismondi contends that she did not give her dominions to

the pope in sovereignty, but only *jure proprietario*. (Rép. Ital. i. 139.) But, if so, where was the sovereignty of her independent estates to be? There is an essay by Cenni on the Donation in Patrol. xcvi. 631, seqq.

^l One of the subjects was a contest for the see of Milan between Grosolanus and Jordan, in which Grosolanus, whose claim was evidently the better, was set aside. See Landulf. jun. in Patrol. clxxiii.; Murat. VI. ii. 151.

^m Ekkehard, A.D. 1116; Hard. vi. 1933-6.

ⁿ Jan. 3, 1117. Dodechin, Ann. 1117, p. 370.

annulled without their consent, and that the only means of remedy was a general council.^o At the emperor's approach, he fled from Rome, and took refuge at Monte Cassino.^p

Henry arrived at Rome in March 1117. The people received him with acclamations, but the cardinals and clergy stood aloof, and the attempts to negotiate with them were unsuccessful. At the great ceremonies of Easter, the only dignified ecclesiastic connected with the pope who could be found to place the crown on the emperor's head was Maurice Burdinus or Bourdin, a Limousin by birth, and archbishop of Braga in Portugal, who had formerly been employed by Paschal on a mission to the German court.^a For this act Burdinus was deposed and excommunicated by the pope in a synod at Benevento.^r

The Romans were discontented with Paschal on account of an appointment to the prefecture of the city, and on his return, after Henry's departure, they refused to admit him. He was only able to get possession of the castle of St. Angelo, where he died on the 21st of January, 1118.^s

The cardinals chose as his successor one of their own number, Jan. 24, the deacon John of Gaeta, who had been chancellor of 1118. Rome since the pontificate of Urban.^t But as the new pope, who took the name of Gelasius II., was receiving homage in the church of a monastery near the Lateran, Cencius Frangipani, one of the most powerful among the Roman nobles, broke in with a troop of armed followers, seized him by the throat, struck and kicked him, wounding him severely with his spurs, dragged him away to his own house, and loaded him with chains. This outrage roused the Romans of every party. Frangipani, like the Cencius of Gregory VII.'s time, was compelled to release his prisoner, and to cast himself at his knees with an entreaty for pardon; and

^o Chron. Halberst. ap. Leibn. ii. 122; Schrockh, xxvi. 68.

^p Chron. Casin. iv. 61.

^a Pandulf. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 359; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 472-7; Pagi, xviii. 286. See the Hist. Compostell. book i. (Patrol. clxx.). The Pölde Analyst says that Burdinus had been convicted of necromancy before Paschal II. Pertz, xvi. 72.

^r Hard. vi. 1940.

^s Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 476-7; Chron. Casin. iv. 60; Falco Benev. in Patrol. clxxiii. 1067; Pand. Pisan. 357.

^t Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Pand. Pisan.; 378. The Hildebrandine party had no great hopes of John, whose behaviour at the council of 1116 has been already related. By Ekkehard he is reckoned among the emperor's partisans (A.D. 1116, Patrol. cliv. 1034). The biographer of Theoger bishop of Metz relates that Conrad bishop of Salzburg, on hearing of the election, exclaimed, "Hem! nullus eorum nequior fuit Joanne; forte in Gelasio poterit aliquid boni esse?" But he adds that the pope changed his ways with his name. Pertz, xii. 470.

Gelasius, mounted on a horse, was escorted in triumph to the Lateran.^a Some weeks later, however, in the dead of night, the rites of his ordination to the priesthood were interrupted by tidings that the emperor was in Rome, and had possession of St. Peter's. The news of pope Paschal's death had recalled Henry in haste from the north of Italy, with a view to the exertion of the prerogative which he claimed in appointments to the apostolic chair.^x Gelasius fled, and, after serious dangers both by land and by sea, reached his native city of Gaeta, where the ordination and consecration were completed.^y The emperor endeavoured to draw him to a conference; but Gelasius, who had been a companion of Paschal's imprisonment, regarded the proposal as a snare, and suggested that their differences should be discussed in a council at Milan or Cremona, where he had reason to hope that he might be safe.^z The proposal to transfer the important business to these northern cities excited the jealousy of the Romans, to whom Henry caused the pope's letter to be read in St. Peter's; and their spirit was fostered by the celebrated jurist Irnerius, the founder of the law-school of Bologna,^a who urged them to exert their rights in the election of a pope, agreeably to the ancient canons, which were publicly recited from the pulpit. Under the advice of Irnerius and other lawyers, Burdinus was chosen by the people, and confirmed by the emperor, on whose head he again placed the crown at Whitsuntide.^b

Gelasius, at a synod at Capua, anathematised the emperor and the antipope, who had assumed the name of Gregory VIII. On returning to Rome, he found the turbulent, and, while celebrating mass in the church of St. Praxedes, was again attacked by the Frangipanis. He declared that he would leave the bloody city—the new Babylon and Sodom; that he would rather have one emperor than many; and his words were hailed with applause by the cardinals. The pope made his way into France, where he was received with honour; and, after having visited several of the principal cities, he was about to hold a council

^a Pand. Pisan. 384.

^x Ib.; Stenzel, i. 676.

^y Pand. Pisan. 389; Falco Benev. 1169; Annal. Rom. 478.

^z Gelas. Ep. 1, ap. Hard. vi. Gelasius named these cities because they had become independent, and were devoted to the papal interest. Murat.

Ann. VI. ii. 163.

^a See hereafter, Ch. XIII. sect. iv.; Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 82; Savigny, iv. 9, seqq.

^b Chron. Casin. iv. 64; Landulf. jun. c. 32; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 490-3; Stenzel, 678.

at Rheims, when he died at the abbey of Cluny on the 29th of January, 1119.^c

Conon of Palestrina had been selected by Gelasius as his successor, but had suggested to him that Guy, archbishop of Vienne and cardinal of St. Balbina, should be preferred, as more likely, from his character and position, to serve the church effectually.^d Guy was son of a duke or count of Burgundy, and was related to the sovereigns of Germany, France, and England. The zeal which he had displayed in excommunicating the emperor, and the skill for which he was noted in the conduct of affairs, marked him out as a champion to whom the Hildebrandine party might look with hope and confidence.^e In consequence of Conon's suggestion, the archbishop was summoned to Cluny; but he did not arrive until after the death of Gelasius.^f The cardinals, five in number, who had accompanied the late pope from Italy, were unanimous in choosing Guy for his successor; but it was with the greatest unwillingness, and only under condition that his election should be ratified by the Romans,^g that he was persuaded to accept the office;

Feb. 2, and, when the result of the election became known, the
1119. conclave was invaded by a body of his kinsmen, retainers, and soldiery, who tore off his pontifical robes, and dragged him away, crying out that they would not part with their archbishop—the Romans might find a pontiff for themselves.^h The violence of these adherents, however, was, with some difficulty, appeased; the consent of the Romans was readily obtained, and Guy was inaugurated as pope Calixtus II. in his own cathedral at Vienne.ⁱ

Calixtus spent the spring and the summer of 1119 in France, and on the 20th of October he opened at Rheims the synod which

^c Pand. Pisan. 397-8, 414-5; Hugo monach. Cluniac. in Patrol. clxvi. 844; Jaffé, 526. Falco says that Gelasius received presents of immense value (Patrol. clxxiii. 1172), while Orderic tells us that the French churches felt severely the cost of entertaining him.

^d Falco Benev. l. c. For an account of Conon, or Conrad, see the Hist. Litt. xiii. 30. He died in 1122.

^e Suger. Vita Ludov. in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1312; Gesta Gelasii ap. Bouquet, xv. 217; Pand. Pis. 418; Ord. Vital. iv. 335; Chron. Casin. iv. 64; W. Malmesb. 665.

^f Calixt. Ep. l. ap. Hard. vi.

^g The chronicle of Maurigny states that the cardinals who remained at

Rome had authorised those who accompanied Gelasius to elect a pope in case of a vacancy. Patrol. clxxx. 143.

^h Hist. Compostell. ii. 9, Patrol. clxx.

ⁱ See the letters which passed as to the election and confirmation, Martene, Thes. i. 644-9. There seems to be some mistake in Pandulf and Card. Aragon. (Murat. iii. 418-9), as the interval between the election and the inauguration (Feb. 2-9, according to Jaffé) allows no time for a reference to the Romans. (See Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 172-3.) Chacon dates the inauguration, "prid. Idus Octobris," when the pope was certainly not at Vienne. (See Jaffé, 530.)

his predecessor had projected, Fifteen archbishops, and more than two hundred bishops, were present; among them was the German primate Adalbert, with his seven suffragans, and a brilliant train of three hundred knights.^k There were four bishops from England, whom the king, in giving them permission to attend, had charged not to complain against each other, because he was resolved to do full justice to every complaint within his own kingdom, and had warned not to bring back any "superfluous inventions."^m The pope, although elected by a handful of exiles, appeared in splendid state,ⁿ and in all the fulness of his pretensions. Louis the Fat, who since 1008 had been sole king of France, brought charges before the council against Henry of England for violations of his feudal duty as duke of Normandy, and for his treatment of his brother Robert; and these charges, relating purely to matters of secular policy, he referred to the pope as arbiter.^o The Norman primate, Godfrey of Rouen, attempted to justify his sovereign, but was put down by the general disapprobation of the assembly.^p

During the emperor's absence in Italy, Germany had been a prey to anarchy and confusion, and since his return it had been immersed in the horrors of civil war.^q Conon, after having passed in disguise through the territories occupied by the imperialists, had again appeared, denouncing excommunications against Henry, and deposition against all prelates who refused to obey his citations; while Adalbert of Mentz stirred up the Saxons, and consecrated bishops in contempt of the imperial claims.^r Henry had made overtures for a reconciliation with the pope, and William of Champeaux, bishop of Châlons on the Marne, with Pontius, abbot of Cluny, had been sent by Calixtus to confer with him at Strasburg. The bishop assured the emperor that he need not so strongly insist on the privilege of investiture, since in France no such ceremony

^k Ord. Vital. iv. 372.

^m Ib. 373.

ⁿ Ib. 374-5.

^o Order. Vital. iv. 376-8. It is to be observed that, according to Orderic, while Louis dwelt strongly on Robert's sufferings, he said nothing of his having been blinded, as many histories represent him to have been. William of Jumièges (viii. 13, *Patrol.* cxlix.), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, l. iv. fin.), Herman of Tournay (*De Restaur.* S. Martini Tornac. 14, *Patrol.* clxxx.), and

John of Salisbury (*Polyerat.* l. vi., ib. cxcix. 614), all represent him as treated with the greatest indulgence, and make no mention of blinding; nor does Roger of Wendover, into whose chronicle the story of the blinding was inserted by Matthew Paris (ed. Coxe, v. 57).

^p Order. Vital. iv. 378.

^q Stenzel, i. 681-6.

^r Hard. vi. 1947; Ekkehard, 257; Vita Theogeri, ii. 3, in Pertz, xii.; Schröckh, xxvi. 83.

was then used, and yet he himself performed the duties of feudal service as faithfully as any of his German brethren.^a The cases were not indeed parallel; for the French sovereigns had always retained a control over the church, which rendered the position of their bishops very unlike that of the great German prelates since the minority of Henry IV. But the emperor professed himself satisfied, and a second commission arranged with him the terms of an accommodation—that he should give up investitures, that bishops should do homage for their royalties, and that he should be released from his excommunication.^t

The pope left Rheims with the intention of meeting the emperor, and sent commissioners before him for the conclusion of
Oct. 22-5.

the treaty. But the report that Henry had with him a force of 30,000 men raised a feeling of distrust, and Calixtus halted at the castle of Mousson to await the result of the negotiations. A dispute arose between Henry and the commissioners as to the sense of certain articles. The emperor, finding himself strong, was disposed to evade his engagements; he pretended a wish to consult the princes of Germany, and declared that he would not stand barefooted to receive absolution. The commissioners promised to do their utmost that this point might be waived, and that the ceremony should be as private as possible.ⁿ But on their reporting the negotiations to the pope, he left Mousson in indignation at Henry's conduct, and returned to Rheims, where he signalled his arrival by consecrating a popularly-elected bishop

for Liège, in opposition to one who had been invested
Oct. 26-30.

by the emperor.^x The council passed the usual canons against investiture, simony, and clerical marriage;^y and on the sixth and last day the church's curse was denounced in the most solemn manner against the emperor and the antipope—each of the bishops and abbots, 427 in number, standing up, with his pastoral staff in one hand, and with a lighted taper in the other. Henry's subjects were declared to be absolved from their allegiance until he should be reconciled to the church.^z

In fulfilment of an intention which he had announced at the

^a Hesso, ap. Hard. vi. 1993 (also in Pertz, xii.). Investiture seems to have fallen into disuse under Philip I., as the king did not assert his privilege, and the great vassals, to whom the investitures more commonly belonged, did not combine against the Roman prohibitions. Nat. Alex. xiii. 657-9; Sismondi, iv.

54-5. Planck, however, thinks that the disuse was probably older. IV. ii. 25.

^t Hesso, 1994.

ⁿ Ib. 1995-6.

^x Ib. 1997; Stenzel, i. 686.

^y Hard. vi. 1983-6.

^z Hesso, 1998.

council, the pope proceeded into Normandy, and held an interview with Henry of England at Gisors.^a One subject of discussion between them related to the employment of legates. Calixtus himself, while archbishop of Vienne, had been sent by Paschal with the character of legate for all England in 1100, within a few months after Anselm's return from his first exile. His visit caused a great excitement; for, although legates had before appeared in this country,^b their visits had been very rare, and their authority had been limited to special business, so that an outcry was raised against the new commission as a thing without example, and it was declared that no one but the archbishop of Canterbury could be acknowledged as a representative of the pope.^c Anselm asserted the privilege of Canterbury;^d the legate returned without obtaining a recognition of his power; and the primate procured from the pope, although for his own person only, a promise that no legate should be sent to supersede him.^e At a later time, the independent character of the English church, and its disposition to settle its own affairs without reference to Rome, were complained of by Paschal II. on the translation of Ralph from Rochester to Canterbury;^f while the king was offended at Conon's having ventured, as papal legate, to excommunicate the Norman bishops for refusing to attend a council. William of Warelwast, now bishop of Exeter, was once more sent to Rome to remonstrate against Conon's proceedings; and the pope despatched a new legate into England—the abbot Anselm, who was chosen as being nephew of the late archbishop, and as being himself known and popular among the English.^g But, although Henry ordered that the legate should be treated with honour in Normandy, he would not permit him to cross the sea, and sent Ralph himself to Rome to assert the rights of his primacy. The archbishop was prevented by illness from following the pope, who had withdrawn to Benevento; but he returned with a general and vague confirmation of the privileges of Canterbury.^h

^a Order. Vital. iv. 382.

^b See pp. 189, 728.

^c Eadmer, 59; Lappenb. ii. 256.

^d Ep. iv. 2.

^e Lappenb. ii. 257.

^f Pasch. Ep. ad Henric. ap. Eadmer. 89; Inett, ii. 132-4.

^g Eadmer, 88-9. The younger Anselm became abbot of St. Edmund's, at Bury, and, in 1137, was elected by a

party among the canons of St. Paul's as bishop of London; but the pope annulled the election. See Collier, ii. 216-7.

^h Pasch. Ep. 30 (Hard. vi. 1795); Eadmer, 91; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. 1508. Wilkins (i. 377, seqq.) misdates some documents connected with this affair.

Another question related to the pretensions of the see of York. Anselm, in the beginning of the reign, had exacted from Gerard, on his translation to the northern archbishopric, a promise of the same subjection to Canterbury which he had sworn when consecrated as bishop of Hereford.¹ The next archbishop of York, Thomas, renewed the pretensions which his predecessor of the same name had raised in opposition to Lanfranc;² but the measures which

Anselm took to defeat him were successful, although
A.D. 1009. the primate did not himself live to witness their success.³

Thurstan, who was nominated to York in 1114, declined to receive consecration at Canterbury, from an unwillingness to swear subjection to the archbishop; and, in violation both of his own solemn promise and of assurances which the pope had given to Henry, he contrived to get himself consecrated by Calixtus at Rheims, before the arrival of a bishop who was especially charged to prevent his consecration, although the English bishops who were present protested against it.⁴

The pope was easily satisfied with the explanations which Henry gave of his behaviour towards Robert and the king of France.⁵ He promised that no legate should be sent into England except at the king's request, and for the settlement of such things as could not be settled by the English bishops;⁶ and he requested that Thurstan might be allowed to return to England. The king replied that he had sworn to the contrary. "I am apostolic pontiff," said Calixtus, and offered to release him from the oath; but Henry, after consideration, declined to avail himself of the absolution, as being unworthy of a king, and an example which would tend to produce universal distrust between men; and he refused to readmit Thurstan, except on condition that he should make the same submission to Canterbury which had been made by his predecessors.⁷

¹ Rog. Hoveden, 270. The Dominican Stubbs, writing in the interest of York, denies that Gerard made a profession when translated. Ap. Twysd. 1710.

² P. 715.

³ Eadmer, 80, seqq.

⁴ Eadm. 90, 94; Flor. Vigorn. ii. 73; Rog. Hoveden, 273. For the York account of the affair, see Stubbs, 1715.

⁵ W. Malmesb. 634; Order. Vital. iv. 400-4.

⁶ Eadmer, 94. Lingard (ii. 45) affects to question this compact. But his only ground is that the pope soon broke it.

William Rufus is said to have obtained "ne legatus Romanus ad Angliam mitteretur, nisi quem rex preciperet." Hugo Flavin. A.D. 1096 (Patrol. cliv. 353).

⁷ Eadmer, 95; Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1119, ap. Twysd. 242. The pope, in 1121, threatened to interdict all England, unless Thurstan were allowed to return within a month; and the archbishop was admitted on condition that he should refrain from officiating beyond his diocese until he should have satisfied the claims of Canterbury (Eadm.

Having established his authority to the north of the Alps, the pope proceeded into Italy. His rival Burdinus, abandoned by the emperor, fled from Rome at the approach of Calixtus, and took refuge within the walls of Sutri; but he was betrayed into the hands of the pope, and, after having been paraded about Rome, mounted on a camel, arrayed in bloody sheep-skins,^a by way of a pontifical robe, and holding the camel's tail in his hands, he was thrust into a monastic prison. He lived to an advanced age, but his remaining years were varied only by removals from one place of confinement to another.^b

Apr. 1121.

In the mean time the discords of Germany were unabated. Hostile armies moved about the country—the one commanded by the emperor, the other by the primate Adalbert, to whom the pope had given a commission as legate;^c and it seemed as if their differences must be decided by bloodshed. But circumstances had arisen which tended to suggest a compromise. The contest of fifty years had exhausted all parties, and a general desire for peace began to be felt. The princes of Germany had come to see how their own interest was affected by the rival pretensions of the papacy and the crown. While desirous to maintain themselves against the emperor, and to secure what they had won for their order, they had no wish to subject him, and consequently themselves, to the pope—to degrade their nationality, to lose all hold on the offices and endowments of the church. Thus patriotic and selfish motives concurred in rendering the leaders of the laity desirous to find some means of accommodation.^d And from France, where the difficulty as to

101). The next archbishop of Canterbury, William, summoned Thurstan to Rome, where the question between the sees was discussed, but without any decisive result (Sym. Dunelm. 250, A.D. 1127; Chron. Mailros. A.D. 1121, 1123, 1126). A letter of Honorius II., however, dated in 1125, is favourable to York (Ep. 29, Patrol. clxvi.). The history of the controversy need not be here pursued. Roger, archbishop of York from 1154 to 1181, maintained the pretensions of his see against Thomas Becket and his successor in the archbishoprick of Canterbury, Richard, claiming some dioceses for the northern province. For his misbehaviour in seating himself in the southern archbishop's lap at a council held by a legate in 1175, see Benedict. Petrib. ed. Hearne, p. 106; Gervas. Dorob. ap. Twysden, 1433. Many letters of Alex-

ander III. (Patrol. cc.) relate to these disputes.

^a Calixt. Ep. 131 (Patrol. clxiii.).

^b So it is stated in the Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 479, and by the Cardinal of Aragon (Murat. iii. 420). Suger says *goatskins* (Vita Ludov. in Patrol. clxxxvi. 1313), William of Tyre a *bearskin* (xii. 8, Patrol. ccl.), and Dean Milman a *hogskin* (iii. 212), while the Annalist of Pödde describes the antipope as riding naked (Pertz, xvi. 72). His punishment was commemorated by a picture in the Lateran palace. Joh. Sarieb. Ep. 59 (Patrol. cxcix. 39); Guill. de Nangis, ap. Dacher. Spicil. iii. 2.

^c Chron. Casin. iv. 68, 86; Will. Tyr. xii. 8; Baluz. Miscell. iii. 513.

^d Baron. 1121. 6.

^e Planck, IV. i. 310; Stenzel, i. 688, 701.

investiture had not been felt, persuasives to moderation were heard. There Ivo of Chartres had throughout maintained the lawfulness of investiture by laymen, provided that it were preceded by a canonical election. He held that the form of the ceremony was indifferent, inasmuch as the lay lord did not pretend to confer any gift of a spiritual kind; that, although it was schismatical and heretical to maintain the necessity of lay investiture, yet such investiture was in itself no heresy.⁷ Ivo strongly reprobated the agitation excited by the Hildebrandine party against Paschal, and he was able to persuade the archbishop of Sens, with other prelates, to join him in a formal protest against the councils which took it on themselves to censure the pope.⁸ Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, Hugh, a monk of Fleury, and other eminent ecclesiastics gave utterance to somewhat similar views;⁹ and at length abbot Godfrey of Vendôme—who had been long known as one of the most uncompromising assertors of the ecclesiastical claims, and had published two tracts in which he declared lay investiture to be heresy^b—sent forth a third tract, composed in an unexpected spirit of conciliation. Laymen, he said, may not confer the staff and the ring, since these are for the church to give; but there are two kinds of investiture—the one, which makes a bishop, the other, which maintains him; and princes may without offence give investiture to the temporalities by some symbol, after canonical election and consecration. Godfrey speaks strongly against the mischief of contentiousness on either side, and (in direct contradiction to the Hildebrandine principle that kings ought to be treated by the church as freely as other men) he quotes St. Augustine's opinion that one ought seldom or never to be excommunicated who is backed by an obstinate multitude, "lest, while we strive to correct one, it become the ruin of many."^c

The effect of such writings was widely felt, and contributed to swell the general eagerness for peace. As the hostile armies of the Germans were encamped in the neighbourhood of Würzburg, negotiations were opened between them. The preliminaries were settled in October 1121; a formal compact was then drawn up by

⁷ Ivo, *Epp.* 60 (A.D. 1097 or 1099; see Pagi, xviii. 97, 190, and Juret's notes), 233, &c. (*Patrol.* clxii.).

⁸ *Ep.* 236. Ivo died in 1117. Pagi, xviii. 291.

⁹ Hildeb. *Ep.* ii. 22 (*Patrol.* clxxi.); Hugo de regia Potestate et sacerdot. Dignitate, 5 (*ib.* clxiii.); Giesel. II. ii. 50.

^b *Opuscula* ii.-iii. The ring and staff, he says, when given by those who are entitled to give them, are sacraments; therefore the giving of them by laymen is heretical. *Comp. Ep.* iii. 11 (*Patrol.* clvii.).

^c *Opusc.* iv. *ibid.* 220. See above, p. 650.

commissioners at Mentz ; and on the 23rd of September, 1122, the terms of the concordat between the empire and the hierarchy were read before a vast multitude assembled in a meadow near Worms.^d On the pope's part, it was stipulated that in Germany the elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the king, without simony or violence ; if any discord should arise, the king, by the advice of the metropolitan and his suffragans, was to support the party who should be in the right. The bishop *elect* was to receive the temporalities of his see by the sceptre, and was bound to perform all the duties attached to them. In other parts of the emperor's dominions, the bishop was, within six months after *consecration*, to receive the temporalities from the sovereign by the sceptre, without any payment, and was to perform the duties which pertained to them.^e The emperor, on his part, gave up all investiture by ring and staff, and engaged to allow free election and consecration throughout his dominions ; he restored to the Roman church all possessions and royalties which had been taken from it since the beginning of his father's reign, and undertook to assist towards the recovery of such as were not in his own hands.^f These conditions were solemnly exchanged at Worms ; the legate, Lambert cardinal of Ostia, celebrated mass, and gave the kiss of peace to the emperor ;^g and in the following year, the concordat of Worms was ratified by the first council of Lateran, which March, 1123, in the Roman church is reckoned as the Ninth General Council.^h The contest which for half a century had agitated Italy and Germany, was ended for a time.

The apparent simplicity of the solution—although, indeed, its terms contained the seeds of future differences as to their interpretationⁱ—strikes us with surprise, as contrasted with the length and the bitterness of the struggle. But in truth circumstances had disposed both parties to welcome a solution which at an earlier time would have been rejected. The question of investitures had on Gregory's part been a disguise for the desire to establish a domination over temporal sovereigns ; on the part of the emperors, it had meant the right to dispose of ecclesiastical dignities and to exercise a control over the hierarchy. Each party had now learnt that its object was not to be attained ; but it was not until this ex-

^d Ekkeh. 260 ; Stenzel, i. 706.^e Pertz, *Leges*, ii. 75.^f *Ib.* 76.^g Ekkeh. 260.^h Hard. vi. 1115-6 ; or Pertz, *Leges*, ii.ⁱ See Luden, ix. 527.

perience had reduced the real question within the bounds of its nominal dimensions that any accommodation was possible.^k

The emperor ceded the power of nomination to bishopricks, and, as to those which were beyond the limits of Germany, he appears to have given up all control over the appointments. But in Germany it was otherwise. The imperial claim to nominate was, indeed, acknowledged to be unlawful; but as this had never been defended on grounds of law, and as the provision that bishops should be chosen in the presence of the emperor or of his commissioners allowed the exercise of an important influence in the choice, the emperor's legal prerogative was really rather increased than lessened. And as, in the case of German bishops, the investiture was to precede consecration,^m there was thus an opportunity of interposing a bar to the promotion of any person unacceptable to the sovereign. The right of exacting homage was unquestioned, and, by a mere change in the outward symbol, the emperor secured the substance of the investiture—that the bishops should be vassals of the crown, not of the papacy; that they should be subject to the feudal obligations, and that the connexion of the church with the state should be maintained.ⁿ

On the part of the pope, the concordat appears to be a serious sacrifice. Urged by the representations of the German estates, both lay and ecclesiastical, who told him that, if peace were not made, the responsibility would rest on him,^o he had ceded the pretensions of Gregory and Urban as to investitures and homage; the condition on which Godfrey of Vendôme had insisted in his conciliatory proposals—that consecration should precede investiture—was relinquished as to German bishopricks; and the party of which Calixtus had hitherto been the foremost representative was deeply dissatisfied with the terms of the compromise.^p But his consent to these terms is to be explained by the change which had taken place in the position of the papacy since Hildebrand entered on his career. The imperial claim to control elections to St. Peter's

^k Stenzel, i. 289-290; Milman, iii. 216.

^m This appears from the opposition between *electus* in the case of German bishops, and *consecratus* in that of others.

ⁿ Schmidt, ii. 505; Planck, IV. i. 300-2; Schröckh, xxvi. 88-90; Hallam, M. A. i. 544-5, Suppl. Notes, 195; Raumer, i. 203-5; Döllinger, ii. 167;

Stenzel, i. 705-9. Gerhoh complains that the emperor's concessions were useless so long as prelates were obliged to receive the regalia from the sovereign, and draws a strange parallel with the restoration of the ark by the Philistines. *De Aedif. Dei*, 2 (Patrol. cxciv. 1201).

^o Planck, IV. i. 365.

^p Giesel. II. ii. 65.

chair was abandoned,^q and whereas Henry III. had aimed at making himself master of the hierarchy, his son and his grandson had found it a sufficient labour to defend themselves against its encroachments.^r The bold assertions of Gregory, continued by his successors, and, above all, the great movement of the crusades, had raised the pope to a height before unknown; and, when on the whole his substantial gain had been so great, he could afford to purchase the credit of moderation by yielding in appearance and in matters of detail.^s

^q Stenzel, i. 709.^r Luden, ix. 496.^s Planck, IV. i. 311-3.

CHAPTER VII.

MONASTICISM — NEW ORDERS — THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.

IN the history of Monasticism, decay and reformation are continually alternating. This alternation is a natural result of laying down as a permanent rule for a numerous succession of men the system which has been found to meet the particular circumstances of a few. When the rule has been some time in operation, no profession of vocation will act as a sufficient test for the exclusion of unqualified persons; and, even where there are the same dispositions which originally gave birth to the rule and won popularity for it, the difference of times or circumstances may render it no longer suitable as a discipline for them. Hence, as a great monk of the twelfth century remarked, it was easier to found new religious societies than to reform the old.^a Moreover, as the poverty and devotion of monks never failed to bring them wealth and honour, the effect of these was too commonly a temptation to abandon the virtues by which they had been procured.^b

The spirit which produced the endeavour to reform the church led at the same time to a reform of monachism; and the anarchy, the insecurity, the manifold miseries of the age tended to excite an enthusiasm for the life which promised tranquillity and the

^a Pet. Cluniac. Ep. i. 23 (Patrol. clxxxix.).

^b "Devotio nempe peperit divitias, nam fideles monachorum devotionem, celibem cultum, sanctam in Domino conversationem attendentes, plurima bona monasteriis largiti sunt pro redemptione peccatorum suorum. Quibus copiosissime exuberantibus, coeperunt fratres his uti non ad solam necessitatem, sed ad superfluitatem. Inde superfluitas ipsa minime resecata neque coercita fastum generavit atque superbiam, aliaque quamplurima mala, quæ sunt potius reticenda quam dicenda: quod cernentes fideles, et maxime principes ac domini temporales, non tantum manus retraxerunt ab eleemosynis ipsis largiendis, sed et ipsos persequi coeperunt, eorum possessiones vi, malitiâ, calliditate, fraude, processu dissipando,

hoc ipsum Deo permittente ad eorum correctionem: unde quidam coacti et inviti, quidam autem voluntarii ad amorem redierunt paupertatis, resecantes superflua in victu et vestitu, lautitiis, sedificiis, equitaturis, et aliis monasticæ professioni omnino impertinentibus; demum in humilitate et simplicitate degentes. Quod rursus cernentes fideles, pristinam, quam dudum erga monasteria habuerant, resumserunt devotionem, et coeperunt eis non solum benefacere, sed et ipsos contra impugnantes tueri atque defendere. Hæc principalis causa profectus seu defectus in monasteriis. Sunt et aliæ causæ quas omitto, non tamen sine ratione." Anonymus Cartusienensis de Religionum Origine, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 31-2.

opportunities of conversing with a better world.^a Bernold of Constance tells us that, in the great distractions between the papacy and the empire, multitudes rushed into the monasteries of Germany; that some who had been counts and marquises chose to be employed in the lowest offices, such as baking and cooking; that many, without putting on the monastic habit, devoted themselves to the service of certain monasteries; that many young women renounced marriage, and that the whole population of some towns adopted a monastic system of life.^d

The congregation of Cluny, which had led the way in the reformation of an earlier period, maintained its pre-^{A.D. 1049.} eminence under the sixty years' abbacy of Hugh, whose ^{1109.} influence in the affairs of the church has often been mentioned in the preceding chapters. The Cluniacs received additions to their privileges: Paschal exempted them from the operation of an interdiction pronounced against any province in which they might be;^e Calixtus, on a visit to the great monastery in 1120, conferred on its abbots the dignity of the Roman cardinalate.^f But under Hugh's successor, Pontius, to whom this privilege was granted, dissensions and scandals arose in the order. The abbot, on finding that he was charged at Rome with dissipating the property of his ^{A.D. 1122.} monastery, hurried to the pope, resigned his office, and went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, with the intention, as he professed, of spending the remainder of his days there; but he afterwards returned to disturb the peace of the monastery.^g Another Hugh was appointed in his room, but died within three months; and the order again chose a head who sustained the greatness of its reputation—Peter Maurice, "the Venerable." The Vallom-

^a Luden, ix. 190. Hanno of Cologne and other prelates brought monks from Fructuaria, Cluny, &c., for the reform of German monachism. Lambert, A.D. 1075 (Patrol. cxlvi. 1204-5.)

^d A.D. 1083, 1091, ap. Pertz, v.

^e Ep. 66, ap. Hard. vi.

^f Hugo monach. Cluniac. in Patrol. clxvi. 845; Hist. Compostell. ii. 14 (ib. clxx.); Ciacon. i. 949.

^g Pet. Cluniac. de Miraculis, ii. 12; Chron. Cluniac. ap. Bouquet, xii. 313-5. According to the 'History of Compostella' (ii. 9) Pontius had been recommended by Gelasius II. at the same time with Guy of Vienne, as a fit successor to the papacy. On his return from the east he attempted to recover

the abbacy of Cluny by means of an armed force, was excommunicated, and died under the sentence. But pope Honorius II., in consideration of the dignity which he had held, allowed him to be honourably buried (Ep. 55, Patrol. clxvi.); and Orderic, who is partial to him, says that miracles were wrought at his grave (iv. 298, 299, 386, 424-7). Some martyrologies even make him a saint! (Schröckh, xxvii. 242). Comp. Pet. Clun. l. c.; Honor. II. Epp. 44-6, 48; Chron. Casin. iv. 75; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1117; Baron. Ann. 1125, with Pagi's notes; Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1122, col. 245; Mabill. Annales, v. 530, vi. 78; Hist. Litt. xi. 23.

brosan, Camaldolite, and other communities were also still in vigour;^h but the piety of the age was not content with adding to the numbers enrolled under the rules which already existed, and during the fifty years which followed the election of Gregory VII. several new orders took their beginning.

I. The earliest of these was the order of Grammont. The founder, Stephen, son of a count of Thiers, in Auvergne, was born about 1045.ⁱ His parents, who believed him to have been granted to them in return for many prayers and other exercises of devotion, were careful to train him religiously from his infancy, and at the age of twelve he accompanied his father on a pilgrimage to the relics of St. Nicolas, which had lately been translated from Myra, in Lycia, to Bari, in the south of Italy.^k Stephen fell ill at Benevento, and was left there in the care of the archbishop, Milo, who was his countryman, and perhaps a kinsman.^m The praises which the archbishop bestowed on an ascetic society of monks in Calabria excited the boy to resolve on embracing the monastic life, and he steadily adhered to his resolution.ⁿ After having spent four years at Rome, he obtained, in the first year of Gregory's pontificate, the May 1, papal sanction for the formation of a new order—a docu-
1074. ment in which Gregory bestows on him his blessing, and expresses a wish that he may find companions innumerable as the stars of heaven.^o

Before proceeding to act on this privilege, Stephen paid a farewell visit to his parents, but ended it by secretly leaving his home, with a determination never to return, and took up his abode at Muret, near Limoges, where he built himself a hut of branches of trees in a rocky and wooded solitude. Here, putting on a ring, the only article which he had reserved out of his property, he solemnly devoted himself to the Holy Trinity and to the Virgin Mother.^p The rigour of his diet was extreme; he wore an iron cuirass, like Dominic of Fonte Avellano, and over it a thin dress

^h Schröckh, xxvii. 241.

ⁱ Life, by Gerard, seventh prior of Grammont, c. 1 (Patrol. cciv.); Pagi, xviii. 402.

^k Gerard, 1.

^m Ib. 2-5. There are chronological difficulties as to this. See n. on Gerard, 8; Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 21; Bouquet, xiii. 456; Hist. Litt. x. 411-2.

ⁿ Gerard, 6-7; Mabill. Annal. v. 65-7.

^o Gerard, 8-10. The document (ap.

Mabill. Acta SS. IX. xxxvi.) is not unsuspected (Mabill. Annal. v. 66; Hist. Litt. x. 411; Schröckh, xxvii. 298). Martene not only rejects it, but dates the origin of the order so late as about 1100, and supposes the Calabrian hermits, from whom Stephen took his impulse, to have been the Carthusians who settled in Calabria under Urban II. (see below, p. 768), Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 22-7. But his reasoning is very unsatisfactory.

^p Ger. 11-3.

which was alike throughout all the changes of the seasons ; his bed was formed of boards sunk in the earth, so that it resembled a grave, nor did he allow himself even straw to soften it ; his devotional exercises were frequent, and such was his fervour that, while engaged in them, he sometimes forgot food and sleep for days together.¹ He always prayed kneeling, and his prayers were accompanied by frequent obeisances and kissing of the earth, so that not only did his hands and knees become callous like those of a camel, but his nose was bent by the effect of his prostrations.²

After a year, during which he was known only to the neighbouring shepherds, Stephen was joined by two companions ; and the number was soon increased. His disciples were treated with an indulgence which he denied to himself, and he desired them to call him not *abbot* or *master*, but *corrector*.³ It was believed that he had the power of reading their hearts ;⁴ tales are related of miracles which he did, and of the wonderful efficacy of his prayers ; and a sweet odour was perceived to proceed from his person by those who conversed with him.⁵ After having spent fifty years in his retirement, Stephen died in 1124.⁶

At his death, the place where he had so long lived unmolested was claimed by a neighbouring monastery. His disciples, unwilling to engage in any contention, prayed for direction in the choice of another habitation ; and as they were at mass, the answer was given by a heavenly voice, which thrice pronounced the words—"To Grammont !" The new home thus pointed out was but a league distant, and the monks removed to it, carrying with them the relics of their founder.⁷ They studiously concealed the spot where the body was deposited ; but its presence was betrayed by a great number of miracles. On this the prior addressed the spirit of his former master in a tone of complaint and reproach, threatening that, if Stephen continued to regard his own fame for sanctity so as to turn the solitude of his disciples into a fair, his relics should be thrown into a river ; and from that time the saint

¹ Ib. 16-19.

² Ib. 20-2.

³ Ib. 23 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 302.

⁴ Ger. 26.

⁵ Ib. 20-31.

⁶ Mabill. Annal. vi. 116 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 303. It is said that his death was immediately known by miracle at Tours and at Vézelay (Gerard, 44). There is a story that Stephen left behind him a chest which no one had been allowed to look into while he was alive. The

monks at his death broke it open with eager curiosity, but found only a paper, with these words, "Frater Stephanus, fundator ordinis Grandis Montis, salutem fratres suos, et supplicat ut observent se a secularibus. Quia sicut vos, dum nesciebatis quid erat in cista, habuistis eam in honore, sic et ipsi vos." Thom. de Eccleston, in Monum. Franciscana, ed. Brewer (Chron. and Mem.), 60.

⁷ Ger. 47-50.

was content to exert his miraculous power in such a manner as not to expose his followers to the distractions which had before endangered their quiet and their humility. In 1189, he was canonised by Clement III.^a

Although, in the privilege which Gregory had granted to Stephen, it was supposed that the Benedictine rule would be observed by the new order, the discipline of the Grandimontans was more severe than that of St. Benedict. Stephen professed that his only rule was that of Christian religion,^a and the code of his order was unwritten until the time of his third successor, Stephen of Lisiac (A.D. 1141).^b Obedience and poverty are laid down as the foundations.^c The monks were to accept no payment for Divine offices: they were to possess no churches, and no lands beyond the precincts of their monasteries;^d nor were they allowed to keep any cattle—"for," it is said, "if ye were to possess beasts, ye would love them, and for the love which ye would bestow on beasts, so much of Divine love would be withdrawn from you."^e They were never to go to law for such property as might be bestowed on them.^f The founder assured them on his deathbed that, if they kept themselves from the love of earthly things, God would not fail to provide for them; when reduced to such necessity as to have had no food for two days, they might send out brethren to beg, but these were bound to return as soon as they had secured one day's provision.^g They were to go out in parties of two at least; they were not to fall into company with travellers, and were to avoid castles.^h They must not leave the wilderness to preach; their life there was to be their true sermon.ⁱ Their monasteries were to be strictly shut against all but persons of great authority; they were charged altogether to shun intercourse with women.^k Even the sick were forbidden to taste flesh; but they were to be carefully tended, and, rather than that they should lack what they needed, even the ornaments of the church were to be sold.^m The members of the order were bound to silence at times, and were to communicate by signs, of which a detailed system is laid down;ⁿ

^a Gerard, 55; Schröckh, xxvii. 304-5.

1231, seqq.

^b *Prolog. in Sententias* (Patrol. cciv. 1085).

^c Cc. 1-3, in Martene, or Patrol. cciv.

^b Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 100. Martene, who prints the rule in his ivth volume, 'De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus,' maintains there (306) and in Mabillon, vi. 117, that it was written by the founder. He gives other statutes of the order in that volume, and in the 'Thesaurus,' iv.

^d Cc. 4-5.

^e C. 7.

^f Cc. 23, 31.

^g C. 13.

^h C. 52.

ⁱ C. 48.

^k C. 39.

^m Cc. 56-7.

ⁿ Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* iv. 339, seqq.

and it was directed that when they spoke, their discourse must be of an edifying kind. The monks were to devote themselves entirely to spiritual things, while their temporal affairs were to be managed by "bearded" or lay brethren.^o

Under Stephen of Lisiac the order of Grandimontans, or "Good men," as they were popularly called,^p became numerous, and eventually it had about 140 "cells," subject to the "prior" of the mother community. So long as the austerity of its discipline remained, it enjoyed a high reputation;^q but the relaxations of its rules, although sanctioned by popes,^r and internal quarrels between the monks and the lay brethren,^s led to its decline.^t

II. Ten years later than the order of Grammont, that of the Carthusians was founded by Bruno, a native of Cologne, who had been distinguished as master of the cathedral school at Rheims.^u The popular legend ascribes his retirement from the world to a scene which he is supposed to have witnessed at Paris, on the death of a doctor who had been greatly esteemed for piety as well as for learning. As the funeral procession was on its way to the grave, the corpse (it is said) raised itself from the bier, and uttered the words "By God's righteous judgment I am accused!" The rites were suspended for a day; and when they were resumed, the dead man again exclaimed—"By God's righteous judgment I am judged!" A second time the completion of the ceremony was deferred; but on the third day the horror of the spectators was raised to a height by his once more lifting up his ghastly head, and moaning forth, in a tone of the deepest misery—"By God's righteous judgment I am condemned!" Bruno, struck with terror, and filled with a sense of the nothingness of human reputation, by this awful revelation as to one who had been so highly venerated, resolved, as the only means of safety, to hide himself in the desert.^x

^o C. 54. See Ducange, s. v. *Barbati*.

^p Mabill. *Annal.* vi. 117. See Ducange, s. vv. *Boni Homines*. Their monasteries were called *Bonihominiz*. *Patrol.* cciv. 1001.

^q See, e. g., Petr. Cellens. *Ep.* 54 (*Patrol.* ccil.); Joh. Sarisb. *Polycrat.* vii. 23 (ib. cxcix.).

^r Especially by Innocent IV. *A.D.* 1245. See Martene, 'De Ant. Eccl. Rit.' iv. 327, seqq.

^s Steph. Tornac. *Epp.* 134-5, 138, 143-4 (*Patrol.* cexi.).

^t Anon. *Cartus.* (of the 15th century)

ap. Martene, *Coll. Ampl.* vi. 34; Mabill. *Acta SS.* IX. xxxv.; Schröckh, xxvii. 306-9.

^u *Hist. Litt.* ix. 233. That it is a mistake to suppose him a pupil of Berengar, see Mabill. *Acta SS.* VIII. iii.; IX. xxxvii.

^x *Vita Antiquior*, 1-8 (*Patrol.* clii.); Puteanus, 4-13 (ib.). The story of the doctor is told, with some variety of circumstances, by Cæsarius of Heisterbach in the 13th century (*Dialog.* xi. 49); but the earliest writer who connects it with St. Bruno is John of

Such was the tale which was adopted by the Carthusian order ;⁷ but the real motives of Bruno's withdrawal appear to have been partly a conviction of the unsatisfying nature of worldly things,⁸ and partly a wish to escape from the tyranny of Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, a violent, grasping, and ambitious prelate, whose character may be inferred from a saying recorded of him—that "the archbishoprick of Rheims would be a fine thing, if one had not to sing masses for it."⁹ By the advice of Hugh, bishop of Grenoble, Bruno with six companions took up his abode among the wild and solemn rocky solitudes of the Chartreuse, from which his order derived its name ;^b and so much was the bishop pleased with the system, that he often withdrew for a time from the world, to live with the Carthusians in the strict observance of their usages.^c The community, to which no one was admitted under the age of twenty, consisted of monks and lay brethren ; the number of the former being limited to thirteen (or, at the utmost, to fourteen), and that of the lay brethren to sixteen, on the ground that the wilderness could not support a larger company without the necessity of their being entangled in the affairs of this world.^d They were forbidden to possess any land, except in the neighbourhood of their monastery, and the number of beasts which they were allowed to keep was limited.^e The object of their retreat was declared to be the salvation of their own souls,—the part of Mary, not that of Martha ; hence the intrusion of poor strangers into their wilderness was discouraged, and, although the monks were

Ypres, in the 14th century (Chron. 8. Bertini, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 581 ; Acta S. Brun. in Patrol. clii. 130 ; Hist. Litt. ix. 236). The tale afterwards became popular through the mention of it by Gerson (De Simplific. Cordis, 23, Opera, iii. 466, ed. Antwerp, 1706), and was expanded and embellished by many writers. At one time it was in the Roman Breviary, but it was expunged at the revision under Urban VIII. Launoy fully exposes it in his tract, 'De Vera Causa Secensus S. Brunonis in Ereumum' (Opera, vii. ed. Paris, 1662, 8vo.), where the various forms of it are given ; he makes, however, the mistake of saying (90) that the earliest authority for it is Gerson. See Mabillon, Annal. v. 202 ; Pagi, xvii. 577 ; the Bollandist Acta, in Patrol. clii. 224, 242 ; D'Achery, ib. clvi. 1081 ; Alban Butler, Oct. 6 ; and, for the history of the controversy,

Hélyot, vii. 376 ; Schröckh, xxvii. 311. There is a metrical version in Monast. Anglic. VI. iv.

⁷ Anon. Cartus. ap. Mart. Coll. Ampl. vi. 36 ; Exord. Ordin. Cartus., ib. 152-3 ; Hist. Litt. ix. 237.

⁸ This appears from a letter of his own, in Mabill. Annal. v. 202, or Patrol. clii. 422.

^a Guibert. Novig. de Vita sua, i. 11 (Patrol. clvi. 853) ; Hist. Litt. ix. 236. Manasses figures largely in the letters of Gregory VII., by whom he was at length deposed, in 1080. Guib. l. c. ; Hist. Litt. ix. 655.

^b Puteanus, 31-2, 41 ; Mabill. Annal. v. 203.

^c Guigo, Vita Hug. Gratianopol. 11-2 (Patrol. cliii.).

^d Consuetudines, 27, 78-9 (ib.).

^e Ib. xli. 1 ; Pet. Cluniac. de Miraculis, ii. 28.

not absolutely forbidden to relieve such strangers, they were charged rather to spend any superfluities which they might have on the poor of their own neighbourhood.^f Their manner of life was extremely rigid. They wore goatskins next to the flesh; and their dress was altogether of the coarsest kind.^g For three days in the week their food was bread and water; on the other days they added pulse; the highest luxuries of festivals were cheese and fish; and the small quantity of wine allowed by the Benedictine rule was never to be drunk undiluted.^h The only greater relaxation as to diet was at the periodical bleedings, which took place five times in the year.ⁱ They confessed every week,^k and underwent a weekly flagellation; but it was a part of their obedience that no one should impose any extraordinary austerity on himself without the leave of the prior.^m They ordinarily spoke on Sundays and festivals only; the lay brethren alone were allowed to relieve their silence by signs: and it was required that these signs should be of a "rustic" character, without any "facetiousness or wantonness;" that they should not be taught to strangers; and that no other code of signals should be learnt.ⁿ When, however, any monks were employed together in copying or binding books, or in any other common labour, they were at liberty to converse among themselves, although not with others.^o Each monk was to cook for himself in his cell,^p which he was very rarely to leave; and in the cells most of the offices of religion were to be performed, except on Sundays, when the brethren met in the church and in the refectory.^q If any present were sent to a member of the society, the prior was not only authorised (as in the Benedictine rule^r) to give it to another, but, in order to eradicate the idea of individual property, it was even ordered that the present should not be given to the person for whom it had been intended.^s In the service of their churches everything was to be plain and severe; no processions were allowed,^t and all ornament was forbidden, with the exception of one silver chalice, and a silver tube for drinking the eucharistic wine.^u Notwithstanding their poverty, Guibert of

^f Consuetud. c. 20.^g Pet. Clun. l. c.^h Consuet. 33-4.ⁱ C. 39.^k C. vii. 2.^m C. 35; li. 5.ⁿ C. xxxi. 3; xlv.^o C. 32.^p C. 33.^q Cc. 29, 31. Contrary to the usual custom of celebrating the mass daily,

the Carthusians seem to have done so only on Sundays and festivals. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 35.

^r See vol. i. p. 562.^s C. 59.^t C. 6.^u C. 40. See Ducange, s. vv. *Calamus*, *Fistula*; Augusti, xii. 46-52; Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' i. 165-8.

Nogent found the Carthusians possessed of a valuable library; and much of their time was devoted to transcription and other literary labours.²

After having spent six years at the Chartreuse, Bruno reluctantly complied with an invitation to Rome from Urban II., who had formerly been his pupil at Rheims;³ but he soon
A.D. 1090. became weary of the city, and, after having refused the bishoprick of Reggio, he founded a second Chartreuse (S. Stefano del Bosco) in the diocese of Squillace,⁴ where he died in 1101.⁵ In the mean time, the original foundation had been carried on by his disciples, who, after having accompanied him into Italy, had returned at his desire, and re-established themselves under Landuin as prior.⁶ The "customs" of the order were digested into a written code by the fifth prior, Guigo I., in 1128;⁷ the founder was canonised by Leo X., in 1513.⁸

The rigour of the Carthusian institutions rendered the progress of the order slow; yet it gradually made its way. There were also Carthusian nuns; but the discipline was too severe for the female sex, and in the eighteenth century only five convents of women professed the rule.⁹ Although the Carthusians became wealthy, and built magnificent houses (the Certosa, near Pavia, being regarded as "the most splendid monastery in the world"), they preserved themselves from personal luxury more strictly than any other order; thus they escaped the satire which was profusely lavished on monks in general, and they never needed a reformation.¹⁰

III. The next in time of the new orders was founded by Robert, a native of Arbrissel or Albresec, near Rennes.¹¹ Robert was born about 1047, and, after having studied at Paris, where he became a teacher of theology, he accepted in 1086 an invitation to act as vicar to Sylvester, bishop of Rennes, a man of high birth, who,

² Guib. de Vita sua, i. 11, coll. 854; Consuetudines, c. xxviii. 2-4; Mabill. Annal. v. 39, 205; Schröckh, xxvii. 315-322.

³ Vita Antiq. 15-9; Putean. 44-6; Pagi, xvii. 634.

⁴ Urban. Ep. 67 (Patrol. cli.). It was dedicated in 1094. Mabill. Annal. v. 293, 342.

⁵ Ib. 444.

⁶ Vita Antiq. 16, 20-23; Putean. 47-8.

⁷ Patrol. cliiii. 631, seqq.; Mabill. Acta SS. ix. 39; Hist. Litt. xi. 647.

⁸ Schröckh, xxvii. 318.

⁹ Mosh. ii. 360.

¹⁰ Handb. of North Italy, 186, ed. 1854.

¹¹ Mabill. Annal. v. 205; Schröckh, xxvii. 320. See Sigebe. contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1131 (Patrol. clx.); Joh. Sariab. Polycrat. vii. 23 (ib. cxcix.). Duchesne, however, in his notes on Peter of Cluny, De Mirac. ii. 28, notices some points in which they had degenerated.

¹² Hélyot, vi. 85.

although himself illiterate, respected learning in others.¹ Here he for four years exerted himself to enforce the Hildebrandine principles as to celibacy, simony, and emancipation of the church from lay control; but, after his patron's death, he found it expedient to withdraw from the enmity of the canons, whom he had provoked by his endeavours to reform them.^k For a time he taught theology at Angers, and in 1091 he withdrew to the forest of Craon, on the confines of Anjou and Brittany, where he entered on a course of extraordinary austerity. Disciples and imitators soon gathered around him, and for these, whom he styled "the poor of Christ," he founded in 1094 a society on the principles of the canonical life.^m

Urban, on his visit to France in 1096, sent for Robert, and, being struck with his eloquence, bestowed on him the title of "Apostolical Preacher," with a charge to publish the crusade.ⁿ The zeal with which Robert executed this commission, in cities, villages, and hamlets, was the means of sending many to fight the battles of Christendom in the east; while others were persuaded by his discourse to forsake their homes and attach themselves to him as their master.^o In 1100 he laid the foundation of a great establishment at Fontevraud, in the diocese of Poitiers—then a rough tract, overgrown with thorns and brushwood. His followers were of both sexes; the men were committed to two of his chief disciples, while he himself especially took care of the women.^p From time to time he left Fontevraud for the labours of his office as Apostolical Preacher, which gave him opportunities of making his institutions known, and of founding similar communities in various parts of France. His preaching was addressed with great effect to unhappy women who had fallen from virtue; among his converts was the notorious queen Bertrada, whom he persuaded, after the death of Philip, to live for a time at Fontevraud under the severe discipline of his community.^q He had three nunneries—one for virgins and widows, one for the sick and lepers, and the third for women whom he had reclaimed from a life of sin. The rule was very strict; the female recluses were not allowed to talk except in the chapter-house, because, it is said, Robert knew that they could not be

¹ Baldric. *Dol. Vita Roberti*, ap. Bouquet, xiv. 163; Mabillon, *Annal.* v. 314; *Fontevraud*, t. vi. p. 503.

^k *Hist. Litt.* x. 153. ⁿ *Vita*, 164.

^l *Vita*, p. 164.

^m Hélyot, vi. 87; Bayle, art. *Fontevraud*.

^o Schröckh, xxvii. 331.

^p *Ib.* 333.

^q Bayle, note F.; *Hist. Litt.* x. 164.

restrained from idle talk except by an entire prohibition of speech.¹ But it was rumoured that Robert laid himself open to scandal by reviving a kind of fanaticism which had been practised in the early African church.² Godfrey of Vendôme remonstrates with him on this subject, and mentions that he was charged also with partiality in his behaviour towards his female disciples—treating some with indulgence, while to others he was harsh in language, and mercilessly subjected them to cold, hunger, and nakedness. Marbod, bishop of Rennes, likewise addressed to him a letter of admonition—censuring him for the affectations which he practised for the sake of influence over the simple, but which, in the bishop's opinion, were more likely to make his sanity suspected—the long beard, the naked feet, the old and tattered garments; and telling him that, by attacking the clergy in his sermons, he excited the people to the sin of despising their pastors.³ It appears, also, that Roscellin (whose peculiar opinions will hereafter engage our attention) attacked Robert for receiving into his society women who had fled from their husbands, and for detaining them in defiance of the bishop of Angers.⁴

The institute of Fontevraud was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1106, and again in 1113.⁵ Robert, finding his strength decay, in 1115 committed the superintendence of his whole order—men as well as women—to a female superior—an extraordinary arrangement, for which he alleged the precedent that the Saviour on the cross commended St. John to the care of the Blessed Virgin as his mother.⁶ At the founder's death, in 1117, the number of nuns

¹ *Regula Sanctimon.*, Patrol. clxii. 1079; W. Malmesb. 673.

² "*Fœminarum quasdam, ut dicitur, nimis familiariter tecum habitare permittis, et cum ipsis etiam, et inter ipsas, noctu frequenter cubare non erubescis,*" etc. (Godfr. Vindocin. ad Robertum, Ep. iv. 47, Bibl. Patr. xxi. 49.) The genuineness of this letter has been questioned (as by the Bollandists, Patrol. clxii. 1040-2), but is established by Mabillon (*Annal.* v. 424) and Pagi (xviii. 294). See Nat. Alex. xiv. 23; Bayle, notes G, L, O, P; Schröckh, xxvii. 338; Giesel. II. ii. 300. In any case, the indignation which some of Robert's advocates affect as to the letter is altogether needless. For it is not immorality but indiscretion that Godfrey imputes; he mentions the charges merely as matter of hearsay, and is known to

have afterwards treated Robert with great respect (*Hist. Litt.* x. 162; xi. 190). Mabillon supposes that both Godfrey and Marbod wrote between the foundation and the full establishment of Fontevraud. *Annal.* v. 424-5.

³ Marbod. Ep. 6, ap. Hildebert. ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1708, pp. 1404-10. The editor, without apparent ground, doubts whether it was addressed to Robert. See *Hist. Litt.* x. 556.

⁴ Roscell. ap. Abelard. Ep. 15, Patrol. clxxviii. 361. Cf. Abel. Ep. 14.

⁵ Bayle, vi. 504.

⁶ *Vita Altera*, 5-9 (Patrol. clxii.); Bayle, l. c. By some writers the female headship has been defended with arguments which, as reported by Bayle and Schröckh, appear nowise happy. On the other hand, Mabillon denies the fact

at Fontevraud already amounted to 3000; and soon after it was between 4000 and 5000.^a The order spread, so that it had establishments in Spain and in England, as well as in France,^a and some smaller orders, as those of Tiron and Savigny, branched off from it.^b

IV. Of the orders which had their origin about this time the most widely extended and most powerful was the Cistercian. The founder, Robert, was son of a nobleman in Champagne, and entered a monastery at the age of fifteen.^c After having lived in several religious houses without finding any one sufficiently strict for his idea of the monastic profession, he became the head of a society at Molesme, in the diocese of Langres. They were at first excessively poor, and underwent great privations; but the sight of their rigid life soon drew to them a profusion of gifts, which led to a relaxation of their discipline, and Robert, after having in vain remonstrated, left them in indignation. In compliance with their urgent requests, he consented to return; but he soon had the mortification of discovering that their invitation had been prompted by no better motive than a wish to recover the popular esteem and bounty which had been withdrawn from them in consequence of his departure.^d Discords arose on the subject of dispensations from the Benedictine rule; and in 1098, Robert, with the sanction of the legate Hugh of Lyons, withdrew with twenty companions to Cistercium or Cîteaux, a lonely and uncultivated place in the neighbourhood of Dijon.^e The duke of Burgundy bestowed on the infant community a site for buildings, with land for tillage, and contributed to its support. In the following year, Robert was once more desired to return to Molesme by the authority of Urban II., on the representation of the monks that their society had fallen into disorder and that they were persecuted by their neighbours;^f and

(*Annal.* v. 423). But there is the evidence of Abelard (*Ep.* i. 14, *fin.*, *Patrol.* clxxviii.) for it, immediately after Robert's time (although the reference to Fontevraud appears somewhat indistinct), and the order continued to be governed by women. See *Eugen.* III. *Ep.* 364 (*ib.* clxxx.); *Hist. Litt.* x. 163-4; *Hélyot*, vi. 93-4; *Schröckh*, xxvii. 334-5.

^a *Mabill. Annal.* vi. 17. See *Suger*, *Ep.* 88 (*Patrol.* clxxxvi.); *Pet. Cell.* *Ep.* i. 4 (*ib.* ccii.).

^b *Schröckh*, xxvii. 340.

^c See *Martene*, *Coll. Ampl.* vi. *Præf.*

^d *Vita* (by a monk of Molesme in the 12th century), 2-3 (*Patrol.* clvii.); *Hist. Litt.* x. 2.

^e *Vita*, 8-9; *Order. Vital.* iv. 435-441; *Mabill. Ann.* v. 93-4.

^f *Exord. Magnum*, *Patrol.* clxxxv.; *Hugo Lugd.* *Ep.* 22 (*ib.* clvii.); *Notitia* (*ib.* clv. 1167); "Relatio qualiter incepit ordo Cisterciensis," in *Monast. Anglic.* v. 221; *W. Malmesb.* 513; *Mabill. Annal.* v. 394.

^g *Urban.* II. *Ep.* 21, *ap. Hard.* vi.; *Hugo*, *Ep.* 23. William of Malmesbury says that the monks of Molesme recalled Robert because they knew him to be

he continued to govern his earlier foundation until his death, in 1110.⁵

His successor at Cîteaux, Alberic, laid down the rule for the new order,⁶ and it was afterwards carried out with greater rigour by the third abbot, Stephen Harding,¹ an Englishman and one of Robert's original companions, whose code, entitled the "Charter of Love," was sanctioned by pope Calixtus in 1119.² The Cistercians were to observe the rule of St. Benedict, without any glosses or relaxations.³ Their dress was to be white, agreeably to a pattern which the Blessed Virgin had shown to Alberic in a vision.⁴ They were to accept no gifts of churches, altars, or tithes,⁵ and were to refrain from intermeddling with the pastoral office.⁶ From the ides of September to Easter, they were to eat but one meal daily.⁷ Their monasteries, which were all to be dedicated to the Blessed Virgin,⁸ were to be planted in lonely places;⁹ they were to eschew all pomp, pride, and superfluity; their services were to be simple and plain, and all vocal artifices were forbidden in their chanting;¹⁰ some of the ecclesiastical vestments were discarded, and those which were retained were to be of fustian or linen, without any golden ornaments. They were to have only one iron chandelier; their censers were to be of brass or iron; no plate was allowed, except one chalice and a tube for the eucharistic wine, and these were, if possible, to be of silver gilt, but not of gold.¹¹ Paintings, sculpture, and stained glass were prohibited, as being likely to distract the mind from spiritual meditation; the only exception as to such things was in favour of painted wooden crosses.¹² The monks were to give themselves wholly to spiritual employments, while the secular affairs of the community were to be managed by the "bearded" or lay brethren. No serfs were allowed, but hired

tired of the strictness of Cîteaux (515). But this story is rejected as a calumny. Mabill. Annal. v. 405; Schröckh, xxvii. 253.

¹ Vita, 11-2; Order. Vital. iii. 442; Mabill. Annal. v. 395, 404, 546; Monast. Angl. v. 222.

² Exordium Cisterc. (Patrol. clvi. 9).

³ It would seem that his original name was Harding, that of Stephen having been assumed at Moleme. Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 57.

⁴ Calixt. Ep. 2, ap. Hard. vi. 1949. W. Malmesb. 516; Hist. Litt. xi. 213, seqq.; Mabill. Annal. vi. 35; Life of Stephen, 158-161, in 'Lives of English

Saints,' London, 1844. The 'Carta Caritatis' relates to organisation; in other matters the order was governed by the 'Usus Antiquiores,' of which the date and the authorship are unknown. Both documents are in Patrol. clxvi.

⁵ Carta Carit. 1.

⁶ Mabill. Annal. v. 531.

⁷ Exord. 15.

⁸ See extracts from the statutes of their chapters, in Giesel. II. ii. 311.

⁹ Order. Vital. iii. 445.

¹⁰ Instituta, c. 18 (Patrol. clxxxi.).

¹¹ Exord. 15.

¹² Instituta, 71.

¹³ Exord. 17. ¹⁴ Instit. 20, 81.

servants were employed to assist in labour.⁷ In the simplicity of their church-services and furniture, the Cistercians differed from the Cluniacs, whose ritual was distinguished for its splendour; the elder order regarded the principles of the younger as a reproach against itself, and a rivalry soon sprang up between them.⁸ The white dress, which, although already adopted at Camaldoli, was a novelty in France, gave offence to the other monastic societies, which had worn black habits as a symbol of humility and regarded the new colour as a pretension to superior righteousness; but the Cistercians defended it as expressive of the joy which became the angelic life of the cloister.⁹

In 1113 the order of Cîteaux received the member from whose reputation it was to derive its greatest lustre and popularity—St. Bernard.¹⁰ The same year saw the foundation of La Ferté, the eldest daughter society; Pontigny followed in 1114, Clairvaux (of which the young Bernard was the first abbot), and Morimond in 1115.¹¹ The rule of the Cistercians was approved by the bishops in whose dioceses these monasteries were situated; and Stephen Harding required that, before the foundation of any monastery, the bishop of the place should signify his assent to the rule, so that no difficulty might afterwards arise from a conflict between the duties of the monks towards their order, and that obedience to episcopal authority which was an essential part of the system.¹² While the government of the Cluniacs was monarchical, that of the Cistercians was aristocratic; the four chief “daughters”—those which have just been named—were allowed a large influence in the affairs of the order; their abbots took the lead in electing the abbot of Cîteaux,¹³ who was subject to their visitation and correction.¹⁴ But the most remarkable feature in the system was that of the annual general chapters, the first of which was held in 1116.¹⁵ For these meetings every abbot of the order was required to appear at Cîteaux, unless prevented by illness, in which case he was represented by a deputy. From the nearer countries, the attendance

⁷ Exord. 15; Monast. Angl. v. 222-5; Mabill. Annal. v. 431; Schröckh, xxvii. 254-5.

⁸ Hélyot, iv. 349; Schröckh, xxvii. 349; Maitland's 'Dark Ages,' 358.

⁹ Order. Vital. iii. 434-5; Pet. Cluniac. Ep. i. 28 (Patrol. clxxxix. 116); Mabill. Annal. v. 531; Life of Stephen Harding, 55.

¹⁰ See the next chapter.

¹¹ In Latin *Firmitas* (a fortification).

Ducange, s. v.

¹² Mabill. Annal. v. 587, 594, 603-5.

¹³ See Calixt. II. Ep. 2 (Hard. vi.); Eugen. III. Ep. 521 (Patrol. clxxx.); Prolog. in Cart. Caritat. ib. clxvi. 1377; Giesel. II. ii. 311.

¹⁴ Carta Car. 4-11, 19, 27-30; Cæsar. Heisterb. i. 1; Mabill. Annal. v. 595; Hélyot, v. 251.

¹⁵ Mabill. Annal. v. 617.

was to be every year; from the more remote, it was, according to their distance, to be once in three, four, five, or seven years.^b Such meetings had been held occasionally in other orders, as in that of Grammont; but it was among the Cistercians that they were for the first time organised as a part of the regular government; and from them they were copied by the Carthusians and others. The effect of this arrangement was found to be beneficial, not only in securing a general superintendence of the community, but as a means of preventing jealousies by allowing the affiliated societies a share in the administration of the whole.^c

After having thrown out its first swarms, the Cistercian order rapidly increased. At the general chapter in 1151, it numbered upwards of 500 monasteries, and it was resolved that no further additions should be admitted.^d But, in the following century, the number had increased to 1800, and eventually it was much greater.^e The Cistercians grew rich, and reforms became necessary among them; but until the rise of the Mendicant orders, they were the most popular of all the monastic societies.

V. The canonical life had fallen into great decay. Nicolas II., in the council of 1059, attempted a reformation, by which canons were to have a common table and a common dormitory; and, although they were not required to sacrifice their private property, were enjoined to hold their official revenues in common.^f But a new system, which resembled that of monasticism in the renunciation of all individual property, was also introduced during the eleventh century, the first example of it having apparently been given by some clergy of Avignon, who in 1038 established themselves at the church of St. Rufus.^g The canons of this system were styled *regular*, and took their name from St. Augustine, who had instituted a similar mode of life among his clergy, and from whose writings their rule was compiled.^h

In the twelfth century a new order of canons was founded by Norbert, who was born of a noble family at Xanten, on the Lower Rhine, about 1080.ⁱ In early life he obtained canonries both at

^b Carta Car. 12-6; Mart. de Antiq. Eccl. Rit. iv. 172.

^c Planck, IV. ii. 515-7. The want of such an institution among the Cluniacs is deplored by Herbord, one of the biographers of St. Otho of Bamberg (Pertz, xii. 764). In Martene's 'Thesaurus,' vol. iv., are the statutes of many Cistercian chapters, which give much information as to the order.

^d Rob. de Monte, in Patrol. clx. 472.

^e Schröckh, xxvii. 259.

^f Epp. 7-9 (Patrol. cxliii.). See Mosh. ii. 361.

^g Martene, Coll. Amplias. vi. Præf. p. vii.

^h See Nat. Alex. xiii. 340, seqq; Schröckh, xxvii. 223-5.

ⁱ Vita, 1, ap. Pertz, xii.

his native place and at Cologne. He attached himself to the court of Henry V., with whom he enjoyed great favour, and his life was that of a courtly ecclesiastic, devoted to the enjoyments of the world, and altogether careless of his spiritual duties. In 1111 he accompanied the emperor to Italy, where the first impulse to a change was given by his horror at the outrages and imprisonment to which the pope was subjected. A scruple as to investiture led him soon after to refuse the see of Cambray;^r and his conversion was completed by a thunderstorm, in which he appears to have been thrown from his horse, which was startled by a flash of lightning, and to have been rendered for a time insensible; while the voice which he is said to have heard from heaven, and other circumstances more closely assimilating his case to that of St. Paul, may be ascribed either to his imagination or to invention.^a

After this Norbert withdrew for a time to a monastery; and, as he was yet only a subdeacon, he presented himself before the archbishop of Cologne, with a request that the orders ^{A.D. 1115.} of deacon and priest might be conferred on him in one day. The archbishop, finding that this request proceeded from an excess of zeal, consented to dispense with the canons which forbade such ordinations; and Norbert, exchanging his gay dress for a rough sheepskin, girt around him with a cord, set out on the career of a preacher and a reformer.^t His appearance in this character displeased his brethren, and, at a council held by the legate Conon at Fritzlar, in 1118, some of them charged him with turbulence, assumption, and eccentricities unbecoming both his birth and his ecclesiastical station.^u As the attempt to do good in his own country seemed hopeless, he resigned his benefices, sold all that he possessed, gave away the price, and went forth with two brethren to preach the Gospel in apostolical poverty.^x At St. Gilles, in Provence, he became known to pope Gelasius, ^{Nov. 1118.} who wished to retain him in his company; but Norbert was bent on continuing his labours, and obtained from the pope a licence to preach wheresoever he would.^y He made his way through France, barefooted and thinly clad, disregarding the roughness of the ways, the rain, the ice, and the snow. At Valenciennes, finding that his knowledge of French was insufficient for preaching, while the people could not understand his German, he prayed for the gift of

^r Hermann. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Martini, 85 (Patrol. clxxx.); Vita, 6.

^t Vita, 1; Schröckh, xxvii. 346; Neand. vii. 339.

^u Vita, 2; Schröckh, xxvii. 349.

^v Vita, 4.

^x Ib.

^y Hermann. Tornac. de Miraculis S. Mariæ Laudunensis, iii. 2. (Patrol. clvi.)

tongues, and we are told that his prayer was heard.* At Cambray, the city of which he had refused to be bishop, he fell dangerously ill, and his two original companions, with a third who had joined him at Orleans, died; but he found a new associate in the bishop's chaplain, Hugh.^a The effect of his preaching was heightened by miracles, and wherever he appeared, he was received with veneration.^b

In company with Hugh, Norbert repaired to the council of Rheims, with a view of soliciting from Calixtus a renewal
A.D. 1119. of the general licence to preach which had been bestowed on him by Gelasius. On account of their mean appearance, they were unable to obtain an audience of the pope; and they left the city in despair. But on the road they met with Bartholomew, bishop of Laon, who persuaded them to return with him to Rheims, and not only obtained for them the licence which they sought, but, by the pope's permission, carried them with him to Laon, with a view of employing them in a reform of his canons. Norbert, however, found the task of reform beyond his power;^c he refused an abbacy in the city of Laon, but, at Bartholomew's entreaty, he consented to remain within the diocese; and, after having been conducted by the bishop from one spot to another, with a view of fixing on a site, he at length chose Prémontré, a secluded and marshy valley in the forest of Coucy, from which his order took the name of *Præmonstratensian*. A little chapel was already built there, and Norbert, on passing a night in it, had a vision of the Blessed Virgin, who showed him a white woollen garment, as a pattern of the dress which his order was to assume.^d

Having chosen a situation, Norbert went forth in the beginning

* Vita Posterior, ap. Pertz, xii. 674.

^a That it is a mistake to ascribe the *later* Life of Norbert to Hugh, see Pertz, xii. 666, by whom the original Life has been published for the first time.

^b Vita, 6-8; Herm. iii. 8. The Præmonstratensian continuer of Sigebert places the death of Norbert's companions and Hugh's adhesion after the council of Rheims. Pertz, vi. 448.

^c Herm. iii. 2-3; Robert. Antissiodor. ap. Bouquet, xii. 291.

^d Biblioth. Præmonstr. pp. 16-8, ed. Le Paige, Paris, 1633; Herm. iii. 3; Bouquet, xii. 271, 291; Monast. Anglic. vi. 858-863. There is a contest as to the derivation of *Præmonstratum*. Some derive it from the vision in which the Blessed Virgin foreshowed the spot; but

it would seem that the name was before given to some place in the immediate neighbourhood, if not to the very site of Norbert's monastery. See Vita, 9, p. 679; Bibl. Præm. 14-5; Monast. Angl. vi. 860-1; Bouquet, xii. 271; Mabill. Annal. vi. 48; Hélyot, ii. 156-7. For charters relating to Prémontré, see Patrol. clxx. 1359-64. The original site was soon after exchanged for one on an adjoining hill, which had been bestowed by a hermit named Guy on St. Bernard, and by him was given up to the Præmonstratensians. See Bern. Ep. 253 (Patrol. clxxxii.) and the Bollandist Acta S. Bern. c. ix. (ib. clxxxv.). There is a long mystical commentary, 'De ordine et habitu Præmonstratensium,' by Adamus Scotus, in Patrol. cxviii.

of Lent to gather companions, and by Easter he returned to Prémontré with thirteen,^o whose number was speedily increased. For a time, like Antony and Benedict, he A.D. 1120. was much vexed by the devices of the devil, but he was victorious in the contest.^f Thus we are told that once, when the enemy was rushing on him, in the shape of a bear, he compelled him to vanish;^g and that by a like power he obliged the wolves of the neighbourhood to perform the duty of sheep-dogs.^h

In the rule of the Præmonstratensians the rigid life of monks was combined with the practical duties of the clerical office.ⁱ The Cistercian system of annual chapters was adopted, and the abbot of Prémontré was elected by those of seven other houses, of which three were permanently fixed, while the others were variable.^k The order was not allowed to possess tolls, taxes, or serfs; and the members were specially forbidden to keep any animals of the more curious kinds—such as deer, bears, monkeys, peacocks, swans, or hawks.^m The new establishment met with favour and liberal patronage, and Norbert founded other monasteries on the same model in various parts of France and Germany. Theobald, count of Champagne, was desirous to enter into the society of Prémontré; but the founder told him that it was God's will that he should continue in his life of piety and beneficence as a layman, and that he should marry in the hope of raising offspring to inherit his territories.ⁿ The fame of Norbert was increased by the victory which he gained in 1124 over the followers of a fanatic of Antwerp named Tanchelm, whose system appears to have been a mixture of impiety and immorality;^o and in 1126 the discipline and the possessions of the Præmonstratensians were confirmed by Honorius II.^p

In the same year, Count Theobald married a German princess. Norbert was invited to the nuptials, and had proceeded as far as Spire, where Lothair III. and two papal legates happened to be. The clergy of Magdeburg, being unable to agree in the choice of an archbishop, had resolved to be guided by the advice of these legates; and on Norbert's entering a church where their deputies

^o Sigeb. Contin. Præm. ap. Pertz, vi. 448.

^f Vita, 9, 13-4.

^g Ib. 17.

^h Vita Poster. ap. Pertz, xii. 692.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxvii. 356.

^k Institut. Præm. iv. 1, 8, ap. Martene, De Ant. Eccl. Rit. iii. 334.

^m Ib. 16.

ⁿ Vita, 15, p. 688. Theobald is styled by Robert of Auxerre "pater

orphanorum et iudex viduarum, cæcorum oculus, pes claudorum, in sustentandis pauperibus singulariter munificus, in extruendis cœnobiiis et erga religiosos quosque incomparabili largitate" (Chron. ap. Bouquet, xii. 293). He was a great friend of St. Bernard.

^o Ib. 16. See hereafter, Ch. XII. sect. ii. 1.

^p Ep. 37 (Patrol. clxvi.).

were in conference with the representatives of Rome, his appearance was hailed as providential, and the legates recommended him for the vacant dignity. The emperor, who had been struck by his preaching, confirmed the choice, and it was in vain that Norbert endeavoured to escape by pleading that he was unfit for the office, and that he was involved in other engagements.^a At Magdeburg he was received with great pomp; but he had altered nothing in his habits, and when he appeared last in the procession, barefooted and meanly dressed, the porter of the archiepiscopal palace was about to shut him out as a beggar. On discovering the mistake, the man was filled with dismay; but Norbert told him that he had understood his unfitness better than those who had forced him to accept the see.^b As archbishop, Norbert took an active part in the affairs of the church. Notwithstanding much opposition, he established a college of Præmonstratensians instead of the dissolute canons of St. Mary at Magdeburg.^c In 1129, he resigned the headship of his order to his old companion Hugh; and, on revisiting Prémontré two years later, in company with pope Innocent II., he had the satisfaction of finding that his rule was faithfully observed by a brotherhood of about 500.^d

Norbert died in 1134.^e The Præmonstratensians spread widely—even in the founder's lifetime they had houses in Syria and Palestine^f—and they long kept up their severity; but in the course of years their discipline was impaired by wealth, and the order has become extinct even in some countries of the Roman communion, where it was once established.^g The founder was canonised by Gregory XIII. in 1582.^h

VI. Some orders were established for the performance of special acts of charity, as the Canons of St. Antony, founded in the end of the eleventh century by Gaston, a nobleman of Dauphiny, in thankfulness for his recovery from the pestilence called St. Antony's Fire.ⁱ And to such an institution is to be traced the origin of one of the great Military Orders which are a remarkable feature of this time.

A monastery for the benefit of Latin pilgrims had been founded

^a Herm. iii. 9. There are other versions of the story. Vita, 17-8; Hist. Litt. xi. 247; see Luden, x. 30. Lothair was, strictly speaking, not yet emperor, as he had not been crowned at Rome.

^b Vita, 18.

^c Ib.; Honor. II. Ep. 99 (Patrol. clxvi.).

^d Herm. iii. 6; Siegb. Contin. Præmonstr. 450.

^e Vita, 22.

^f Siegb. Contin. Præmonstr. A.D. 1131.

^g Hélyot, ii. 163; Schröckh, xxvii. 364-9.

^h Alb. Butler, June 6.

ⁱ Schröckh, xxvii. 327.

at Jerusalem about the middle of the eleventh century, chiefly through the bounty of merchants of Amalfi. To this was attached a hospital for each sex—that for men having a chapel dedicated to St. John the Almsgiver,^b for whom the more venerable name of St. John the Baptist was afterwards substituted as patron; and relief was given to pilgrims who were sick, or who had been reduced to destitution, whether by the expenses of their journey or by the robbers who infested the roads.^c From the time of the conquest by the crusaders, the brethren of the hospital became independent of the monastery, and formed themselves into a separate order, distinguished by a black dress, with a white cross on the breast, and living monastically under a rule which was confirmed by Paschal II. in 1113.^d The piety and charity of these brethren attracted general reverence; they were enriched by gifts and endowments, both in Asia and in Europe, from kings and other benefactors; and many knights who had gone to the Holy Land as crusaders or as pilgrims enrolled themselves among them. Among these was Raymond du Puy, who in 1118 became master of the hospital, and soon after drew up a rule which was sanctioned by pope Calixtus in 1120. The Hospitallers were to profess poverty, obedience, and strict chastity; they were to beg for the poor, and, whenever they went abroad for this or any other purpose, they were not to go singly, but with companions assigned by the master. No one was to possess any money without the master's leave; and, when travelling, they were to carry a light with them, which was to be kept burning throughout the night.^e

About the same time arose the military order of the Temple. In 1118, Hugh des Payens and seven other French knights, impressed by the dangers to which Christianity was exposed in the east, and by the attacks to which pilgrims were subject from infidels and robbers,^f vowed before the patriarch of Jerusalem to fight for the faith against the unbelievers, to defend the highways, to observe the three monastic obligations, and to live under a discipline adopted from the canons of St. Augustine.^g

By the formation of this society the Hospitallers were roused to

^b See p. 33.

^c Will. Tyr. vii. 23; xviii. 4-5 (Patrol. cci.); Monast. Angl. vi. 793-4; Pagi and Mansi, in Bar. xviii. 107-9; Vertot, *Hist. des Cheval. de Malte*, ed. 4to. i. 15; Hélyot, iii. 73; Wilken, ii. 539-540.

^d Pasch. Ep. 357 (Patrol. clxiii.); Will. Tyr. xviii. 6; Wilken, ii. 541-2.

^e Hélyot, iii. 75; Vertot, i. 54, 580;

Wilken, ii. 543. There is a letter of Calixtus, recommending the Hospitallers to the charity of western Christians. "Non enim," says the pope, "Hierosolymitanæ peregrinationis mercedis vacuus est, qui in Hierosolymitanis peregrinis rerum spærum adminiculum subministrat." Ep. 239 (Patrol. clxiii.).

^f See Vertot, i. 72.

^g Will. Tyr. xii. 7; Wilken, ii. 9, 546.

emulation.^b The martial spirit revived in some of the brethren, who had formerly been knights; and as the wealth of the body was far more than sufficient for their original objects, Raymond du Puy offered their gratuitous services against the infidels to king Baldwin. The Hospitallers were now divided into three classes—knights, clergy, and serving brethren—the last consisting of persons who were not of noble birth. Both the knights and the servitors were bound, when not engaged in war, to devote themselves to the original purposes of the order. They soon distinguished themselves by signal acts of valour, and in 1130 their institution was confirmed by Innocent II.^c But by degrees they cast off the modesty and humility by which they had been at first distinguished; they defied and insulted the patriarchs of Jerusalem, and claimed immunity from the payment of ecclesiastical dues.^d When expelled from the Holy Land, they settled successively in Cyprus, Rhodes, and Malta; and in the last of these seats they continued almost to our own time.

The career of the Templars was shorter, but yet more brilliant. At first they were excessively poor,^e although the seal of the order, which displays two knights seated on one horse, may perhaps be better interpreted as a symbol of their brotherly union than as signifying that the first Grand Master and Godfrey of St. Omer possessed but a single charger between them.^f In 1127, Hugh des Payens and some of his brethren returned to Europe. St. Bernard, who was nephew to one of the members, warmly took up their cause, and addressed a letter to Hugh, in which he enthusiastically commended the institution, exhorted the Templars to the fulfilment of their duties, and dilated on the holy memories connected with Jerusalem and Palestine.^g At the council of Troyes, held by a papal legate in 1128, Hugh appeared and gave an account of the origin of his order;^h and he received for it a code of statutes, drawn up under the direction of Bernard. These no longer exist in their original form, but their substance is preserved in the extant rule, which is divided into 72 heads.ⁱ The Templars

^b See Wilken, ii. 549.

^c Ep. 30 (Patrol. clxxix.); cf. Ep. 284, A.D. 1137; Anast. IV. Ep. 83, A.D. 1154 (ib. clxxxviii.).

^d Will. Tyr. xviii. 3; Wilken, iii. 550-1; III. ii. 35; Monast. Anglic. vi. 794-5.

^e Will. Tyr. xii. 7.

^f This is the common interpretation (Wilken, ii. 552; see, e. g., Barthol. de Cotton, p. 60, in Chron. and Mem.);

but Wilcke (Gesch. des Tempelherren-Ordens, I. 11, Leipz. 1826) remarks that, as being knights, they must have possessed horses.

^g Liber ad Milites Templi (Patrol. clxxii.). In Ep. 175 he strongly commends them to the patriarch of Jerusalem.

^h W. Tyr. xii. 7.

ⁱ "Regula pauperum Commilitonum Christi, Templique Salomoniaci," Hard.

were charged to be regular in devotion, self-denying, and modest. Each knight was restricted to three horses—"the poverty of God's house for the time not allowing of a greater number."^r No gold or silver was to be used in the trappings of their horses; or if such ornaments should be given to them, they were ordered to disguise the precious metals with colour, in order to avoid the appearance of pride.^s They were to have no locked trunks;^t they were not to receive letters, even from their nearest relations, without the master's knowledge, and were to read all letters in his presence.^u They were to receive no presents except by leave of the master, who was authorised to transfer presents from the knight for whom they were intended to another.^x They were forbidden to hawk and to hunt, nor might they accompany a person engaged in such amusements, except for the purpose of defending him from infidel treachery.^y They were charged "always to strike the lion"—a charge which seems to mean that they were bound to unceasing hostility against the enemies of the faith.^z Individual property in lands and men was allowed.^a Married brethren might be associated into the order; but they were not to wear its white dress, and they were bound to make it their heir.^b The Templars were forbidden to kiss even their mothers or sisters,^c and were never to walk alone.^d The habit of the order was white,^e to which Eugenius III. added a red cross on the breast;^f the banner, the *Beauseant*, was of black and white, inscribed with the motto "Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam."^g

Although at the time of the council of Troyes the order had already been nine years in existence, the number of its members was only nine;^h but when thus solemnly inaugurated, and aided by the zealous recommendations of the great saint of Clairvaux, it rapidly increased. There were soon three hundred knights, of the noblest families, a large body of chaplains, and a countless train of servitors and artificers.ⁱ Emperors, kings, and other potentates enriched the order with lands and endowments, so that, within fifty years after its foundation, it already enjoyed a royal revenue, derived from possessions in all parts of Europe.^k But, according

vi. 2132, seqq. See Schröckh, xxvii. 99-101; Wilken, ii. 558; Wilcke, i. 19; Patrol. clxvi. 831-4; Acta S. Bern. i. 15 (ib. clxxxv.); Neander, 'Der heil. Bernard,' 42.

^r C. 37.

^s C. 41.

^t Cc. 46-7.

^u C. 51.

^x C. 30.

^y C. 40.

^z C. 43.

^a C. 48.

^b C. 55.

^c C. 72.

^d C. 20.

^e W. Tyr. xii. 7.

^f Wilken, ii. 559.

^g W. Tyr. l. c. See Pagi, xviii. 405.

^h W. Tyr. l. c.; Wilken, ii. 562-4.

ⁱ W. Tyr. l. c. Henry I. of England was among the princes who contributed

^k C. 35.

to the writer who states this, it had even then begun to display the pride, insolence, and defiance of ecclesiastical authority which afterwards rendered it unpopular, and prepared the way for its falling undefended and unlamented.^m

By the rise of the new orders, the influence of monachism in the church was greatly increased. They were strictly bound to the papacy by ties of mutual interest, and could always reckon on the pope as their patron in disputes with bishops or other ecclesiastical authorities.ⁿ A large proportion of the papal rescripts during this time consists of privileges granted to monasteries. Many were absolutely exempted from the jurisdiction of bishops;^o yet such exemptions were less frequently bestowed, as the monastic communities became better able to defend themselves against oppression, and as, consequently, the original pretext for exemptions no longer existed.^p If bishops had formerly found it difficult to contend with the abbots of powerful individual monasteries, it was now a far more serious matter to deal with a member of a great order, connected with brethren everywhere, closely allied with the pope, and having in the abbot of Cluny or of Cîteaux a chief totally independent of the bishop, and able to support his brethren against all opposition. The grievance of which bishops had formerly complained, therefore, was now more rarely inflicted by the privileges bestowed on monasteries; yet the monks were, although without it, in a higher position than ever.^q

The monastic communities not only intercepted the bounty which would otherwise have been bestowed on the secular clergy,^r but preyed very seriously on the settled revenues of the church. Laymen who were moved by conscience or by compulsion to resign tithes which they had held, were inclined to bestow them on monasteries, rather than on the parish churches to which they rightfully belonged.^s And as, by an abuse already described,^t it had often

to it (Lappenb. ii. 279); but it is a mistake to ascribe to him the gift of its property in London, which was really bestowed by Henry II. See Wilken, ii. Anhang, 47—whose argument as to a document in the Monasticon, however, rests in part on a confusion between Chester and Chichester.

^m W. Tyr. l. c.

ⁿ Greg. VII. Ep. ii. 9; Planck, IV. ii. 543.

^o See, e. g., Urban's grant to La Cava, Ep. x. Hard. vi. 1637.

^p Planck, IV. ii. 557.

^q Ib. 513, 540.

^r There is a letter of Leo IX. to the Italian bishops, complaining that monks persuaded people to give everything to monasteries. The pope orders that any person wishing to turn monk, whether in life or on his deathbed, shall give half of what he intends "pro salute animæ" to the church to which he belongs. Ep. 66 (Patrol. cxliii.).

^s See Ducange, s. v. *Ecclesia*, p. 6. There is a letter of St. Bernard (316) entreating an archbishop to consent that a nobleman should bestow on a monastery some church property which he was disposed to give up. ^t P. 201.

happened that a layman possessed himself of the oblations belonging to a church, assigning only a miserable stipend to the incumbent, these dues, as well as the tithes, were, in case of a restitution, transferred to the monks. Although some abbots refused to enrich their monasteries by accepting tithes or ecclesiastical dues,^a and although some of the new monastic rules contained express prohibitions on the subject, it was with little effect that synods attempted to check such impropriations;^x nor did they perfectly succeed in forbidding monks to interfere with the secular clergy by undertaking pastoral and priestly functions.^y

The monks of Monte Cassino, the "head and mother of all monasteries,"^z claimed liberties even against the papacy itself. An abbot, Seniorectus, elected during the pontificate of Honorius II., refused to make a profession of fidelity to the pope, and, on being asked why he should scruple to comply with a form to which all archbishops and bishops submitted, the monks replied that it had never been required of their abbots—that bishops had often fallen into heresy or schism, but Monte Cassino had always been pure. Honorius gave way; but when Reginald, the successor of Seniorectus, had received benediction from the antipope Anacletus, the plea for exemption could no longer be plausibly pretended, and, notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the monks, Innocent II. insisted on an oath of obedience as a condition of their reconciliation to the Roman church.^a

New privileges were conferred on orders or on particular monasteries. According to the chroniclers of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, the mitre was granted to the abbot of that house by Alexander II. in 1063, although, through the "simplicity" of the abbots and the enmity of the archbishops, the privilege lay dormant for more than a century.^b The earliest certain grant of the mitre,

^a E. g. Godefr. Vindoc. Ep. i. 9 (Patrol. clvii.).

^z Thomassin, II. i. 36. 6; Planck, IV. ii. 526-531; Conc. Westmonast. A.D. 1102; Conc. Lateran. A.D. 1123, c. 19; Conc. Lond. A.D. 1125, c. 4, &c. Acquisitions of this kind, if already made, were always reserved (e. g. Urban II. Ep. 167, Patrol. cli.), and sometimes popes sanctioned future acquisitions also (e. g. Calixt. II. Ep. 20; Regula Templar. c. 66, &c.). Celestine III. forbade the practice in 1195. See the Chronicon Monast. de Bello, 27, note.

^y E. g. Conc. Later. A.D. 1123, c. 17; Planck, IV. ii. 534.

^x Chron. Casin. iv. 120.

^a Chron. Casin. iv. 95, 104-115;

Mabill. Acta SS. VIII. ix.-x. The question was debated for many days before the emperor Lothair, cardinal Gerard (afterwards pope Celestine II.) acting as advocate for the pope, while Peter, the chronicler who reports the affair, was the champion of the monastery. Reginald was afterwards set aside, as having been irregularly elected; but, although the investiture of his successor by the imperial sceptre is mentioned, it does not appear whether the pope exacted a profession of obedience from him. Chron. Casin. iv. 124.

^b W. Thorn, ap. Twysden, 1785, 1824; Tho. Elmham, 89 (Chron. and Mem.).

however, is one which was made to the abbot of St. Maximin's, at Treves, by Gregory VII.^c Among other privileges granted to monasteries were exemption from the payment of tithes and from the jurisdiction of legates;^d exemption from excommunication except by the pope alone,^e and from any interdict which might be laid on the country in which the monastery was situated;^f permission that the abbots should wear the episcopal ring, gloves, and sandals, and should not be bound to attend any councils except those summoned by the pope himself.^g The abbots of Cluny^h and Vendômeⁱ were, by virtue of their office, cardinals of the Roman church.

In addition to the genuine grants, forgery was now very largely used to advance the pretensions of monastic bodies. Thus we are told that Leo IX., on visiting Subiaco in 1051, found many spurious documents and committed them to the flames;^k even Monte Cassino did not disdain to make use of the forger's arts.^m The monks of St. Medard's, at Soissons, were notorious for impostures of this kind; one of them, named Guerno, confessed on his deathbed that he had travelled widely, supplying monasteries with pretended "apostolic" privileges, and that among those who had employed him in such fabrications was the proud society of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury.ⁿ

^c Giesel. II. ii. 304.

^d Alex. II. Ep. 13 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Callist. II. Ep. 10, ap. Hard. vi. (for Vendôme).

^e Alex. II. Ep. 14; Calixt. II. Ep. 22 (for Cluny).

^f Paschal II. Ep. 66, ap. Hard. vi. (for Cluny).

^g Alex. II. Ep. 13, in Patrol. cxlvi. (for Vendôme); Godefr. Vindoc. ap. Hard. vi. 1148.

^h See p. 761.

ⁱ "Concedimus etiam omnibus hujus loci abbatibus ecclesiam Beati Prisci." Alex. II. Ep. 13. See Nat Alex. xiii.

383; Thomass. III. xli. 20; Ducange, s. vv. *Abbates Mitrati*.

^k Chron. Subiac. ap. Murat. xxiv. 932.

^m See the Preface to the Chron. Casin. in Pertz, or in Patrol. clxxiii. 468.

ⁿ Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. Præf. v., or Patrol. cc. 1411. The forger was paid with some church ornaments, which he transferred to St. Medard's. We shall see hereafter that the monks of that house were not more scrupulous as to relics than as to documents, Ch. XIII. iii. 5.

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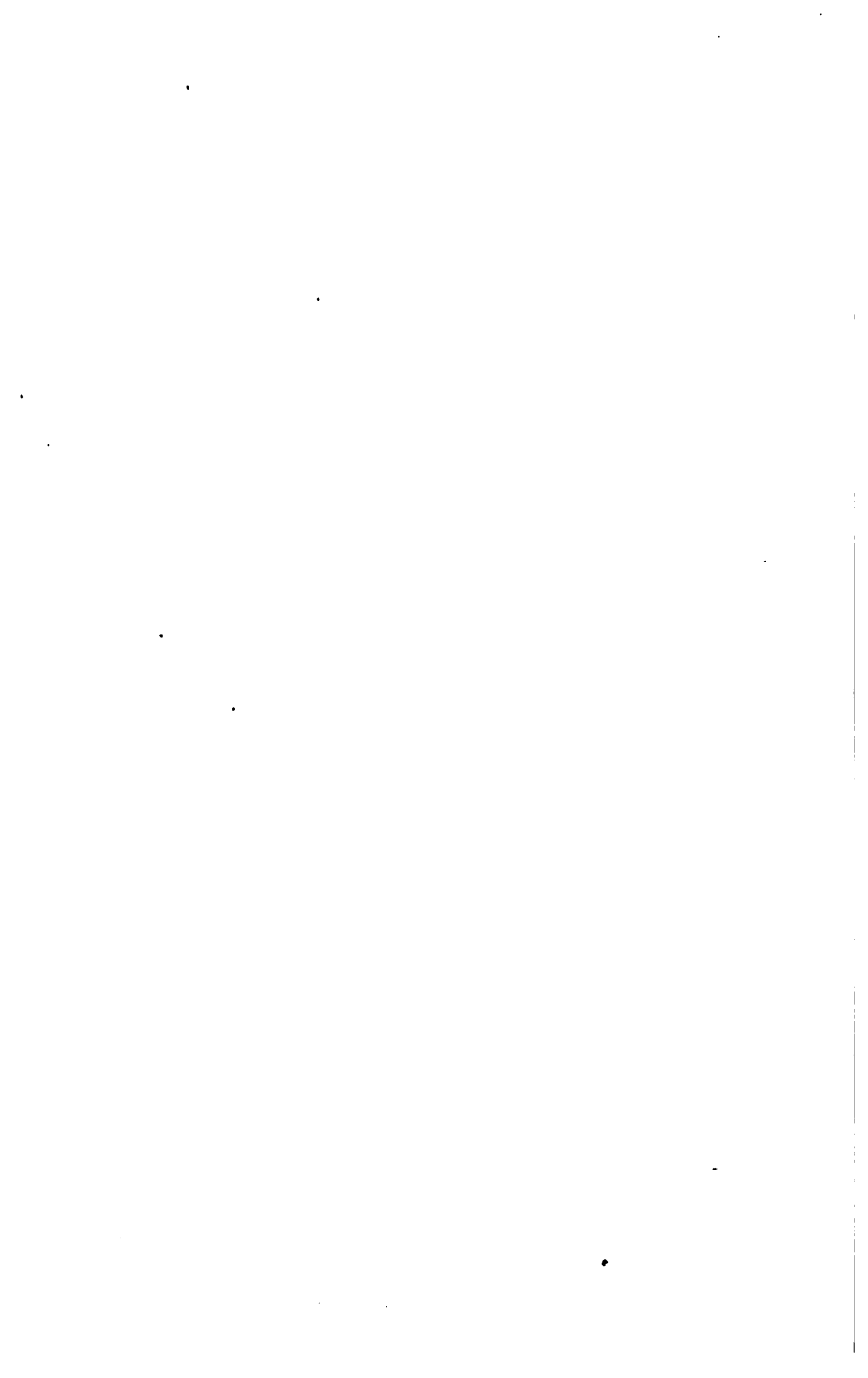
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